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THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW

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JANUARY — JUNE.

Φιλοσοφίαν δὲ οὐ τὴν Στωικὴν λέγω, οὐδὲ τὴν Πλατωνικὴν, ἢ τὴν Ἐπικουρεῖον
τε καὶ Ἀριστοτελικὴν· ἀλλ' ὅσα εἴρηται παρ' ἐκάστη τῶν αἱρεσέων τούτων
καλῶς, δικαιοσύνην μετὰ ἐνσεβοῦς ἐπιστήμης ἐκδιδάσκοντα, τοῦτο σύμπαν το
'ΕΚΛΕΚΤΙΚΟΝ φιλοσοφίαν φῆμι. — CLEM. ALEX. *Strom.* L. 1.

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ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR JANUARY, 1842.

Art. I. *On the Importance of a Proper System of Academic Training, as tending to facilitate Ministerial Devotedness; being the substance of an Address delivered to the Constituents of Spring Hill College, Birmingham, on the Evening of the 22nd of June, 1841.* By W. Lindsay Alexander, M.A., Edinburgh. 8vo. pp. 44. London: Hamilton and Co.

OF that superhuman wisdom which is conspicuous in all the institutions of Christianity, there is no greater proof than the appointment of an order of men, whose sole business it is to study, to explain, and to enforce the sacred volume, and to promote in all other possible ways the spiritual welfare of mankind. The functions of this class of men are various; the principal, whether we consider the nature of their office, the most obvious and comprehensive means of securing its object, or the example of inspired teachers themselves, is that of "preaching the gospel."

No sacred institution is marked by more skilful adaptation to its end, or dictated by a profounder knowledge of our nature, than this of preaching. Without such an institution, Christianity would be deprived of one principal element of power—of a vital organ. Regarded either as an instrument by which men may be *taught* the truth, or be made to *feel* it, it is equally important. As to the first, the superiority of *oral* instruction over every other mode of imparting it, is universally acknowledged. It arrests the attention more effectually; it admits of more easy and familiar illustration, and of repetitions which, in a book, the teacher would fail to perceive necessary, or would think tedious; it is associated with the tones, the looks, the gestures of him who utters it, with the circumstances under which it is delivered, with the very place of meeting, and the assembly itself; and for all these reasons is more

strongly riveted on the memory. But this institution is of equal importance as an instrument of exciting adequate emotion. The persuasive power of the living voice, further aided by the eye, the countenance, the gesture of the speaker, is admitted by all; and thus truths which appear comparatively cold on the page of a book, seem animated as with a new life when heard from the lips. Nor does the efficacy of this instrument end even here. He who devised it well knew all the susceptibilities of our social nature, and hence the institutions of public worship generally. He who has commanded us not "to forsake the assembling of ourselves together," well knew that combined and simultaneous action, and the influence of social sympathy, tend to excite and deepen emotion; and when such "assembling" is abandoned, it may be safely affirmed that the spirit of religion will at once decline. This law of emotion, which extends more or less to all acts of public worship, affects, in a peculiar manner, the office of preaching. The voltaic current of sympathy, as it circulates from heart to heart, intensifies the emotions both of speaker and hearers, who act and re-act reciprocally upon one another. The persuasive efficacy of the living voice is great, as compared with that of a book, even when it is addressed to the individual; but it receives still a great accession of power when addressed to a multitude. "Strong emotion," to use the words of Robert Hall, "is contagious." The same familiar fact is strongly illustrated by Whately, in a passage of singular beauty, in which he gives a very philosophical solution of the phenomenon. "Every one is aware of the *infectious* nature of any emotion in a large assembly. It may be compared to the increase of sound, by a number of echoes; or of light, by a number of mirrors; or to the blaze of a heap of fire-brands, each of which would speedily have gone out if kindled separately, but which, when thrown together, help to kindle each other."

When we further consider that, in point of fact, preaching is the easiest and readiest way of conveying to men the "words of life," and that, probably, in nine cases out of ten, it is the immediate instrument of their salvation, we cannot wonder, either that scripture should give it such pre-eminence, or that every one who bears the Christian name should be deeply solicitous that such an institution should be maintained in the highest state of efficiency. Well might the Apostle declare, that he considered this function of preaching as the highest which appertained to his office, and exult that he was "sent, not to baptize, but to preach the gospel."

Preaching was the great instrument by which the early triumphs of the gospel were achieved; it was the great instrument by which the Reformation was effected; it was the great instrument of the revival of religion in the middle of the last century; and it may be safely predicted, that if the progress of our

new and subtle popery is to be effectually opposed, it must be by a more energetic use of the same weapon. There has been no signal or general corruption of the church unaccompanied by a manifest tendency to depreciate and neglect this divine institution, to give it a secondary place, and to magnify other institutions of Christianity at its expense. Puseyism is assuredly not without this inauspicious symptom of all false systems, and in this, as in other cases, it is preaching which must at once vindicate the truth from the corruptions which menace it, and avenge the insults which have been cast upon itself.

That the Christian ministry, in any denomination, is characterized by all the efficiency of which it is capable, few would be disposed to affirm. Two years ago, we considered, at some length, the state of our theological colleges, and the modes in which their usefulness might be promoted. We now propose to devote a few pages to a consideration of the modes in which the general efficiency of the ministry may be increased, with a special reference, however, to the functions of the pulpit, and to those collegiate institutions in which the previous training of our ministers for those functions is prosecuted. Mr. Alexander's sermon, in which we are happy to see that he coincides with the views propounded in our former article, affords us a fair opportunity of returning to the subject. Passages of his admirable discourse we shall have occasion to cite in the course of the following pages; in the meantime, we cannot proceed without expressing a hope that it will meet with devout and attentive perusal from all who take an interest in these institutions.

Whatever the defects of our ministry, there is one point, and a most important one, in which, happily, we do not think it capable of much improvement. Our ministers and our churches have ever maintained that the most essential qualification of the preacher of the gospel, that without which it is equally absurd and impious to assume the office, is unfeigned piety, a deeply religious spirit. They hold that this is an indispensable pre-requisite, without which the Christian minister cannot *be*; that its existence ought to be credibly ascertained before any investigation into other qualifications can be properly entered upon, and that if not possessed all further inquiry may be spared. No genius, no attainments can authorize intrusion into the sacred office without it. It is with unfeigned exultation that we express our conviction, that the denominations to which we more peculiarly address ourselves, have never entertained any other sentiments than these, or acted inconsistently with them. However lax may have been their notions in relation to some other qualifications essential to the due discharge of the ministerial functions, this door, at least, has been jealously guarded. They have never for a moment listened to the appeal, "Put me into the priest's office for a piece of silver, or

a morsel of bread," or for any other unworthy object whatsoever; and we trust they never will. Sometimes, no doubt, they have erred in interpreting the indications of piety; but it has been their invariable maxim, that its credible appearances should be found in every one who aspires to the ministerial office. This maxim is so obviously rational, that we should be ashamed to say one word more upon the subject, were it not for the prevalence of certain most pernicious errors which just now seem assuming an epidemic character, and which may therefore justify a paragraph or two on the point.

That true piety is indispensable for this office, must, one would think, be evident from the nature of the office itself, which is to allure men to the practice of holiness and virtue. For this reason, there are probably none, at least in our day, who would in so many words contend that *he* can be qualified to discharge its duties whose life is notoriously immoral,—at open variance with the plainest precepts of the institute he is commanded to enforce. There is such a palpable contradiction in the idea of setting men to teach what they have never learned; to enjoin what they have never practised; to enforce precepts which they contradict by their example; gravely to propound, as of infinite importance, truths which they either disbelieve or virtually disregard, that few could be brought for a moment to countenance it. Such a spectacle may make the religious sad, and the irreligious merry, but can by no possibility have any other effect. Example, which is of great force in all moral teaching, is the Christian minister's chief source of influence—that which best illustrates, recommends, and enforces his instructions, and without which the divinest eloquence will but excite a sneer at the cant and hypocrisy of the speaker, and render the unbeliever more obdurate. Such cases may therefore be dismissed at once. But there are not a few who think that any man, whose life is marked by a decorous regard to the ordinary proprieties of life, even though exhibiting none of the indications of solid and vital piety, may blamelessly assume the ministerial function, if he be but duly authorized by ecclesiastical authority. Such a notion is common enough amongst those who perversely separate the man from the minister—who invest him with an official sanctity which is to compensate for his personal deficiencies, or who entertain lax notions of the responsibilities and duties of the sacred function itself. Such a notion, we hope, will never be allowed to prevail amongst ourselves. If that day should ever come, that which has so long been the glory of our ministry, and which has counterpoised its many defects, will be gone.

In fact, there is as real, though not so palpable, a contradiction in setting a man who is not a true Christian, however decorous his life, to preach and enforce the gospel, as in setting an

immoral man to do the like, and the arguments we have above employed apply equally in either case. For what is it still but to set a man to teach what he has never learned, to enjoin what he has never practised, to explain and enforce spiritual truths which he has never understood or never felt, and to animate to that faith, and love, and zeal, to which he is himself a stranger? Accordingly, we find that those who contend that the primary qualification of a man to preach the gospel is to be sought in his commission, and not in his character, and who would therefore concede the title of a true minister of Christ to the man of merely decorous life, who can plead that commission, find it very difficult to evade the objection, that the argument will go still further, and that those too are true Christian ministers who can plead the supposed commission, even though of profligate or immoral life. Nor are there wanting those who maintain this on the ground that the efficacy of the office must be independent of the character of him who administers it; inasmuch as the very best Christian is imperfect, and that the difference between him and the worst of sinners is of little moment, when both are compared with the standard of perfect purity! At this rate, one would think that it was a matter of very little consequence whether the minister of the gospel were a Christian or no Christian at all; and that the clergy, if but duly ordained, might just as well be chosen by lot out of the mass of the population.*

The infinite importance of this qualification is apparent in whatever light we regard the subject; it is so even if we consider Christianity as a system of preternatural influences, and still more, if we consider it as a system of appropriate, well-adapted human agency, in connexion with which, and not apart from which, those preternatural influences are conferred. The Divine Spirit, ordinarily at all events, operates under the limitations revealed in scripture; where the promise of his influence is not expressly annexed to the office of the ministry otherwise than as that office is faithfully and zealously discharged. It asks, and

* "The very question of worth, indeed, with relation to such matters, is absurd. Who is worthy? Who is a fit and meet dispenser of the gifts of the Holy Spirit? What are, after all, the petty differences between sinner and sinner, when viewed in relation to Him whose eyes are too pure to behold iniquity, and who charges his very angels with folly?"—*Oxford Tracts*, No. 5. The proper answer to these absurd, yet sophistical questions, is, that whatever may be the remaining imperfections of the Christian, he who is truly such differs as much (by the express declaration of scripture) from him who is not, as the *living* from the *dead*, and a greater difference surely there cannot well be. By restricting, therefore, the functions of the Christian minister to the former, we at all events escape the glaring inconsistency of asking the *dead* to perform the offices of the *living*. Whatever his deficiencies, the man is not called to teach what he has not learned, to affirm what he does not cordially believe, or to enforce what he does not sincerely desire to practice.

will sanction, only an instrumentality which itself approves. It has also pleased God, in a measure, to suspend those influences on the prayers of the faithful—of the church and its ministers. In the case of the ungodly minister, therefore, those earnest intercessions with which he ought to wrestle for the success of his labours and the salvation of his flock, are lost to the church; for how shall he invoke that blessing of which he feels not the value? If it be said (as is often said by those who perversely seek reasons for dispensing with the piety of Christian ministers) that God will not deny his efficacious presence to those who sincerely implore it, merely because the minister is a stranger to it, this is true; but then they are not so *likely* sincerely to implore it. The spiritual prosperity of the church is dependent upon the efficiency of the ministry, as an apt instrument of its instruction and edification, and this all experience testifies. God dispenses all his blessings in accordance with those great laws of mutual dependence on which the whole world is constructed, and if the church admits or tolerates ungodly ministers, the church will suffer for it. And this brings us to the second point,—that the infinite importance of solid piety to the minister is still more apparent, if we consider Christianity as a system of well-devised instrumentality, in connexion with which its preternatural blessings are conferred. There is an analogy in this, as in very many other respects, between the laws of the spiritual and those of the natural world.

If it be said that there are instances in which the ministry of men, who are in the strange predicament of being preachers without being Christians, has been attended with good, we reply,—1st, That the exceptions strongly confirm the rule, inasmuch as such good is effected only where the preacher is still *believed* to be a Christian, or where there is no sufficient evidence to the contrary; and that when once the mask of hypocrisy has been laid aside, his influence wholly and for ever ceases. 2ndly, That such good is, at the best, partial and limited, and for very obvious reasons. Let the veil which conceals the preacher's true character from the eyes of others, or even from his own, be worn to his dying day, still the want of zealous and earnest piety will taint and enfeeble all his ministrations, and deprive them of their full efficacy. It will, as we have already said, insensibly affect the mode of performing his sacred functions throughout. *In* the pulpit, or *out* of the pulpit, he will alike suffer from it. Without piety, *deep feeling* on religious subjects is out of the question; and without deep feeling, true eloquence on any subject is impossible. Such is the peculiar power of earnestness in the speaker, of manifest absorption in his subject, of a deep consciousness of the truth and importance of what he is saying, that it will give often greater force and weight to common-place than the most original thoughts

or the most appropriate expression will possess without it. Now, this earnestness cannot be consistently or effectually simulated.

Still further; the possession of true piety is essential even to a due and adequate apprehension of the doctrines to be propounded and a correct estimate of their relative importance. A purified heart is a better guide to spiritual and moral truth than the most perspicacious intellect without it; the instincts of a nature purged from prejudice, and thirsting for truth, more sure than the sagacity of the acutest reason. Profound meaning, therefore, is there in the words of scripture, that the "secret of the Lord is with them that fear him," and that "those who do the will of God shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God."

Nor are these the only ways in which the ministrations of the man who is destitute of true piety will be affected by the want of this cardinal quality. Without it, he must, whether in the pulpit or out of it, be devoid of that moral influence and authority which spring from a character wholly entitled to love and veneration. In that most accurate analysis of the process of persuasion which Aristotle has given us, he correctly assigns, as one important element, the character of the speaker in the estimation of his audience. Integrity and benevolence, he tells us, are amongst the most essential qualities with which they must suppose him to be endowed. Now, integrity in the preacher of the gospel cannot exist apart from sincere piety, for without this his very assumption of the office is a lie; nor can there be benevolence apart from that sincere compassion for the souls of men, to save which is the very object of his function. If it be said "that it is sufficient that he possess these qualities in the eyes of his audience," literally to fulfil Aristotle's conditions, we admit it; but the same Aristotle, or anybody else of good sense, will tell us that the only sure guarantee of our possessing and retaining such a reputation, is to deserve it; that where the *appearance* of piety and virtue is to be habitual and uniform, must extend to the spirit of our words and actions as well as to the letter, will be criticized with so much jealousy, and may be so easily blasted, the only safe way is to possess the *reality*. Where a difficult character is to be sustained for a whole life, it is easier to *be* than to *seem*. For it may be safely said, that he who only seems to be a Christian will sometimes seem to be otherwise, and his character, clouded with doubt and exposed to suspicion, will still be despoiled of its due moral influence. Even supposing that there is no notable delinquency, no glaring inconsistency of conduct, (for we have purposely restricted ourselves to the most favourable cases,) still the taint of an unsanctified heart will rob the minister of that influence which he ought to possess. There will be a want of natural fervour in speaking on sacred themes or in the discharge of sacred functions. Coldness, formality, will pervade

all. Respected, such a man may be ; but, in the absence of that piety which can alone be the well-spring of elevated and noble feelings, of Christian heroism, of self-denial, patience, meekness, humility, he can never be the object of enthusiastic love or admiration—an object like Leighton, or Howe, or Baxter. Qualities like theirs cannot be perfectly or consistently counterfeited; if counterfeited at all, the effort will be overstrained; if not, the failure will be still more manifest and deplorable. Thus will the preacher, both in the pulpit and out of the pulpit, be despoiled of that which is more than half his strength—that alluring, that persuasive influence which attends on a truly Christian life, which enforces precept by the greater efficacy of example, makes the homeliest words most eloquent, aids the doctrine addressed to the ear by a visible and most attractive exhibition of it to the eye, and leads on the willing listener from admiration to love, and from love to imitation.

Lastly; nothing less than unfeigned and deep-seated piety will enable a man to endure the trials or encounter the difficulties of this arduous office; nothing else can convert its duties, otherwise insupportably irksome, into a source of delight; nothing else can enlist in their behalf the full energies of the intellect, and the strongest affections of the heart. Without it, those duties will become a routine of wearisome formalities, anticipated with disgust and performed with negligence. The mind, sinking into indolence, will do as little instead of as much as possible, and that little with just so much exertion as shall serve to save appearances. Melancholy, beyond expression melancholy, is the condition of that man who has put on the prophet's garment without the prophet's spirit; who has entered the temple of God, and left his heart on the threshold; whose business is anything but his pleasure; who has to speak perpetually of truths unwelcome to himself, and to dissemble a zeal and earnestness which he feels not. His condition is equally melancholy, whether his heart chafe under the burden of distasteful duties, or be shockingly content to perform them with decorous formality, from the sordid motive of a miserable stipend. Still more melancholy is it to reflect that, by the laws of our moral nature, the very office he thus abuses is preparing for him a terrible retribution; that while his intellect is daily growing more familiar with those eternal verities for which he cares not, his heart is becoming more callous to them; and that in proportion as he apprehends the truth, in that proportion does he recede from it. "The light which is in him is darkness;" or, like that of the stars in mid-winter, shines with a keen, but frosty radiance. Surely, of all the sad spectacles this world of sorrows can present, the saddest is that of the man who, having preached to others, shall himself become a castaway; and though all the paths to perdition are

dreary enough, that which is lighted with knowledge all the way, and reveals distinctly all the horrors of the abyss, is the dreariest.

Let him, then, who thinks of assuming the sacred office of the Christian ministry pause and examine himself, recollecting that it is better to "hew wood" or "draw water," to toil at the loom or follow the plough—in a word, to perform the meanest drudgeries of secular life, than assume a spiritual office without spiritual qualifications, without that deeply religious spirit which can alone secure its happy and efficient discharge. Well said Erasmus, "In my opinion, he who aspires to this excellent office ought to take the utmost care to render the *heart*, which is the fountain of his eloquence, as pure as possible. This is supremely necessary, not only that he may instruct and excite the minds of his hearers, not only that he may vigorously defend the truth against its enemies, but even for acquiring a knowledge of that heavenly wisdom which he is to deliver to others. Even bad men may comprehend human sciences; but divine wisdom enters not a heart contaminated with vices, nor deigns to dwell in a body enslaved by corruption."*

But though, in our judgment, this great pre-requisite for the ministry has been consistently demanded by those upon whom has fallen the responsibility of selecting or training young men for the ministry amongst us, we cannot say that the same wise caution has been always extended to other qualifications, which in another way are equally essential to its successful discharge. Though no other qualities can take the place of piety, piety can as little take the place of them. As all the world knows, a man may be a very good man, and yet very dull and stupid nevertheless; utterly unfit, therefore, for an office the very object of which is to instruct, to convince, to persuade; in which some acuteness and promptitude of mind, some skill in argument, and some power of illustration, clearness in apprehending and facility in explaining truth, diversified knowledge, and command of language, are imperatively required. In any secular employment which demands these qualities, we should not consider integrity alone a sufficient qualification; neither, for similar reasons, should we be content with piety alone as a qualification for the ministry. Nay, further, it is possible that even some of the above qualities may be possessed, and yet there may be such an obvious deficiency in the rest as would at once justify the rejection of any candidate in whom such deficiency is found. Thus there may be considerable powers of acquisition, and yet such an utter want of the aptitudes essential to the communication of knowledge, as may at once convince us that the man can never be an impressive speaker. There may be much logical acuteness, and yet such a total absence of imagi-

* Erasmus de Concionandi Ratione, lib. i.

nation, and such frigidity of temperament, that we may be equally sure that the public discourses of such a man will never have either energy or earnestness. Knowledge, we all know, is one thing, the power of communicating it, and communicating it impressively, is another.

To perform, with tolerable success, the office of a public speaker, requires a peculiar combination of talents; and though those talents may be possessed in very different measure by different individuals, no public speaker ought to be absolutely destitute of any one of the more important of them. We are aware, of course, that the church of Christ requires "diversity of gifts;" that congregations greatly vary in magnitude, intelligence, modes of thinking, and degree of culture, and will require, therefore, ministers of very different orders of mind; further, that there is the utmost variety in the mental constitution of different classes of hearers, and that this will demand corresponding varieties in the mental character of preachers. We are aware that one preacher will excel in argument, another in pathos; one in energy, another in tenderness; this man will be liked for the clear exposition of doctrine, another for impressively enforcing it; and further, that each will attract out of the mass of minds those which most nearly resemble his own, and are, therefore, most likely to be benefited by his instructions. All this may be admitted, and we ought to be unfeignedly grateful for that diversity of gifts which is adapted to the diversity of character in man. Still, the argument is not impaired, that no man ought to be adjudged fit for the ministry who is remarkably deficient in any one of the great qualifications necessary for the clear, impressive exhibition of truth. The reason is obvious: the office of the preacher, no matter what the differences between one man and another, or the different degrees of success with which one may perform this part of it and another that, has universally the same object; it is that of every other public speaker—to influence the conduct and make men *act*. This involves several processes, individually distinct indeed, yet mutually related—the understanding, the imagination, the affections, must all be engaged, and all of them instrumentally, for the purpose of determining the will. These different elements of our nature may be addressed with varying degrees of success by different individuals, and different *proportions* in the various talents required may, therefore, consist with success; but the utter absence of any of them must be fatal to it. A man may excel in argument, but if his discourses are nothing *but* argument he will never be an efficient public speaker, unless it be at the bar; a man may have some imagination, but if he be utterly destitute of more solid qualities he will never be anything better than a frothy and empty declaimer.

The same observations apply to the cases in which the various

talents requisite for this very complex and difficult function are possessed, indeed, but only in a moderate degree. There are stations in the church of Christ where such a man may well be useful. But still there is a *limit*, and no man ought to be introduced to the ministry at all who has not strong good sense, a sound judgment, some power of illustrating truth, and some facility of expression, or in whom any one of these qualities is notoriously and hopelessly deficient. In many cases, a decision may be promptly formed; in others, a period of prolonged trial may be necessary, especially to ascertain whether the powers possessed admit of that development which will justify the hope of ultimate success.

We are aware that there are some who will tell us that these are things of secondary importance; that if there be but *piety*, they ask nothing more; they will be satisfied with truth uttered by a religious man, with whatsoever disadvantages. But we never find these good people acting on this fine theory; we always see that they have their preferences like other folks, and that those preferences are similarly determined; that a very dull, tedious, common-place preacher, is heard by them with just as much impatience as by others; that where two preachers are men of equally undoubted worth, and the matter of their sermons equally excellent, they will be heard with the widest conceivable variety of feelings,—with tedium and impatience in the one case, with eagerness and interest in the other. Such is the constitution of the human mind, and it is in vain to struggle against it; something there must be to stimulate attention, to exercise and occupy the various faculties of the mind—some variety or novelty either in the matter or the arrangement, in the modes of illustration or of expression, and an angel himself would be listened to upon no other terms.

We are afraid that those upon whom devolves the important duty of encouraging or checking youthful aspirants to the ministry, have by no means been so cautious in this point as they ought to have been. Hence the anomalous fact, pointed out in our former article, and still too often witnessed, that while there is a sufficient—often more than a sufficient—number of men who offer themselves for inferior stations, there is often extreme difficulty in filling up important vacancies.

For similar reasons we would have our ministers and our colleges look more closely than they have hitherto done to the *physical* qualifications of candidates for the ministry. We are quite aware that in judging of them, as in judging of the *intellectual* qualifications, much circumspection and much tenderness are necessary; that very considerable diversities may be admissible; that a man whose voice, for example, may not be strong enough for a large congregation, may be heard well enough in a small one. Still we must honestly say, that sufficient caution has not been exercised on these points. Wherever there is a

decided physical inaptitude, such as no culture is likely to repair, —where, for example, the voice is unusually feeble in compass and tone, and no efforts are likely to remedy the defect,—the youth should be rejected. In all such cases, (as also when it seems questionable whether the general health will bear the restraints of a sedentary life,) medical testimony, if needful, should be solicited, and in reason ought to be decisive. Even supposing that by the stringent application of such principles of judgment, a mind of superior order should be occasionally lost to the church, this evil would be more than compensated by obviating still greater. Instances are not infrequent in which youths, after having entered college, have lost their health, perhaps sacrificed their life, and consumed the public funds to no purpose; or, entering the ministry under incurable physical inaptitudes, have been obliged either to abandon it, or to struggle on in hopeless feebleness, poverty, and sorrow, a burden to themselves, and useless to others.

The pastor and the church who recommend a youth to abandon his original station in life and to enter the ministry, incur, in our opinion, a great responsibility, both in relation to him whose usefulness and happiness are immediately involved in the experiment, and to the church of Christ, to which he is to be a blessing or a curse. The responsibility of the managers of our collegiate institutions is assuredly equally great. We are happy to cite Mr. Alexander in confirmation of our general views. After enumerating certain other qualifications, he says,—

“There is still one thing more which, I think, we are entitled to demand intellectually of the candidate for the Christian ministry; and that is, *a natural fitness for communicating knowledge to others*; or, to use the language of the apostle Paul, ‘aptness to teach.’* It is well known that a man may be a sound theologian and an assiduous thinker, and yet, nevertheless, fail as a public teacher, from the want of ability to convey what is in his own mind, in a way calculated to affect suitably the minds of others. In the pulpit, we often see persons of great mental powers, large professional attainments, and imbued with a sincere desire to be useful to their fellow men, who are, nevertheless, unable to keep their words from falling pointless and powerless on the great bulk of their auditory; whilst, on the other hand, we see men of far humbler powers, and who are never destined to accomplish, in the field of high intellectual achievement, one tithe of what the others may have accomplished; who, notwithstanding, possess, as if by some happy magic, the power of riveting the attention of the audience, as soon almost as they begin to speak, and retaining it through a lengthened and instructive discourse. It is true that much of this power over an audience depends upon qualities of a physical kind—such as voice, look,

* 1 Tim. iii. 2.

and gesture, and that it may, to a very great extent, be acquired by a proper course of discipline and practice ; but even after every needful allowance is made for these considerations, enough will remain to compel the conviction that in some minds there is a natural adaptation for the communication of knowledge, whether by the voice or the pen, which is not found in others, and for the want of which, no tuition, no training, will fully compensate. If, without attempting any minute analysis, I might venture to state, in general terms, what appears to me to be the cause of this difference, I would say that it is in the possession, by the one class, of a more decided inclination than exists in the other, to look at truth in its practical bearings upon the wants and interests of mankind."—pp. 21, 22.

Upon the supposition that a candidate for the ministry, after having been subjected to this rigid scrutiny, is thought worthy of encouragement, we would have him subjected to a diligent training. We have seen so many instances of the failure of young men who have attempted to become ministers without it, that we would never dispense with it.

It matters not where it is given, whether in a public institution or under private tuition, but it should be imparted. Without it a young man becomes painfully conscious, just when it is too late, that he has neither the command of his faculties nor the variety of knowledge which will enable him to meet with promptitude the demands of the pulpit. If he redoubles his diligence in study, he injures his health, and perhaps neglects a portion of his pastoral duties. If (the more frequent case) he shrinks from a combination of tasks too gigantic for an undisciplined mind to encounter, he sinks into indolence, his preaching becomes barren and vapid, and his chapel empty. Of the extent to which we would carry this training, (varying in some cases, according to age and other circumstances,) we delivered our opinion very fully in the article before alluded to, and must content ourselves with referring the reader to it. We shall here merely recapitulate the reasons on which a protracted education was there advocated. First, to attain the great end of all education, which is to the mind what gymnastics are to the body—*to give all the faculties their due expansion and development*, to render the reason acute, the judgment discriminating, the memory retentive ; and *to form habits of industrious application*, that all the powers of the mind may be prompt and obedient at the call of duty, and engage with vigour and persevere with patience, in any task, however irksome and difficult, to which the real emergencies of life may summon them, instead of sinking back in hopeless and listless indolence, as the undisciplined mind is too apt to do. This, we remarked, is the principal object of a thorough general education, and must be pursued by applying the mind to the study of subjects which best answer the purpose

of *discipline*, without considering, at this stage of the process, the relative value of the knowledge which such study involves in relation to the future occupation of life. This it is, we further shewed, which justifies us in making mathematics, languages, logic, and mental philosophy, a part of the general education of any youth designed for professional life, quite independently of their direct utility in after years, and even upon the supposition that he would forget in advanced age much of what he had acquired in youth. There cannot be a doubt, however, that though discipline is the primary object of a general education, it is eminently desirable that the subjects of study selected to secure it should, as far as possible, involve in the process those species of knowledge which shall be in after life of great and comprehensive utility. We therefore remarked that the second great object to be attained by a prolonged education of our youthful ministry, is to secure that *extent and variety of knowledge* which shall furnish them with ample sources and the requisite variety of impressive illustration. Thirdly, we pleaded for the same course, that there might be time for the *thorough and comprehensive study of theology*, the truths of which it will be the minister's lifelong duty to explain, enforce, and illustrate; and fourthly, that he might not enter upon his great work *too young*; but in the manhood of all his faculties, with something like sobriety of judgment, habits of self control, and some little knowledge, at all events, of himself and of human nature. A boy should no one be who enters upon the duties of an arduous profession; and least of all, he who enters upon the Christian ministry. Such is a brief recapitulation of our former statements and reasonings on this subject. Those who wish to see them treated more in detail can refer to the article in question. In the meantime, we are happy to enforce our own opinions by the authority and sanction of so competent a judge as Mr. Alexander, who has expressed precisely the same views in the following powerful and impressive passage:—

“The elements of every system of training, the design of which is to fit men for action, appear to be three: *education, instruction, habituation.*

“The first of these, which is often confounded with the second, and not unfrequently extended so as to embrace the whole, is, strictly speaking, and as its etymology indicates, appropriate to that process by which the native powers of the mind are *nourished or drawn out to their full development.* In education, the individual who is the subject of it is viewed simply as an intellectual and moral being, endowed with certain faculties, which existing as yet only in a germinant state, require to be subjected to such treatment as may have been ascertained to be best adapted to their simultaneous and harmonious growth. Confined to its own department, education takes respect

not so much of what its object may be designed to *do* in the business of life, as of what he may *become* as a thinking, feeling, and responsible being. Its grand aim is to send him into life with his mental faculties and susceptibilities so disciplined and invigorated, that *whatever* he may be called to occupy himself with, he may do it easily, virtuously, and well.

“But however vigorous and well-disciplined a man’s faculties may be, it is seldom safe to entrust to him the management of any important interests unless he be possessed of due information respecting the nature of these interests, the means by which they may be best promoted, and the character of the materials upon which he has to work in seeking to effect their promotion. Hence to simple education must be added *instruction*, which is, as the etymology of the word again intimates, the storing of the mind with such suitable and well-arranged materials, as shall fit the individual for the department of work on which he may be called to expend his efforts. Here especial respect must be had to the sphere of action in which he is designed to move, and the kind of duties which he will there be called upon to discharge; and such information must be communicated to him as shall best adapt him for the full and facile discharge of those duties, as well as for encountering such difficulties as may peculiarly beset the course he has to pursue.

“To a well-educated and well-instructed mind must be added, in the man who is intended to engage in active work, *that facility of action* which alone can be acquired from the habit of conducting such exercises as those by which the ends of his profession are to be attained. Where it is practicable, the acquiring of this habit *before* the individual is plunged amid the actual realities of business, is of immense importance both to himself and others. Without this, his earlier efforts will be always constrained, often distressing, not seldom mischievous. The constant habit of learning, into which, through a long course of general and professional tuition, his mind may have grown, is not easily exchanged for the very different habit of applying his resources to the arrangement of affairs, or to the instruction of others; and the awkwardness which the consciousness of this produces, combined with the anxiety arising from the knowledge that valuable, it may be tremendous, interests are liable to be affected by his agency, is very apt to confuse the clearest intellect, and paralyse the boldest hand. Of every system of training, then, which has for its design the fitting of men for active usefulness in some given sphere, it would seem to form an essential part that the individuals who are the subjects of it should be *habituated* to such exercises as they must engage in the instant they proceed to the discharge of those functions to which they aspire.”
—pp. 24, 25.

“In providing for the due cultivation of the intellectual faculties, it is necessary that theological students should be conducted through several departments, which have no close or direct bearing upon the actual work in which, as ministers of the gospel, they are to be engaged. This is to many persons a subject, I believe, of censure; whilst, even with students themselves, it has sometimes been felt to be

a hard and vexatious imposition that they should be required to devote so much time to studies from which, as they think, and are apt to say, they can reap no benefit. The subjects most frequently marked out for vituperation by such persons, in connexion with institutions like this, are, classical literature, mathematics pure and applied, logic and metaphysics, and the natural sciences. Of what use, it is asked, are such studies to the preacher of Christianity? Why not content yourselves with giving him as much Latin and Greek as will suffice for all purely professional purposes, instead of wasting months and years upon the perusal and explanation of heathen classics? Why set him to the study of logic and metaphysics, which will only make his sermons dry and his temper disputatious? And, above all, why occupy him with mathematics and the natural sciences, as if he were to gain the ends of his ministry by measuring heights and distances, making collections of dried plants, or sweltering in a laboratory? Now to all this the reply is simple and obvious. It is not pretended, by such courses of study, to give the student professional instruction, or to furnish him with the materials on which he is subsequently to work; but, as experience has amply shewn that such studies exert a most beneficial influence upon the human faculties, in drawing them forth and endowing them with firmness and vigour, they are imposed upon our students of theology, that from them they may advance to the important studies, and, in due time, to the arduous duties of their profession, with minds that will not bend and totter, like an infant's limbs, but be able, with a firm and manly step, to traverse whatever course is presented to them. If there be any truth in the remarks which I submitted to you in the earlier part of this address, the business of the Christian pastor is to throw his whole soul and being into his official work; and far be it from me to commend any pastor, who should *substitute* for this, the pursuits of literature, science, or art. But what, sirs, if for this very devotedness to his official functions, there be requisite a mental tone and vigour, which nothing, so much as the discipline supplied by such studies, can produce? In this case, shall we not, as a matter of policy and practical common sense, employ this discipline in the case of every one whose preparatory studies we may have the opportunity of directing, as the surest means of securing, under the Divine blessing, that official devotedness which we desire? To do so is surely not to waste, but to save time; for it is to prepare for the field of spiritual conflict men who, thoroughly disciplined in the use of their weapons, shall be able, in the moment of action, to do their part at *once*, instead of waiting and considering what to do, or whether they are competent to do it."—pp. 26, 27.

To enter upon another topic. We must be permitted to doubt whether we have ever yet sufficiently instructed our youthful ministry in the true principles which lie at the basis of all public speaking, and that of the pulpit in particular. We should, perhaps, have preferred using, for brevity's sake, the words "art" of pulpit "eloquence," were it not that both these words are so liable to be misapprehended by the unreflecting. *We* should

mean by "art" nothing more than the rules which must be observed to secure the judicious adaptation of the discourse to its true end; and by "eloquence" nothing more than the clear, forcible, impressive exhibition of the truth "to every man's conscience." Whether the one should be called an "art," or the other "eloquence," we deem of mighty little consequence. That the true sense of the word "art" implies only the deliberate adaptation of means to ends, there can be no doubt amongst the judicious. But as there are some who never hear the word "art," especially in reference to the pulpit, without straightway associating it with the idea of "artifice," or something, they know not what, unworthy of the dignity of the pulpit, we are quite contented to substitute any other that may please them better. Why should we dispute about words? There can be no doubt, in any rational mind, that there is such a thing as speaking to the purpose, and such a thing as *not* speaking to the purpose—such a thing as speaking clearly, forcibly, and persuasively, and such a thing as speaking unintelligibly, coldly, and unimpressively; and that he who attains his object by doing the former, must proceed on very different principles and by a very different method from him who fails of it, by doing the latter. All that we mean, then, when we say that we doubt whether the "principles of preaching" have been sufficiently taught to our ministers is, that we doubt whether the conditions on which all conviction and persuasion depend, and the peculiarities of method and of style which they necessitate, have been taught in so extensive and systematic a manner as they ought to have been. We fear, indeed, that the ambiguities in the words "art" and "eloquence" have operated prejudicially on the minds of thousands, and are still operating upon them to such an extent, as to make them doubt or deny the utility of any instructions on the subject. We do not refer to those (happily a daily diminishing number) who doubt the value of any instruction in the principles of public speaking generally, and who strangely think that a man will speak better in proportion to his ignorance of those principles. Paradoxical as such views may be, those who entertain them are, at all events, consistent in applying them to the pulpit as well as to the bar or the senate. But we refer to those who, not denying the utility of such a study to the lawyer or the senator, would, from some unhappy associations with the words "art" and "eloquence," and some other verbal scarecrows, decry, or, at least, distrust, any systematic instructions on the subject in relation to the pulpit, as in some way or other (they would find it difficult to explain how,) unworthy of religion. Some will tell us that religion disdains all "art," by which they mean "artifice" or "trick," in which we fully agree; but how strange would it sound, if the other and truer meaning of the word "art" be taken, and we say, religion disdains all

adaptation of means to ends, or religion disdains all deliberate "attempts to speak to the purpose!" Some, again, would perhaps found their contempt of any such instructions on certain irrational views of those promises of Divine aid which scripture undoubtedly supplies, and which are the preacher's most precious consolation. Not that any, probably, would justify the notion that we may expect the extraordinary and supernatural gifts of the apostles, who were even commanded "not to *premeditate*" what they should say, for they were evidently exceptions to all rule. *They* had the art of speaking with unknown tongues, as well as the endowment of unpremeditated eloquence; *we* cannot preach to the heathen, without acquiring their languages by a slow and toilsome process. They had the power of working miracles; we are left to the use of an ordinary instrumentality. No man has a right, therefore, to plead their example for contradicting any maxim of common prudence. But while few would pretend that we may literally imitate the apostles, by neglecting all preparation, there are not wanting those who think the Apostle Paul has condemned all study of the arts in question, when he disclaims "the words which man's wisdom teacheth." We answer, all that the apostle here repudiates, so do we. He is simply declaring that the doctrines he delivered were not those of a vain philosophy, but of heavenly wisdom. He may also be consistently supposed to reject the sophistical arts and the futile decorations, with which the vain philosophy he disclaims was sought to be recommended. Even so do we. But that he does not mean that man, in seeking admission for truth into the hearts of his fellows, is to neglect any of the conditions on which conviction and persuasion depend—any of the methods by which it may be rendered more intelligible to the reason, more impressive to the imagination, more welcome to the heart;—that he does not mean that it is of little consequence whether it be stated in accordance with those laws to which our Creator has himself subjected our nature, and the neglect of which will infallibly entail disgrace and failure on him who is guilty of it,—the writings of the apostle himself furnish us with ample and illustrious examples.

There is a still larger number who, without justifying their dislike of the studies we are advocating, by any particular passage of scripture, depreciate them, as in some way or other inconsistent with the dignity of religion, and derogatory to those *ordinary* divine influences with which the preaching of the gospel, it is expressly promised, shall be ever accompanied. But do we believe that those promised influences, of the necessity of which none can be more deeply persuaded than ourselves, are to be connected with a well-adapted agency of ordinary means, or do we not? Do we believe that the Divine Spirit acts only in har-

mony with the laws of man's moral and intellectual nature? If we do, then we ought to act consistently with that belief, and endeavour to avail ourselves of every order of instrumentality, and to render each as perfect as possible; and the question under consideration is reduced to the general one—Is the study of the principles of effective public speaking likely to make a more effective public speaker *in any instance?* If so, the same arguments will apply to the pulpit which apply to the senate or to the bar. If we reply to the above questions in the negative, then we ought in consistency to go much further. We may dismiss ministers from the necessity of all study whatsoever, or even from the duty of premeditation on any particular occasion—nay, we may as well abandon preaching altogether, as well as the use of all other means of conveying truth into the understandings and the hearts of men. Need we say, that we never meet with any so fearfully consistent in their application of the principle which we are now examining? All acknowledge that there are *some* conditions of success to be complied with. They acknowledge that preaching is necessary; that the preacher must not discourse in an unknown tongue; that he will still fail, though he speak in a tongue that is known, if he speak so as not to be understood. Still further: they acknowledge that it is right that his matter should be well-arranged, and his illustrations just and impressive. Even those who most contemptuously depreciate the studies in question, are obliged to confess (and if they will not in words, they do by their conduct,) that the method of some preachers is instrumentally much better adapted to move *them* than that of others, quite independently of the matter of their discourses, for that shall be the same. Of two men, equally good, and confessedly preaching the same essential truth, they will tell you that they can listen to one with pleasure, and that they cannot listen to the other at all; that the former has somehow a much stronger way of stating the very same truths, and of shedding upon them a new lustre. If educated themselves, they cannot hear with profit an uneducated man, and are compelled to confess that they do not like their ears to be pained every moment by inaccuracies and vulgarities; that, let the matter be ever so good, such defects distract their attention, and that the speaker would address them with greater impression if these were removed. As to physical qualifications—they acknowledge that the preacher's voice must at least be strong enough to be heard, and that unless it be heard, he might as well not preach at all: when that condition is complied with, they still prefer one man's voice to that of another, as they also do one man's manner to that of another; and confess that these circumstances affect the degree of attention they pay, and the consequent profit they derive. All these

facts are familiar to us all. If it be said, "And are not men perfectly consistent in preferring that order of instrumentality which they find most adapted to impress them?" we reply, "Surely, they are;" but not at all consistent if they do not carry out the same principle to the utmost, and avail themselves of every means of rendering the instrumentality, which they acknowledge thus widely differs in adaptation and efficacy, as perfect as possible. All the familiar facts which we have mentioned above, are so many admissions that the instrumentality, which is yet to be connected with supernatural influences, may be better or worse fitted to its end; that the conditions on which conviction and persuasion depend may be imperfectly complied with in different cases; that, however men may be pleased to say that they require nothing but the simple truth, they do in fact require much more; and that, however firmly they believe that the preaching of the gospel is accompanied by a supernatural agency, they at the same time admit that its efficacy is also made dependent on the perfection of the subordinate machinery. Now the principle they practically admit, we would consistently and systematically act upon; we would have the whole instrumentality as perfectly adapted to its end as the imperfections of human nature will allow; so that, as we have already said, the question is reduced to this general one,—Are the studies in question *likely* to render the instrumentality more perfect?—is a knowledge of the true principles of public speaking a probable means of making a more effective public speaker? And if the affirmative be admitted generally true, in reference to other public speakers, it must be equally admitted in reference to the preacher. The objection, that the deliberate application of such principles is derogatory to the glory of the gospel, cannot for a moment be maintained by those who, as we have seen, admit, in so many other forms, the important influence of circumstances comparatively trivial on the efficiency of the means employed. If the objection were true, it would be equally derogatory to the glory of the gospel that its success should in anywise be dependent on such circumstances, and perfectly disgraceful to the piety of those who urge the objection, that *they* should attach the slightest importance to them.

That the study of the principles of public speaking in general is likely to make a more efficient speaker is now pretty generally recognised; and how it should ever have been doubted may well excite our surprise. To possess a clear apprehension of the laws of man's moral and intellectual nature, and the conditions on which conviction and persuasion usually depend—to be aware of the prejudices which usually oppose the admission of unwelcome truth, and the best modes of encountering them—to know what are the species of argument which may be best adapted to popular

address, the most effective modes of combining and arranging them, and the proprieties of style on which clear and forcible expression depends—to be early told of those who are the truest and the severest models of simple and powerful eloquence, and to be compelled to familiarize the mind with them—to be informed of the vices of those who have failed of excellence, and to receive timely warning by their failure—to have faults, or tendencies to faults, pointed out, and severely corrected—one would think could be no other than highly beneficial to any one who was about to undertake the difficult and responsible office of a public speaker. Let us try the matter by the test of a few plain examples. The ordinary, and to a greater or less extent, universal faults of young speakers are such as these: they like to shew their learning and their ingenuity, by employing as many arguments as possible, instead of the fewest which will answer the purpose, and they lay most stress just on those which are most out of the way and most difficult, rather than on the simplest and the plainest; they prefer the most abstract and general terms they can find, instead of the most special and popular, foolishly thinking that they thereby give their discourses a more philosophical aspect, and forgetting that they in that proportion remove them from common apprehension; they turn with disgust from the homely vernacular, and prefer the more elegant, as they think, because more unfamiliar, terms of foreign origin, ignorant that they thereby sacrifice both perspicuity and vividness of expression; they prefer the turgid to the simple, the florid to the severe; they delight in glittering images and ambitious ornaments, however preposterous in relation to the subject and the occasion; instead of surrendering themselves wholly to their subject, perhaps reluctant, from youthful vanity or the love of applause to do so, they seek to create an interest foreign to it, and to extort the admiration of their audience by the originality of such an idea or the brilliancy of such an image. These faults, and faults like these, more or less cling to every young speaker, and they spring partly from the ignorance which is inseparable from youth, and partly from the imperfections of character, common to our corrupt nature—imperfections which religion may have repressed, but has not yet eradicated. Every speaker who becomes worth anything, overcomes them in time by experience and practice. But is it nothing to be distinctly and frequently told, before vicious habits have been formed or become inveterate, that they are in absolute defiance of all the soundest maxims of common sense and good taste, of universal experience and the examples of the best models, and, above all, imply criminal forgetfulness of the great end which the speaker professes to have in view, and to which everything should be subordinate? Can it be of little benefit to a youth to hear these maxims not merely insisted upon,

but the reasons of them clearly and repeatedly enforced, and any violations of them discoverable in his own compositions faithfully pointed out, and, if need be, severely rebuked?

We are persuaded that no rational mind will answer these questions in any way but one; nor would a doubt ever have existed upon the subject, were it not for two circumstances. The first is, that the tendency to some of the faults in question is so strong in the youthful mind, that it resists for a time the most strenuous and judicious corrections, and cannot be wholly eradicated till experience and practice have reinforced instruction. By a singular infelicity, the faults which have existed *in spite* of instruction, have often been attributed to it; much as if the inflammatory symptoms which phlebotomy, medicine, and spare diet had merely abated, but had not wholly subdued, should be attributed to the doctor's remedies.—The second circumstance is, that, too often it must be confessed, the principles of eloquence have not been taught in the right way. The system has too often been one rather of minute rules, than of comprehensive principles—fettering, rather than aiding the operations of the mind. Now, in our opinion, it is essential to the value of any system of rhetoric, that it should be characterized by just the opposite qualities; that its principles should be few in number, and therefore readily remembered and readily recalled; obviously founded upon the great laws of human nature, and therefore perfectly intelligible, and recognised as reasonable; and for all these reasons, easily incorporated with the habits of thought, and insensibly suggested when there is occasion to use them, without distinct consciousness, or a deliberate and operose application of them. Such a system, operating upon the processes of thought without interrupting them, modifying without controlling them, silently suggesting the right and the wrong, is far removed from a system of petty rules to secure petty proprieties; rules which, from their number and minuteness, must be laboriously recalled, and mechanically applied at every step. There is as great a difference in the two cases as between the natural channel of a river, which adapts itself, even while it restrains the waters within bounds to all their course of sinuous freedom and beauty, and an artificial canal on a dead level, into which the waters are mechanically admitted.

It is essential to the value of any such system, that the mind, at the time, be unconscious of its influence. This is out of the question, where the rules are so numerous as to be with difficulty recalled, or so minute that the reasons on which they are based are not obvious. It is far different with those great principles which, by their very comprehensiveness, readily take their place in the mind, insensibly pervade its habits, and influence without controlling it. The moment there is the mechanical application of

principles, however sound in themselves, the current of thought and emotion is interrupted, and absorption in the subject is at an end.

The same reasons which have thus led us to advocate an increased attention to the principles of pulpit eloquence, induce us to say, that we think much more attention ought to be paid to *elocution*, by which we mean the proprieties of delivery, whether as respects voice or manner. We would not here be misunderstood. We more than doubt the value of any system which shall attempt to "teach the graces." We are quite of Whately's opinion, that a system of minute instruction, where to lay the emphasis in this case and in that, what are the tones and cadences and gestures appropriated to the expression of such and such emotions respectively, is likely to be far more mischievous than beneficial in the immense majority of cases. We agree further with him in thinking, that even if such a system were not at all mischievous it is, at best, a very circuitous way of learning those proprieties which nature herself infallibly teaches to every one who is in earnest—which every man, under the influence of real passion, uniformly exemplifies, not excepting even the vulgar and uneducated; and that there is, therefore, a "more excellent way" of acquiring what may be called the *positive* excellences of elocution than this slow and cumbrous process, and that is, by learning to abandon ourselves to our subject, and seeking to be heartily in earnest.

But the method above censured is not only circuitous,—it generally fails of its object, and that for reasons which are very obvious. The process is a long one, and by the time the scholar has pretty nearly finished his laborious task, and got his system of accents and cadences familiar to him—by the time he has learned to travel through a passage with a due observance of all the artificial finger-posts, which tell him that his voice is to rise here, and fall there—that his arms are to be projected now at this angle, and now at that—he has been so accustomed to forget his subject, while attending to the intonations of his voice and the balancing of his body and the management of his palms, (which, indeed, he was obliged to do for a time,) that what was designed only as temporary practice has become, in a great measure, his habit for life. Another circumstance which aids this result, is, that in learning this system, it is impossible to disjoin the efforts necessary to acquire it from the processes of mind to which it is to be applied, so that the acquisition and the application of the art shall be two distinct things. While a man is learning how to give proper expression to a given sentiment or emotion, he must utter it, and yet must abstract his mind from the sentiment or emotion itself; that is, while he is learning the form, he is to forget the substance. This duly practised for a

sufficient time leads to *habit*, and the form is permanently retained, while the substance is in measure forgotten. This may serve as an answer to an objection sometimes made, that if it be possible to acquire and apply the principles of composition, why is it not possible to acquire and apply a system of elocution? The answer is, that the acquisition of principles of composition, and the act of composition itself, are two perfectly distinct things; the necessary processes are not required to be simultaneously performed. We have already consistently affirmed, that in the act of composition itself there ought to be no deliberate, conscious application of the principles of composition, however comprehensive or judicious they may be. We may well imagine what an odd mixture any composition would be, if the mind had to acquire the rules of composition during the very act of composition itself.

By advocating greater attention, therefore, to the subject of the delivery of sermons, we by no means advocate that system of artificial elocution, against which Whately has said so much. We agree with him that, in a large majority of cases, it produces either a habit of pompous *spouting*, or airs of self-complacency, which alike indicate the absence of true feeling and of passionate earnestness. Even the *vehemence* of men initiated in this system always appears to us to be rather the mimicry of passion than passion; rather an imitation of the tones and gestures of nature than the tones and gestures of nature itself.

But in justly denouncing this system of *artificial* elocution, it appears to us that the abovementioned writer has forgotten that much may still be done by attention to this subject, not, as we have said, to impart excellences, but to remedy defects; not to teach men so much how they ought to speak, as how they ought *not* to speak. The value of any system of elocution appears to us, like that of any system of rhetoric, to be rather negative than positive; but the benefits which either the one or the other may impart may be very great notwithstanding. Within these limits, we confess, we think that elocution ought to have been much more cultivated. There can be no doubt, that a weak voice may be strengthened, acquire greater compass, a better tone, and more firmness; that a husky or indistinct articulation may be rendered more clear; that that crying vice of monotony may be got rid of, and numberless awkwardnesses of manner corrected. Of many of these faults the very parties chargeable with them are ignorant till they are told of them; to know them is to endeavour to correct them; and the endeavour will always be attended with some success. Various methods might be adopted with a view to their detection. One of the best is, to prescribe frequent exercises in reading, under the eye of a judicious instructor. As we have contended that, in admitting can-

didates for the ministry, sufficient attention has not always been paid to *physical* qualifications, so we think it equally clear that those qualifications have by no means always been made the most of. It is, doubtless, not the end of any public speaker, least of all, of the Christian minister, to delight his audience by a highly-polished or graceful delivery, but it is his duty to remove, as far as possible, all that may obstruct or distract attention or render that attention painful or impossible. That he should speak, therefore, with a clear, firm intonation, so as to be heard, and heard without undue effort; that he should speak without a wearisome monotony; that he should have no awkward peculiarities, whether of voice or manner, that may tend to withdraw the attention of the hearer from the subject to the speaker, is most desirable.

There is yet one other point on which we cannot refrain from saying a few words. It is our conscientious conviction that, in very many cases, far too little time and labour are bestowed on preparation for the duties of the pulpit. To frame a public discourse, which shall in any tolerable measure be adapted to fulfil the great ends of such compositions, appears to us by no means an easy task; to prepare one in relation to the most miscellaneous of all audiences, a Christian congregation, appears to us one of the most difficult. In every such discourse, the matter must be well selected, the arrangement clear, the illustrations judicious, the language at once perspicuous and forcible; it must be intelligible to the many, without being trite and common-place to the few; there must be either something new in it, or what is old and familiar must be set in a new light. How much does all this imply! Now to perform this task, and to perform it at least twice a week, appears to us to demand far more than the amount of time and study which we fear is commonly given to it.

The usual mistakes, from which, rather than, as we hope, from indolence, the practice of bestowing very moderate pains on this object is sometimes justified, are such as these.

It is said, the common people like *simple* preaching. This is true, but neither they nor the educated like *dull* preaching. They like, and must have, something to arrest and maintain attention—truths not merely intelligible, but set in striking lights, and strongly expressed. These objects are not to be attained without much study. No man who has tried the experiment but will acknowledge that the more pains he has taken with a discourse, *provided he has sought such topics, and such modes of stating them, as are likely to interest the mass of common minds*, the better he has usually succeeded. The few instances to the contrary, in which a man of great powers may, now and then, under circumstances of peculiar excitement, go beyond himself, and outdo extemporaneously what he could ordinarily do by study, are

exceptions to the general rule. To trust to such an occasional *afflatus* would be insanity; the circumstances which induce it being of rare occurrence, and altogether beyond our control. The history of all the greatest speakers serves to shew what pains they have taken in the preparation of their discourses.*

We have known some speakers who have affirmed that they have often preached most effectively with little study. We do not deny that it may sometimes be so, but we again affirm that it would be madness to trust to a species of excitement, which will not come at our bidding. But this is not all. He who has most diligently prepared himself will be in the best condition to avail himself of any such transient inspiration when it arrives—nay, we believe that that very preparation often directly leads to it, nothing being more favourable to the free movement of all the faculties, and a complete mastery over them, than familiarity with the subject on which we are about to speak, and the self-possession which springs from it. Under such circumstances, we are enabled to abandon ourselves to the full inspiration of our theme, and to the excitement which naturally results from addressing a large audience. On the other hand, we believe, the universal experience of all who have engaged in public speaking will testify, that nothing tends so to chill and depress the powers as the consciousness of inadequate preparation—the consciousness that the tasks of ex-cogitation and expression must, in some measure, be performed at the same time; and even in those rare cases, in which there has absolutely been no time for study, the same general principles apply—his usual habit of diligent preparation will then stand the speaker in good stead. Never was a criticism truer than that of a very competent judge, Lord Brougham, that *he* will be the best extemporaneous speaker who has always made the most effective preparation when he has had the opportunity. But we have said enough, and more than enough, on a point which probably few in our day would be much disposed to dispute.

Sometimes, again, a fear is expressed lest much study should render discourses too abstruse for the common people; an excellent caution, indeed, if study were recommended in order to make *abstruse* sermons. On the contrary, we would have the preacher study hard, in order to avoid this very evil, that not only all that is really abstruse, but all that is in effect abstruse, may be got

* "Once, in a conversation with a few friends who had led him to talk of his preaching, and to answer among other questions one respecting the supposed and reported extemporaneous production of the most striking parts of his sermons, in the early parts of his ministry, he surprised us by saying that most of them, so far from being extemporaneous, had been so deliberately prepared, that the words were selected, and the construction and order of the sentences adjusted."—*Foster's Observations on Mr. Hall's Character as a Preacher.*

rid of. It is true, that little that is really abstruse, as regards the *matter*, is likely to find its way into the discourses of him who does not study at all, but how much is there of confused arrangement, of inadequate, or involved, or unintelligible expression; or, where this is not the case, of waterish diffuseness, or repetition, or wearisome common-place, all which as effectually extinguish attention as if the preacher were discoursing on metaphysics. It is to avoid all this, that we think such diligent preparation so necessary, and we are persuaded that nothing less will effect it. In a word, we would have the preacher study, that he may admit nothing into his sermons but what ought to be there, and that what is there may be appropriately expressed. To find the right thoughts, and “to *seek* out (to use the expressive phrase of the wise man) apt words,” is something, we admit, very different from concocting what is abstruse, but it does *not* involve less diligent preparation.

Sometimes, again, it is said, that the topics on which the Christian minister is to discourse are so familiar to him, that it cannot require much study to enable him to speak about them at any given time, and to any given extent. For our own parts, we do not believe the wide field of theology—the great comprehensive truths of the gospel, in all their endless bearings on human duty and the peculiarities of individual character—so soon exhausted. On the contrary, there is ample scope for the unwearied exercise of any intellect on these themes, and an equally ample scope for variety of statement. Not, indeed, that the truths delivered can be always absolutely new; but, though more or less familiar, they may be presented in endlessly diversified forms and combinations, and commended by new modes of exhibiting and illustrating them. It is true, that if a man will cut himself off from the boundless profusion of topics which the gospel supplies, and confine his discourses to two or three principal doctrines, (instead of viewing them in perpetual relation to all the rest,) he may soon be familiar enough with them to preach upon them “at any given time, and to any given extent;” but then, unhappily, so far from its being true that he may for that reason dispense with study, it becomes ten times as necessary; for if he will absurdly confine himself to so narrow a field, it is almost impossible to insure that degree of variety which is necessary to impression. The speaker’s mind habitually falls back into its old mill-track of thought and expression, and *he* may well, therefore, preach for any length of time who preaches a thousand sermons, and yet preaches but one. Accordingly, we may almost predict how a preacher of this stamp will proceed as soon as he begins to speak, the topics he will introduce, the order in which they will succeed one another, and even the very phraseology he will

employ. Is this the sort of familiarity with the subject that ought to exempt from diligent study?

But setting aside all other reasons for diligent, conscientious preparation, the strongest is, that it is in this way, and in this only, that the preacher will ever adequately *feel* the truths he preaches. It is a law of our nature, that the truths we believe affect us just in proportion as they are detained before the mind by prolonged meditation. Then, and then only, are they seen in all their relations, and assume their due importance. Then, and then only, do they fill the sphere of vision, and exclude all other things which would distract attention. This exercise of the mind is especially necessary if we would adequately feel the things of religion, simply because they cannot appeal to the present and the sensible. It is only by prolonged contemplation that we can bring the distant near, or make the future present, or transform the invisible into the visible. Every Christian must have had opportunities of verifying this great truth (obvious enough, indeed, but sadly forgotten by us all) in his own experience. He has sometimes retired for devotional exercises, cold and unaffected, with a heart distracted and absorbed by this world's cares, and almost grudging the little interval of repose from them which his judgment and his conscience plead for. The truths which his understanding full readily admits, he does not *feel*, and he is half inclined to discharge the unwelcome duty in a hasty and perfunctory manner. But happily his conscience will not let him. He secludes his mind, therefore, from all other business, and resolutely abandons himself to his Bible, and to the truths it reveals. As he detains his mind upon them, the things of this world gradually recede into the shadowy distance, and the realities of another and a better emerge, in the stillness of the soul, from the clouds which veiled them, in all their grandeur, solemnity, and sublimity. They, at length, occupy the whole field of his vision, assume their proper dimensions, make him wonder at his late unimpassioned mood, and he comes forth at length, like the Jewish prophet from gazing on the glories of Jehovah, with a heart on which still beams the reflection of those eternal verities he has been contemplating, and with a deep and solemn feeling of the insignificance of everything in comparison. Such is the law of strong emotion—prolonged meditation can alone insure it. And much as we plead for this duty, on the part of ministers, for other reasons—inuch as it tends to secure perfect familiarity with the subject in all its bearings, consequent clearness of arrangement, and perspicuity and vividness of expression, it is still more necessary as the only, but the infallible, method of awakening that sense of the importance of the truths delivered, that deep and passionate earnestness of manner which,

in all departments of public speaking, are justly considered the very soul of eloquence.

We should be almost ashamed of having said so much on the duty of diligent preparation for the pulpit, did we not conscientiously feel that it is a duty very commonly neglected, and that the fallacies above noticed have really in many cases exerted a most pernicious influence. Were it not for this, it would be assuredly sufficient to remind preachers of the gospel that hard *labour* is the universal condition of all human success; and that preachers of the gospel are not exempted from it. We see that even the divinest genius in every department of science or art is still subject to it: genius may render labour more successful, but the labour must be submitted to, and the success is usually in a ratio to it. "In the sweat of our brow must we eat our bread"—and he who has imposed the law graciously follows its observance with a recompence.

We are well aware, of course, of the difficulty of reclaiming sufficient time for study in an age of activity like the present. In this respect, the ministers of our day labour under a disadvantage which our recluse fathers knew little of. The multiform modes of action which Christian philanthropy has assumed impose upon the modern pastor duties almost unknown to the old. There are local, and district, and more general societies, in the management, or to the advocacy of which, his services are perpetually solicited; and what with engagements of this nature, pastoral visitation, and week-evening services, it must be confessed that his time for study is seriously abridged. It has frequently been our lot to hear ministers complain that every evening in the week has been occupied—not a single quiet hour reclaimed for study. "Things ought not so to be." There can be no question that the adequate discharge of his pulpit functions is his principal duty, and for this, therefore, he ought sacredly to secure sufficient time. He ought no more to trespass upon the time which may be necessary for this purpose, merely because the object which solicits him is a religious one, than a medical man or a lawyer, who takes an interest in some benevolent society, ought, for its sake, to break in upon the time demanded by his professional avocations. The claims of the pulpit, the minister *must* meet; others, however excellent the object, he can be expected to attend to only so far as his remaining time will permit. Nor do we at all apprehend, that if each individual would only take as much of *extra* duty as he can efficiently discharge, the societies which depend upon this species of agency would suffer; on the contrary, we believe that they would be great gainers. For such a practice, if general, would immediately lead to (what has been much neglected in the management of religious societies) a proper distribution of labour. Instead of everybody's

attending to everything, having his name on half a dozen committees, and taking a part in as many societies, the very multiplicity of which engagements prevents his methodical, punctual attention to any, each would take only so much work as he knows he can get through. The consequence would be, that his portion would be better done, and that without infringing on the time allotted to his proper duties. These observations apply more particularly, of course, to such societies as are not immediately connected with any particular congregation, but have a more general object. The former must depend principally on the pastor, as the *prime mover*; though even here we may remark, that we have known many cases where a judicious choice and combination of subordinate agencies have secured every object, and saved to the pastor all his time, except that required for an effective general superintendency.

It is of paramount importance, for another cogent reason, that the minister should set limits to the amount of his *extra* engagements, and firmly resolve, that whatever else he does or leaves undone, the pulpit shall have his proper share of attention. Though he may at first complain that his time is so occupied, and his thoughts so distracted by public business, custom will unhappily reconcile him to it. His mind will become dissipated, and the study to which he would at one time have gladly repaired, will, for want of habits of regular and strenuous application, become distasteful to him. His only element will be public business and the excitement and bustle of active life. Let this be once the case, and whatever else he may do, the great, the immediate object of his office is practically neglected. Much as we rejoice at the Christian zeal which has formed so many societies, we fear it has not seldom led to this incidental evil. Let a minister, then, look with jealousy upon the very first indications he discovers that his study is no longer his delight, and that to turn to his books is becoming irksome.

It will be observed, that nearly all the conditions of a more efficient ministry, on which we have insisted so much, depend more or less on the state of our collegiate institutions, on the ability with which they are conducted and the liberality with which they are supported: on them depends in a great measure the sort of men who shall be encouraged to assume the functions of the ministry—the preliminary discipline to which they must be subjected—the kind and amount of knowledge, both general and theological, with which they enter upon their office, and correct and worthy views of the principles on which the duties of the Christian preacher and pastor are to be performed. And even in relation to the last point on which we have spoken—the necessity of giving more time and labour to the preparation of sermons in the ordinary discharge of ministerial duties—much, very much,

depends on the degree and species of discipline to which the mind has been subjected at college. On the habits there formed will depend, almost wholly depend, a satisfactory answer to the questions, "Will he give sufficient time to this object? and if he cannot always give so much time as he would, will he be able and willing to make the most of what he can get? Will he have those habits of confirmed industry which shall render hard thinking, instead of being irksome, easy and pleasant?—that ready control of his faculties which will enable him to turn his thoughts, even in those intervals of time which the more indolent let pass as useless, to any subject that may require them?—those habits of prompt and vigorous application which may enable him to make more out of such fragments than the undisciplined could make out of their whole time?—and that love of study, the result of discipline, which shall shield him from the dissipating effects of almost perpetual public engagements, and render the exercise of his faculties and the acquisition of knowledge delightful, even to his life's end?" The answer to all these questions greatly depends on the sort of preparatory training to which the youthful minister has been subjected. Is it possible, then, to exaggerate the claims of our collegiate institutions on public support?

To us it appears, that while our colleges have been rapidly improving during the few past years, while they have been extending the term or the courses of study, while their committees and managers have taken a deeper interest in them, and have sought to render them more efficient, the public has not been proportionately appealed to in their support. The consequence is, that most of them are complaining of straitened funds. In our opinion, the remedy is soon discovered. Let but the same principles be applied to these institutions which are applied to our missionary and tract societies, (we are far from saying to the same extent, for that is not necessary,) and the difficulty is removed at once. In other words, let our men of wealth make it as much a point to subscribe to one or other of these institutions, as to the Missionary Society, and let every congregation make an annual collection (be it much or be it little) for the same object. This last step we earnestly recommended two years ago, in the article to which we have already made repeated reference. Our words were these:—"When we reflect that upon these institutions the character of our rising ministry depends—that from these a supply, at once permanent and effective, must be secured—that it is the object of every church, not only to support its own minister, but to perpetuate the ministry, we scarcely think that our congregations have as yet been roused to a due sense of what is required of them. We think that in every congregation of any considerable magnitude or wealth, there should be an annual collection for this object.

Surely these institutions have as strong a claim upon our contributions as very many others which are far more frequently put forward."

Our opinions on the propriety of this step have only been confirmed by further consideration of the subject; nor is there any way of shewing that the view we have taken is a wrong one, except by shewing that the object is not as worthy of general support as that of the societies already mentioned. We think it may be made to appear otherwise, for it may easily be proved that the degree of energy in all our religious societies ultimately depends on the condition of our colleges. Our great religious societies are dependent upon the number, the magnitude, and zeal of our churches; and none will deny that these will depend on the efficiency of the ministry. It appears to us, therefore, altogether unwise to expend so little upon our colleges, and to allow our great religious societies to monopolize our liberality. This point is fairly put in an address recently issued by the committee of Spring Hill College, to the churches and congregations of the midland counties, to which that institution of course principally looks for support.

The "Address" particularly presses the proposal of an annual collection, (by way of experiment for a term of years;) and we rejoice to be able to say that no less than three associations, those of Staffordshire, Warwickshire, and Northamptonshire, have already responded to it. Should this appeal lead to a general adoption of the plan, all our colleges, and churches too, will have reason to feel obliged to the enterprising gentlemen who compose the committee of Spring Hill College.

"CHRISTIAN BRETHERN,—We venture to solicit your earnest and devout attention to the following statement. It relates to a subject, than which, we conscientiously believe, none more important could be submitted to you.

"It has long been felt by many, and is now, we rejoice to say, beginning to be acknowledged by all, that the COLLEGIATE INSTITUTIONS, on which, under God, the maintenance and diffusion of the gospel, both at home and abroad, so vitally depend, have never been adequately supported amongst us. Yet it seems to us almost impossible to overstate their claims on public patronage. The prosperity of existing churches, and the formation of new ones, depend mainly on the character of our ministers. But on what does that depend? Plainly on the efficiency of the institutions which educate them for their work. Nor is this all: those great societies which, happily in our time, the Christian church has organized for the propagation of Divine truth, are ultimately dependent on the state of our colleges, and will flourish or decay just as those institutions prosper or decline. We say this advisedly; for none will deny that the funds of our Bible and missionary societies are determined by the number, magnitude, and zeal

of our churches and congregations, and these, as already said, are manifestly determined by the quality of that ministry by which they are formed and nurtured. Each well-instructed, 'thoroughly-furnished' minister, is, in fact, a purveyor to our great religious societies. With his success, and in proportion to it, will their revenues be augmented; with his failure, and still in proportion to it, will they be diminished. As is the fountain, so will be the streams, and if the one fail the other must soon be dry.

"Should not common sense, then, teach us, that whatever else we do or leave undone, we should take heed that our colleges receive liberal support? That the shortest, as well as most efficient, method of supporting those great societies which, at present, almost monopolize our Christian liberality, would be to cherish carefully the institutions on which so much of their revenues ultimately depends? Yet, what is the fact? Of the multitudes who are annual subscribers to our Bible and missionary societies, scarcely a tenth part subscribe a shilling to the support of our colleges; and while there are no congregations of any magnitude which do not afford an annual collection in behalf of missions, there are very few which grant even an occasional collection to our colleges, and scarcely one (so far as we have heard), which makes such collection annually! Brethren, we ask you in all seriousness—'Ought these things so to be?'

"Even if the cause of our colleges could be wholly detached from that of missionary and other religious societies, are our colleges so unimportant as to justify such *disproportion* in our efforts? But when we further reflect that the latter are so intimately connected with the former, is not such conduct unwise, as well as unjust? To neglect these, while we expend our benevolence on the objects to which they are so immediately and vitally subservient, is like tending the branches while the root is uncared for, or widening and deepening the channel while the fountain itself is scantily fed. We say not—God forbid! that we ought to have done less for missions—would that we could do ten times as much!—but we do say that we ought to have done *more* for our colleges.

"We hope, we expect a better state of things; and that you, by your energetic support of that institution for which we plead, and WHICH IS PECULIARLY YOUR OWN, will both set a noble example to the religious public generally, and encourage those who have the management of similar establishments to make a like appeal to other portions of the country.

"The local position of any such institution, and the relations which are inevitably established between it and the surrounding districts, must determine the constituency to which it will chiefly appeal for support. The situation of Spring Hill College necessarily throws it on the support of the midland counties. Placed, as it is, in the very centre of those counties, and within a few hours' ride by rail-road of even the most distant of your churches, you naturally look to it for the occasional supply of your pulpits, and will ultimately expect it to furnish you with your stated ministers. As the metropolitan colleges have a natural claim upon the liberality of the metropolis itself and of the suburban

counties, Spring Hill College has an equally natural claim on that of the districts in the midst of which it is placed. Though occasional donations for some temporary and limited object (as, for example, the erection of buildings) may be expected from more distant sources; and though some few men of wealth in all parts of the kingdom, instead of confining their benevolence to any one college, may divide it equally amongst them all, the chief part of the funds of every such establishment must be mainly derived from the surrounding provinces. The chief part of *our* funds, therefore, whether for the erection of the proposed new college, or to meet the permanent expenses of the institution, **MUST COME FROM YOU.**

“The two principal sources, however, on which we rely are—first, contributions from wealthy individuals, given either in one sum, or in a series of moderate donations for a term of years; and secondly, an **ANNUAL COLLECTION** from each church and congregation in the adjacent counties. Several munificent and most praiseworthy examples of individual liberality grace the present year’s report, and the most gratifying assurances have been received from many churches that they will heartily enter into the plan of an annual collection, while all the associations, which have been as yet applied to—namely, those of Warwickshire, Staffordshire, and Northamptonshire—have already passed resolutions expressive of their cordial concurrence in the proposed plan.

“The reasons which justify us in urging this measure are manifold. In the first place, there are, we are well assured, multitudes who, though unable to afford a large donation, would be delighted to give the little they can spare, and this plan would secure them the opportunity of so doing. In the second place, though the sums raised by many congregations may, taken singly, be trifling, yet the amount obtained from them altogether would be not inconsiderable. Nor let even the poorest churches be discouraged by the consciousness that they can do but little. Their example will stimulate such as can do more. If only one hundred churches could be induced to concur in the proposed plan, and, if taking the wealthy and the poor together, they were to collect only *5l.* a year each, this in five years would realize no less a sum than *2500l.* Thirdly, we cannot disguise from you, that we are more anxious that, by adopting this plan, you should set a noble example for future and general imitation, than solicitous about the amount at first realized. It is because an annual collection of this kind is, we verily believe, a thing right and fit in itself, that we so earnestly urge it upon your attention; and we are persuaded that the plan has been hitherto untried only because its propriety has not been pointed out. The claims of such institutions, as already stated, are not less strong than those of the great societies for which no one thinks it too much to ask a similar proof of liberality. We affirm, without fear of contradiction, that if there be reasons of sufficient weight to justify an annual collection in behalf of missions, there are sufficient reasons to justify such a collection in behalf of the institutions which at once supply the public advocates of those very missions, and educate the missionaries themselves. Lastly, we sincerely believe that the plan suggested would do

more to identify our colleges with our churches, and to stimulate both the one and the other to a sense of their reciprocal responsibilities, than any other circumstance whatsoever.”

If the adoption of this plan become general, we shall have no longer any reason to complain of the inadequate support of these institutions. Nor would it be attended with any burdensome results. We are far from contending that the same amount of exertion is required as in the case of our missionary societies. A much more moderate sum will be all that is necessary. All that we contend for is, that the support of the Christian public, (both as a matter of principle, and as a matter of policy in relation to our great religious societies themselves,) ought to be equally *general*: that it should be equally munificent, is happily not needful. If every independent and baptist congregation were to raise in this way, (taking the wealthy and the poor together,) only five pounds annually, a sum would be realized amply sufficient to meet all the current expenses of all the colleges connected with these denominations.

We conclude the present article by the following eloquent and impressive appeal from Mr. Alexander's sermon, which, together with the rest of this admirable discourse, we earnestly recommend to general perusal:—

“In fine, let all of us, as many as are interested in the prosperity of this and kindred institutions, be much in prayer to God for them, ever remembering that it is only as our efforts are crowned with His effectual blessing that they can prove truly successful. Let us pray not merely that these ‘schools of the prophets’ may be kept up to the measure of their present efficiency, but that their usefulness may be greatly extended, by an increase both to the number of students attending them and to the success with which the studies prescribed in them are pursued. There is no need for the fear which some seem to entertain lest too large a number of well-educated preachers should be sent forth from our seminaries. Of such a danger I can form no apprehension—perhaps from its never having yet occurred. Hitherto the evil has been from the opposite cause. Up to this time the demand for good preachers has ever exceeded the supply—a circumstance which has been fraught with evil to the churches as well as to the ministry. To the *former*, it has proved injurious, in that so many promising stations have gone down from want of an efficient ministry to uphold them, whilst others have been sustained in a precarious and sickly existence only by the desperate expedient of an incessant change of pastors, thereby attempting to supply by variety what was wanting in solidity and strength. To the *latter*, it has been mischievous in various ways. Whilst some from want of proper furniture for their office, have been seduced by a love of notoriety to seek that distinction by acting the part of noisy demagogues, which they found themselves unable to reach by the more dignified, but less facile, efforts of professional usefulness; and others of nobler mind, choosing rather to sink

at their post than to cleave to it with lessening efficiency and diminished honour, have fallen a sacrifice in early manhood to the labours which they endured in order to meet the demands of an office with which they had been prematurely invested ; how many have there been of less ardent and elevated minds who, yielding to an evil which they could not overcome, have either sought a shelter in some obscure retreat where monotonous mediocrity is still tolerated, or after many a change, are found hovering about our larger cities, rendering unvalued services where no better can be obtained, wasting their days in 'strenuous idleness,' and, uninjured in health or faculties, able, like the labourers in the parable, when asked, 'Why stand ye here all the day idle?' to render no other than the humiliating answer, 'Because no man hath hired us!' It is time, sirs, that the churches were bestirring themselves to prevent such evils. They are clogs upon our progress, blots on our escutcheon, spots in our feasts of love. Better, indeed, I grant, that such things should be, than that there should be any approximation among us to what prevails in those bodies of Christians which have submitted to the control of the state, where men are confirmed in the authority and emoluments of the ministerial office for life, whether they be fitted for its functions or not ; but better far would it be, if, upholding as a sacred bulwark of our cause the right of the people to disentangle themselves from an inefficient ministry, we should nevertheless in effect nullify that right by sending forth to the churches ministers of such a stamp, that, once settled over a Christian flock, the constant aim of the latter should be to retain their services and to walk in their light. That such a result is practicable I have no doubt ; and as no means seem to me to be more calculated, under the Divine blessing, to secure it than the extended efficiency of our academical institutions, I would earnestly implore all whom I now address to give of their thoughts, their money, and their prayers to this object. By so doing I am persuaded you will well consult for the good of your own souls, for the interests of the churches with which you stand connected, for the honour and happiness of our country, for the well-being of your beloved families and friends, and for that, which to the real Christian is still dearer than country—family, friends, self,—THE GLORY OF OUR EXALTED REDEEMER, who 'gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works.'"—pp. 33—35.

Art. II. *Proceedings of the General Anti-Slavery Convention, called by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and held in London, from Friday, June 12th, to Tuesday, June 23rd. 1840.* London : British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. 1841.

THE Anti-Slavery Convention of 1840 marked a new era in the history of mankind. It was altogether unprecedented in its character, and was honourable alike to the intellect and the heart of its projectors. It betokened the mature strength to which practical philanthropy had attained, and held out the promise of vast good to the outcast and wretched of the human race. The first announcement of the meeting was regarded with incredulity even by many who were interested in its object. They could scarcely conceive it possible that representatives, from almost every quarter of the globe, could be brought together,—men of various climes and different tongues,—at the summons of pure philanthropy ; and that, when assembled, their discussions should be confined within the prescribed limits of their charitable mission, and should assume a practical form, to which no just exception could be taken, but from which a liberal measure of future good might be anticipated. Princes, statesmen, and ecclesiastics, have had their meetings, but the annals of history presented no instance of a benevolent appeal to the civilized world, such as the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society made. The design of the meeting, as stated in the circular calling it, was—“ To deliberate on the best means of promoting the interests of the slave, of obtaining his immediate and unconditional freedom, and, by every pacific measure, to hasten the utter extinction of the slave-trade.” To such a meeting, “ the friends of the slave, of every nation and of every clime,” were earnestly invited by the abolitionists of Britain. The simplicity of the object proposed, the pure charity it breathed, the strictly religious grounds on which it was based, and the catholic fellowship with the whole human family which the movement indicated, placed it infinitely above all conventions, civil or ecclesiastical, which the world had previously witnessed. The objects of the Convention were lucidly stated in a paper which was read at the commencement of its sittings. “ For the eradication and destruction of this evil,” said the document, “ we, in our office as delegates, and members of this convention, are summoned, and have come hither, at the special invitation of the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, that we may confirm one another in our hatred of that great wrong, in our purpose and resolution to oppose it ; and that, by our calm, solemn, and enlightened deliberations, we may devise such methods of future co-operation, as may, by the guidance and

blessing of the most high God, the fountain of all wisdom and goodness, and the common Father of our whole race, the more speedily conduct to its utter final overthrow in every part of our habitable world. That evil is slavery—direct, unequivocal, absolute slavery—not other evils of a kindred character, or which, in the opinion of some, may be of equal, or even greater magnitude, or which may be classed by some philosophical philanthropists under the same head, and called by the same name; but, if we may so speak, *slavery proper*, in its own distinct and essential attributes.”

The extent of the evil against which the labours of the convention were directed is much greater than is generally imagined. In the United States, the slave population is estimated at 2,750,000; in the Brazils, at 2,500,000; in the Spanish colonies, 600,000; in the French, 265,000; in the Dutch, 70,000; in the Danish and Swedish, 30,000; and in Texas, 25,000; making a total of 6,240,000; to which must be added several millions more held in bondage by Great Britain in the East Indies, and in the settlements of Ceylon, Molucca, and Penang, as well as by France, Holland, and Portugal, in various parts of Asia and Africa. In addition to all this, 120,000 native Africans are, on the most moderate calculation, annually conveyed to the slave-markets of the West, and 50,000 to those of the East; in procuring whom, nearly 300,000 perish under circumstances the most revolting and terrible.

The volume before us contains the results of the Convention, so far as paper and print can exhibit them, and we only regret that its publication has been so long delayed as to endanger somewhat its circulation. We doubt not that good reasons may be pleaded for the delay, and we hasten, without further comment, to acquaint our readers with some of its more important details. We did this to some extent immediately after the breaking up of the Convention, and shall be careful, therefore, on the present occasion, not to go over the ground we then occupied.

On the second day's sitting, a valuable paper was read on the essential sinfulness of slavery, which lucidly exhibits the unchristian and impious character of the system, and shuts up the professor of Christianity to the abandonment of slavery or the renunciation of his Christian faith. Two facts, it is strikingly observed, shew the opposition of the slave system to the genius and influence of Christianity. The one is, that as Christianity prevailed, it abolished the long-continued and widely-spread slavery of Greece and Rome: and the other is, that wherever slavery prevails, it views with extreme jealousy the efforts of Christian missionaries, and greatly obstructs them. The general result of the argument is stated in the following propositions:—

“1. That to make or hold a man a slave, is an offence against God, and a grievous wrong to man, and should be viewed and dealt with as a sin.

“2. That, therefore, all who fear God and regard man, should purge themselves from this accursed thing, and ‘touch not, taste not, handle not.’

“3. That this is the ground on which the battle for universal emancipation must be fought.

“4. And that on this ground, all who love God and man should rally for a determined, combined, and persevering effort, assured that greater is He that is for us, than all that can be against us.”—p. 55.

Some discussion took place on the propriety of adopting resolutions recommendatory of withholding from slave-holders the fellowship of the Christian church. The feeling out of which the discussion grew was more sensitive than just, but the debate which followed served to elicit much admirable feeling, and to place the general subject in a clearer and stronger light.

The following resolutions were ultimately adopted with entire unanimity, the whole assembly rising in token of their hearty concurrence.

“1. That the paper of the Rev. B. Godwin, on the essential sinfulness of slavery be recommended to the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society for publication.

“2. That it is the deliberate and deeply-rooted conviction of this convention, which it thus publicly and solemnly expresses to the world, that slavery, in whatever form, or in whatever country it exists, is contrary to the eternal and immutable principles of justice, and the spirit and precepts of Christianity; and is, therefore, a sin against God, which acquires additional enormity when committed by nations professedly Christian, and in an age when the subject has been so generally discussed, and its criminality so thoroughly exposed.

“3. That this convention cannot but deeply deplore the fact, that the continuance and prevalence of slavery are to be attributed, in a great degree, to the countenance afforded by many Christian churches, especially in the western world; which have not only withheld that public and emphatic testimony against the crime which it deserves, but have retained in their communion, without censure, those by whom it is notoriously perpetrated.

“4. That this convention, while it disclaims the intention or desire of dictating to Christian communities the terms of their fellowship, respectfully submits, that it is their incumbent duty to separate from their communion, all those persons who, after they have been faithfully warned, in the spirit of the gospel, continue in the sin of enslaving their fellow creatures, or holding them in slavery,—a sin, by the commission of which, with whatever mitigating circumstances it may be attended in their own particular instance, they give the support of their example to the whole system of compulsory servitude, and the unutterable horrors of the slave-trade.

“5. That it be recommended to the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, in the name of this convention, to furnish copies of the above resolutions to the ecclesiastical authorities of the various Christian churches throughout the world.”—pp. 300, 301.

Having discussed the general principle, and pronounced unequivocally their condemnation of slavery as a sinful institute, the Convention proceeded to the subject of *Slavery and the Slave Trade in British India*. It is but recently that this subject has been brought under the attention of British philanthropists. An almost total ignorance prevailed respecting it. Its very existence was generally unknown, while its enormous extent and demoralizing character were unsuspected by any. The paper which Professor Adam read on this subject contains a mass of most important information, and we strongly recommend it to the immediate perusal of our readers. The slave population is moderately stated at 1,000,000, and the following are represented as the sources whence they have sprung:—

“*Origin and sources of Slavery in British India.*—With the exception of an unascertained proportion of slaves of Arab and African birth or descent, a very large majority of the slave population of India consists of children of the soil, and the origin of their slavery was probably conquest,—the conquest and subjugation of the aboriginal race by the Hindus, and the subsequent conquest and subjugation of the Hindu race by the Mohammedans. Hindu law recognises conquest as a principal and legitimate source of slavery. Mohammedan law recognises it as the sole legitimate source of slavery. The second source of slavery in India, and, up to the present day, a prolific source, is the sale of free children by their parents, and of free orphans by those who happen to have possession of their persons,—a sale often made, it may be hoped, from the strength of natural affection on the part of the parents to preserve their offspring from starvation during the frequently recurring periods of famine, and often, there can be as little doubt, from the weakness and want of natural affection, to satisfy the cupidity of the parent or nominal guardian, and to subject the children to the degrading occupation of vice and prostitution. A third source of slavery, existing and prevalent at the present day, is the sale of freemen by themselves, either for a sum of money, or in redemption of a debt previously incurred. This is strictly bondage—that is to say, servitude or slavery under a bond or money-obligation. Practically the bondage is for life, and involves that of the wife and children of the bond slave. A fourth source of slavery, has been the sale of criminals, outcasts, concubines, and illegitimate children. This practice existed under the native governments, and in the early days of the British government, but as a mode of punishment was subsequently disallowed and repealed. A fifth source of slavery, largely prevalent at the present day, is kidnapping, prohibited, of course, by the British government, but caused and cherished by the continued existence and maintenance of the institution of slavery. It is only by the abolition of slavery that

kidnapping can be effectually prevented, by removing the temptation to the commission of the crime. A sixth source of slavery, is the importation of slaves by land and sea. The British territories in India are surrounded and intersected in all directions by native slave-holding states, from which slaves are clandestinely imported by land. The importation by sea is the source of slaves of Arabian and African birth or descent, found occasionally all over India, and existing to a considerable extent on the Malabar coast. The last source of slavery is descent from a slave parent or parents: in other words, slavery is hereditary, and descends from parent to child. This is the chief source of slavery in British India at the present day.”—pp. 77, 78.

On the other points of this case we refrain from speaking, as it is our intention speedily to bring the whole subject of Indian slavery before our readers.

We pass on to American slavery, which occupied much of the attention of the Convention. A large number of delegates from the United States were present, and they spoke with earnestness and deep feeling. Every word they uttered, equally with every formal resolution which they proposed, bespoke the strong hold which the subject had on their hearts, and their determination to grapple with it to the death. The language of deep sorrow and mortification, which became them as Americans, was mingled with the firm resolve and high hopes which religious principles inspired, and gave a tone to their discussions than which nothing could be more indicative of ultimate and complete success. The report of the several speeches made by these gentlemen should be read attentively, if a clear view would be obtained of the character and range of the various influences which grow out of the slave system amongst them. We can only find space for the following extract from the speech of Mr. Stanton, of New York, in support of a resolution expressive of the importance of a “frequent, clear, and full expression” of abolition principles in the “leading religious, political, and literary periodicals” of this country. The facts stated by Mr. Stanton may well be left to make their own impression.

“Our case is one of great difficulty. The general government has no power to abolish slavery, but in the way of which I have spoken; and, in some senses of the word, our case is hopeless. We have the power to alter the constitution, in order to abolish slavery, but to accomplish that, will require the assent of two-thirds of the states. Hence we find it necessary to rely much upon moral power; and when I speak of moral power, I do not mean to exclude political action; those political movements, especially, which may be considered as moral. Hence, the importance of the resolution which I have the honour to submit to you. We rely much upon external influences. The civilized world must erect a wall of fire around America, which may melt down the hard heart of the slave-holder. The abolitionists are feeble in numbers, but

strong in moral power ; and, thank God, we are growing in both these respects. Therefore it is that we fall back for assistance upon the enlightened sentiments of the civilized world. One influence, which we desire to bring to bear for this purpose, is the literature of the world. We are, in America, a reading people. It may be not paying a very great compliment to this country, when I say that we read a great deal more than the English. I have travelled from Torquay to London, and have scarcely seen a newspaper : while in America I should have seen a thousand in that space. Everybody reads there ; every American is a politician ; all have titles to nobility ; everybody is heir-apparent to the throne. We are, therefore, politicians, almost from necessity. Every mechanic has his ‘ summary,’ and every gentleman his ‘ broad-sheet :’ the summary is to be seen in every workshop—the broad-sheet in all the saloons of our aristocracy ; for we have our aristocracy, even in America. I take pleasure in saying, that the fountain-head of our literature is Great Britain. It is from the land of Shakspeare and of Milton, of Locke and of Newton, of Pope and of Scott, of Robertson, and Mackintosh, that we gather many of the gems which sparkle in our literary diadem. We come to England, and say, give us an anti-slavery literature. I have already spoken of the effect of British literature generally upon America, Such is also the case with our theology. Our theology is that of Howe and Baxter, of Taylor and of Tillotson, of Wesley and Doddridge ; we get it from you, take heed, therefore, that it be pure. Our law is derived from that of your Coke and Blackstone, and others, down to Mansfield, who made judicially the glorious decision, that the moment a slave sets his foot upon British ground, that moment he is free. Our histories, also, are from England, from Hume to Mackintosh. Thus, of every branch of literature and science. But we find it necessary to set up an expurgatorial inquisition, and to re-publish, so as to suit our pro-slavery habits and prejudices. Doubtless you have all heard of Tyler’s history. In re-publishing it in America, it was found necessary, in consequence of some unpleasant reminiscences concerning liberty and revolutions, which it awakened in the minds of slave-holders, to get up an expurgated edition of it. An edition of Tyler, *tabooed* and expurgated, was published, and it sold well. Again, the Rev. J. H. Hinton published a history of the United States of America ; an edition of this was republished in America, by a firm, which the moment a work from England arrives, puts it into the hands of their compositors, and sends the sheets flying over the whole of the United States. Well, over came this history of Mr. Hinton’s, which was circulated by these publishers in the usual manner. But it was not long before these gentlemen found letters upon their counters, from their customers in the southern states, informing them, that they must expect less of their custom if they sent to them such works as that. The reason was, because Hinton’s work states the fact, that two millions and a half of human beings are unjustly held in bondage in America. An edition, therefore, was got up, expurgated from all those faults. But the exclusion and expurgation of which I have spoken, is not confined to what may be called the higher departments

of literature, A book was published in this country, entitled 'Woods and Fields,' by Howitt, a pretty little unpretending volume ; but even that was *tabooed* in America, because it contained some lines, declaring that man was not born to be a slave. You have all, no doubt, read Pollock's 'Course of Time ;' that volume also was condemned, because it was found to contain certain sentiments in favour of freedom, and, therefore, would never do to sell in the southern market. The new play of 'Love' was performed at New York, and in other theatres of the states ; but because, in the course of that play, Sheridan Knowles impliedly denounced slavery, it was expurgated ; for they could not bear even a mimic representation of freedom. Dr. Bowring's 'Minor Morals' shared the same fate, the chapter on slavery being omitted. But there is another portion of your literature by which you may reach the public mind in America, and which is not likely to be expurgated ; I mean your English Reviews. The Westminster, the Edinburgh, the Quarterly, and other Reviews, published in this country, are read by thousands in the United States. There is one house in America which has ten or twelve thousand subscribers for such Reviews, and the subscribers stipulate that they shall be printed entire. An article in one of them, by Miss Martineau—the Martyr Age—excited so great a sensation there, that the publishers were obliged to apologize for its insertion ; still the article was read, and read in the southern states.—pp. 123—125."

American slavery was followed by that of the French colonies, the discussion of which was introduced by the reading of a letter from the French Anti-Slavery Society, introducing its delegates to the Convention. An interesting paper on the subject was read by Mr. Turnbull, from which much valuable and encouraging information may be gained.

"The subject of abolition," remarks Mr. Turnbull, "has, of late years, made great progress in France ; it has repeatedly been before the French legislature ; and two successive committees have been named for the purpose of examining the various modes by which abolition might be accomplished. Within the last few weeks, Mr. Tredgold and myself had the honour of being received by the King of the French, with whom we had a long audience. His Majesty assured us, in the first place, that he and his government were prepared to do all in their power to abolish the slave-trade, and that a commission was about to be named, to inquire into the best means of effecting the abolition of slavery. This commission has since been appointed, and, from the names of its members, as they appear in the 'Moniteur,' it is impossible to doubt the sincerity of his Majesty's declaration."—pp. 149, 150.

The slave population of the French colonies is about 250,000, two-thirds of whom, ranging from fourteen to sixty years of age, are deemed capable of constant and remunerative labour. The plan suggested by the French committee of 1839, for the extinction of

the existing evil, was somewhat analogous to the first project of Lord Grey's government. It proposed the establishment of an intermediate, or transition state, in which a radical change should be introduced in all the relations existing between the slave and his master. The irresponsible power of the latter was to terminate, and the tutelage of the negro population to be undertaken by the government, who were to let out their services on such terms as the authorities approved. "This state of things was to last until, by means of a sinking fund, to be accumulated from the wages to be earned by the emancipated negroes, the whole indemnity to be awarded to the proprietors, principal and interest, should have been refunded to the government." The injustice of this proposal is too obvious to need comment, and was felt so strongly in this country, as to induce the colonial minister speedily to withdraw a proposition of the same general complexion. Personal freedom is the inalienable right of the negro,—the heritage which he has received from his Maker, and of which he cannot be deprived without crime, not on his own part, but on the part of his despoiler; he is, therefore, entitled to demand its immediate and uncompensated cession. It is his birthright, of which he has been fraudulently deprived, and the continued withholdment of which accumulates a fearful amount of guilt. To demand from the negro a redemption-price is to add wrong to wrong, to vindicate one injustice by the perpetration of another. Still the report of the French committee is a step in advance. The attention it will draw to the subject, is so much gained to the cause of humanity; and the statements and principles which the report embodies will lead to further discussion, which must rectify many of the errors of its framers. We are not to be surprised that such a medium measure should, in the first place, have been proposed. It has the advantage of relieving the mother country from a pecuniary sacrifice, whilst it promises to vindicate the national honour, and to meet the just claims of an oppressed servile race. Further reflection will serve, we trust, to convince our Gallic neighbours that there is no medium between an unconditional emancipation of their slaves and the perpetration of an enormous wrong. The following remarks on the suggestions of the French committee are candid and just:—

"It is not to be denied that in several of the details of the plan of the committee, as far as they have yet transpired, improvements have been suggested on the course of emancipation adopted by the parliament of Great Britain. During the period of probation between slavery and freedom, the interposition of the government between the master and the labourer would have a tendency to soften and remove many of those causes of irritation, which made the English apprenticeship a perpetual source of heart-burning and distrust. There would also be the means of bringing a greater amount of influence to bear on the education of the people, on their moral and intellectual improvement,

the observance of the marriage rite, and the obligations connected with it, and in various other ways, by which a sentiment of self-respect, incompatible with the degrading and demoralizing tendency of slavery, may be gradually instilled into the mind of the negro. The evils of the system proposed by the committee are equally obvious. It excludes, in effect, at least, one whole generation from the enjoyment of their natural rights. Instead of dividing the burthen of redemption between the mother country, the slave-owners, and the slaves themselves, as the British government proposed to do, in awarding an indemnity in conjunction with the apprenticeship; the plan of the French committee is to throw the whole on the shoulders of the slave, compelling him to work out his own redemption, and deferring the advent of freedom, until that object, however remote the period, is completely obtained. The British parliament committed the mistake of assuming too large a share of the burthen, relieving the slave-owner altogether, and deferring the period of freedom, the instant possession of which was the natural right of the negro, for a series of years. The people of England never objected to the price they were paying, as long as they believed it to be founded on equitable principles; but as soon as they perceived that between the large indemnity they had paid in advance, and the unremunerated labour of the apprenticeship, the slave-owner, in place of bearing his fair share of the burthen, was to be greatly overpaid for any loss he had actually sustained, and not content with the hard bargain he had driven in Parliament, was resolved to convert the last remnant of the apprenticeship, unjust in principle, and useless in policy, into a source of unreasonable gain, such an outcry was raised in England, as made it impossible for the colonists to persist in their declared intention, compelling them, in their local assemblies, to perform one tardy act of justice without the renewed intervention of the imperial legislature."—pp. 152—154.

We regret our inability to follow out many of the other topics which engaged the attention of the Convention; but our regret is diminished by the hope that the volume before us will be read, and attentively pondered over, by a large class of our countrymen. We have already intimated our intention to bring the subject of Indian slavery more fully before our readers, and we purpose ere long to do the same with the African slave-trade. At present, therefore, we must content ourselves with the following report of a committee of the Convention on *The Employment of British Capital in the Slave Trade*:—

“1. The committee are credibly informed that, previously to the year 1838, negro collars and manacles were manufactured in Birmingham so openly, that the dealers in those articles publicly announced them in their shop-bills and invoices of sale; and that the same articles are still manufactured there, with but a small measure of concealment. They have it also upon indisputable evidence, that the casks of shackles which are continually seen passing through the Custom-house at

Havana, in the island of Cuba, are universally held and reputed in that island to be of British manufacture.

“2. With respect to the manufacture in Great Britain of fire-arms for the African slave-wars ; although the fact seems to be notorious, the committee have not been able to obtain any specific information. Fire-arms of British manufacture are positively stated to be among the articles constantly on sale in Cuba, for the purpose of the slave-trade.

“3. Of equal notoriety is the asserted fact, that there are cotton fabrics of a peculiar kind, adapted exclusively to be used in the purchase of slaves, and that these fabrics are manufactured extensively at Manchester and Glasgow. The value of the exports in this department, from British warehouses, is asserted to be not less than half a million sterling annually.

“4. The mining companies in action at Brazils are six, and in Cuba three. In whole or in part, the mines are all wrought by slave-labour, and the committee have been able to ascertain that the entire number of slaves employed in them, is no less than 3325. Of these, 415 are employed by the Brazilian Imperial Company, and 441 by the Cata Branca ; and this number, however large, cannot exceed the average employed by the companies respectively. There can be no doubt, but these companies are, to a great extent, actual holders of slaves. A recent balance-sheet of one of them presents the fearful item of 45,000*l.*, as cost incurred for ‘live stock.’ This would be sufficiently painful if it were to be supposed only, that in this item, men, women, and children were indiscriminately mixed with the beasts of burden ; but it has been ascertained that, in the practice of this company, all brute help is hired, so that the whole of this sum of 45,000*l.* has been laid out in the purchase of slaves. It is perfectly notorious that the great majority of shareholders in these mining associations are British subjects.

“5. Among the British joint-stock banks, there is one which has extended its business where the slave-trade prevails. The Colonial Bank has for some time had a branch at Porto Rico, and has been making strenuous efforts to establish another at Havana.

“6. To ascertain the quantity of gunpowder exported from the various ports of Great Britain to Africa, and to other parts of the world respectively, although not difficult, requires more time than it has been competent to the committee to employ. They have been put into possession, however, of a document extracted from official sources at Liverpool, by which it appears, that in the year 1839, there were shipped from that port, 19,369 barrels of gunpowder ; of which 17,581 barrels were shipped to Africa, and 681 barrels to Brazil, Pernambuco, Bahia, and Maranham ; while to all other parts, there were sent only 1106 barrels. In this respect, Liverpool may probably be taken, with safety, as a sample of the British ports in general.”—pp. 515, 516.

* It is a mortifying thing that such facts should exist in the present day. They fully justify the statement of Mr. R. Allen, who brought up the report of the committee, that the examination had been to him “a most humiliating one.” “Turn which way

we would," said Mr. Allen, "we found British capital directly engaged in the slave-trade, upholding it both at home and abroad."

We dismiss the volume with our heartiest commendation. Of the interest and importance of its contents, we cannot speak too highly. It is devoted to the purest of all objects, and breathes throughout every page the most generous and Christian-hearted sympathy with the children of oppression and wretchedness. The extensive circulation of such a work, while favourable to the immediate object of the convention, cannot fail to strengthen the benevolent affections of our nature, and to cherish a spirit of enlarged, single-minded, and active philanthropy. We tender our best thanks to the committee, under whose superintendence it has been produced.

Art. III. *Life of John Dryden*. By Sir Walter Scott, Bart. ; with Notes. Edinburgh : Robert Cadell, 31, St. Andrew's-square. 1841.

JOHN DRYDEN was born at Aldwinkle, in Northamptonshire, in the parsonage-house of All Saints' parish, on the 9th of August, 1731. His family seems to have been highly respectable, comprising an old baronetcy with a fair estate ; so near indeed to the subject of this memoir, that his third son lived to inherit the title, although the property connected with it passed away to another branch. He appears to have received the rudiments of his education at Tichmarsh, and was certainly admitted a royal scholar at Westminster, under the celebrated Dr. Busby, who revelled in groans, and tears, and learning ; but whose mastigophorous propensities neither alienated his pupil from the muses, nor prevented him from entertaining in subsequent years a most profound reverence for his preceptor. Upon the approved system of classical education, which it would then have been heterodoxy to impugn, the future poet felt excited, at an early age, to take his first draughts from the Castalian waters. We are informed, that the third satire of Persius was dispatched by him, as the task of a single Thursday night, within the limits of which, he translated it into creditable English verses. He also, when about eighteen, wrote an elegy for the *Lachrymæ Musarum*, which was published in 1650, on the premature death of Lord Hastings, a young nobleman of great promise ; and over whose grave, (such was the witchery of a coronet,) no less than ninety-eight lugubrious effusions were cast, with a solitary exception, into the impartial abyss of oblivion.

Having obtained his admission, by an honourable distinction,

into the University, Dryden entered Trinity College, Cambridge, the 11th of May, 1650. Here, he proved somewhat contumacious to the Vice-Chancellor, besides getting into such other scrapes as that their consequences transferred his academical affections from the banks of the Cam to those of the Isis. Poverty, however, not permitting him to remove, he graduated regularly as Bachelor, in January, 1653-4; when the death of his father conferred upon him two-thirds of a small patrimonial farm, attached to the junior branch of his family which he now represented, equivalent altogether to about sixty pounds a year. The accuracy of Malone has settled this little circumstance, in contradiction to Johnson, who had mentioned, from Derrick, that his patrimony extended to 200*l.* per annum. Had it been really so, his perpetual necessities could have been accounted for in no other way, than by fastening the sin of extravagant wastefulness on his memory; whereas the most malevolent amongst his accusers are silent with regard to that point. Careless enough he always was, like the entire *genus irritabile vatum*; of which he soon shone forth as such an illustrious specimen. He had resolved, from the very commencement, to cast in his lot for Parnassus, which was then haunted by dramatists, satirists, and a herd of other poetasters, rhyming away, whenever puritanism would allow them, after the fashion of Old Ben, Doctor Donne, Beaumont and Fletcher, Cleaveland, Fairfax, and Cowley. Matters were in a transitionary, and therefore not perhaps a lamentable state. For although the aurora of William Shakspeare was never again to be rivalled, there was a turn in the tide, from the dulness of the metaphysical poets—a class perfectly hateful in our humble judgment. Their compositions involved large masses of diluvian mire, which the authors attempted to liquify with copious waters of Lethe. Since the latter happened to prevail over the former, posterity has had little to fear, and less to suffer, from cumbrous volumes of ungrammatical verbosity, interlarded with pun and quibble, affected euphuism, and overstrained conceit. Let honour be awarded where honour is merited; nor are we now at all intending to speak otherwise than respectfully of Massinger, Marston, and Shirley; of Spenser, Drayton, and Waller; of Denham, Suckling, or even the translator of Tasso. Far less, of course, are we indisposed to render appropriate homage to the mighty genius of Milton—the very solar orb, if we may say so, of the intellectual firmament of his day. But all we mean is, that the author of the Ode to St. Cecilia had an escape in not being born too early in the seventeenth century. We quite agree with Sir Walter Scott, that his juvenile pieces may serve to convince the most sceptical, how easily John

Dryden might have been entangled and lost amongst the pindarics of his contemporaries. As it turned out, however—

“After leaving the university, our author entered the world, supported by friends from whose character, principles, and situation, it might have been prophesied with probability that his success in life and his literary reputation would have been exactly the reverse of what they afterwards proved. Sir Gilbert Pickering was cousin-german to the poet, and also to his mother; thus standing related to Dryden in a double connexion. This gentleman was a stanch puritan, and having set out as a reformer, ended by being a regicide, and an abettor of the tyranny of Cromwell. He was one of the judges of the unfortunate Charles,—had been one of the parliamentary counsellors of state,—became, moreover, lord chamberlain at the court of the protector, and received the honour of his mock peerage.”—p. 7.

Sir John Dryden was also a puritan, and “who could have anticipated,” asks Sir Walter, “in a youth entering life under the protection of such relations, the future dramatist and poet laureat, much less the advocate and martyr of prerogative, and of the Stuart family, or the convert and confessor of the Roman-catholic faith?” It does not strike us in quite the same light, we confess; nor can we discern anything peculiarly marvellous in an ardent imaginative student, fresh from his books, and fuller of self-confidence than genuine wisdom or knowledge, feeling disgusted at the stiffness, and perhaps the inconsistency of many amongst his disagreeable relations, and so plunging headlong into a career as opposed to them as possible, both in religion and politics. Extremes beget their antipodes in many instances: and the Restoration, with all its worldly attractions, severely tested the fidelity of multitudes who had worshipped the Commonwealth. Dryden wrote and published a warm, but not an unjust panegyric, on Oliver Cromwell. It attracted slight attention, until his subsequent zeal for the royal family provoked an ingenious adversary to emblazon it before the public as an unanswerable proof of apostasy. Annoyed as its author must then probably have been, he yet maintained a becoming silence; nor in his numerous publications for the wretched Stuarts, does there occur any trace of a disposition to retract one word of his eulogy on the memory of the mighty Protector. Pusillanimity, at least, could not be found lurking amidst the darker lineaments of his character.

Dryden was in his thirtieth year at the restoration, and having by this time most conveniently become a cavalier, he hastened to announce his new sentiments, by presenting Charles the Second, on his arrival, with the “*Astræa Redux* ;” followed up, moreover, in 1661, with the verses entitled “*A Panegyric to his Sacred Majesty*.” The monarch had received adulation, quite as hollow, and not less fulsome, from the clergy of an established church ;

nor had his abominable profligacy developed itself, to the depth and extent which it afterwards attained. To press forward in the right road to preferment, our poet next addressed his efforts to Lord Chancellor Hyde, which appeared about the same thing as offering honeycomb to a bear. What the king and minister gave for the compliments they received cannot now be ascertained. It was probably little enough; for poverty was already at the elbow of the hungry author, whom we presently find located with Herringman, the bookseller, in the New Exchange, where he wrote prefaces, and other occasional pieces, for his employer. He had altered the orthography of his name from *Driden*, which was the way his family spelt it, to that which ever since has passed into common use; but which mightily offended his relations, and, in their view, still more aggravated his defection from puritanism. Meanwhile Sir Robert Howard, a distinguished royalist of noble birth and some pretensions to genius, formed an acquaintance with the author of "*Astræa Redux*;" and introduced him into a circle where his merits would stand a better chance of being appreciated. Thus patronized, he gradually rose in reputation; for nothing was anywhere to be done without the light of the countenance of the aristocracy. He published a short satire on the Dutch, to animate the people of England against that nation, in our first war, under the restored Stuarts, with the States-General. He was chosen a member of the newly-instituted Royal Society, on the 26th of November, 1662—"an honour which cemented his connexion with the most learned men of the time, and is an evidence of the respect in which he was already held." His epistle to Dr. Walter Charleton, on the curious treatise by that eminent physician, respecting Stonehenge, demonstrates his own improvement in taste and style, as well as his enthusiastic admiration for Boyle, and Ent, and Harvey, described by him as treading in the path pointed out by Bacon, who first burst asunder Aristotelian fetters, and admonished the world that knowledge was to be derived from experiment. Sad experience also daily taught him that neither bards nor philosophers could live upon praise. To write an epic seems to have been his favourite, though secret object, had a competence of fortune only allowed him sufficient means and leisure for the purpose. But one line alone remained, "in which poetical talents might exert themselves, with some prospect of procuring their possessor a reward, or at least a maintenance, and this was dramatic composition." He commenced composing for the stage, therefore, about 1663, compelled, as Johnson says, undoubtedly by necessity; for he appears "never to have loved that exercise of his genius, nor to have much pleased himself with his own dramas." These were twenty-

eight in number, spread over a period of almost as many years. Before alluding further to them, we may just look round, for a moment, at the state of the political and literary world, on the vast theatre of the three kingdoms, as they must then have presented themselves to the eye of intelligent observation.

Vestiges of the civil wars remained still apparent on the surface of society, in the coarseness of general manners, and the profound bitterness of party spirit. Personal violence attracted by no means the same execration which would everywhere attend it now. The drunkenness and sexual profligacy, which had disgraced the days of James the First, declined in some degree under his successor; and were almost confined to one party, during the career of Oliver Cromwell. The fierce struggles and collisions between prerogative and liberty so absorbed attention, and deepened the interests of both sides, in maintaining broadly their distinctive characters, that, in a certain latitudinarian sense, the virtues and the vices of mankind might have been said to hold military commissions under puritanism and royalism. What we mean is, that although there existed palpable exceptions on all quarters, the mass of cavaliers gloried in openly violating every commandment of the decalogue; whilst their opponents, on the other hand, plumed themselves upon at least the decent and professed observance of them. In process of time, the royalists could not avoid perceiving how irresistible an advantage they had thus conceded to their antagonists. Hence, even their immoralities withdrew insensibly into seclusion; more especially when the hoof of power, and the scourge of discipline, were ever ready to be lifted up, for the restraint of their persons, as well as the edification of their souls. Shut out, therefore, from the high places of the earth, which their conquerors, men as brave, and more moral than themselves, almost exclusively occupied, an unnatural pressure from without kept down, as it were, the licentiousness of the upper classes, which would otherwise have avenged itself for the defeat of the first Charles, by wallowing in the masques and revels of the first James. The longer brutal loyalism had to wait for its opportunity of doing this, so much the darker, and fiercer, and more rapacious, grew its sullenness, its resentment, and its appetite. Neither can there be now a reasonable doubt, but that the demeanour of the Commonwealth was too constrained, too precise, too demure, and even sometimes too sanctimonious, to be either healthful or permanent. When, therefore, the Restoration came, it was literally like letting Apollyon out of his prison. In the very land where freedom, in its civil blessings, seemed ready to establish her seat for ever, despotism suddenly descended like a vulture on the spoil, to devour what it could not defile, and defile what it could not devour.

Such was the fearful recoil of a system which had been forced out of its native position, that the homage and flattery of the royalists approached oriental adoration. The cheers of a party so resounded through the political amphitheatre, that other persons, besides Charles the Second and his brother, mistook them for the voices of nations. The deadly wound of absolutism appeared healed, and all the world wondered after the beast. Analogous to this, were the changes in morals and literature. With respect to the former, it must have seemed to our forefathers as though the three kingdoms had walked out of conventicles and churches into playhouses; or out of their own quiet religious homes into public pleasure-gardens. External decencies were thrown at once to the moles and to the bats. Obstreperous mirth, buffoonery, and profaneness, became lords of the ascendant, as in a moment. The confusion approached not gradually, nor were there any limits to the hubbub. According to the cavaliers, they could exhibit their merits in no manner more striking or effectual than by setting order, as well as moderation, at defiance. Hence London, Great Britain, and Ireland, strove to imitate Sodom and Gomorrah, or the blighted countries of antiquity, in their guiltiness and shame. Merriment was the least harmful and the most attractive lineament in the character of the restored monarch. His blacker sins rose out of the pit, when the froth and effervescence had a little passed away. But, meanwhile, our national morals contracted incalculable pollution. Everything connected with the histrionic art took the prevalent contagion, inflamed it with the full development of its own inherent wickedness, and then diffused this infection, thus corroborated and aggravated, throughout the upper, middle, and lower classes. England degenerated into the Egypt which had forgotten Joseph, whilst the puritans alone had light or holiness in their dwellings. If, in answer to their secret intercessions, these realms were still reserved for mercy, it was not until pestilence, conflagration, famine, and grinding oppression, had emptied many a vial of well-merited vengeance upon the heads of a generation of transgressors.

We say that literature also caught the plague, and had to pass through its appointed ordeal accordingly. Under the first Stuart, dramatic poetry was the department most successfully cultivated; as might have been expected from the influence of Shakspeare. Numerous theatres were then open in various quarters of the metropolis; so that whoever composed a play could hardly fail of procuring its performance somewhere. Awkward enough, however, the second-rate tragedies and comedies of Elizabeth and James appear to ourselves. James affected to patronize the muses, as the great Solomon of his age; so that besides theatrical

entertainments, he would, now and then, condescend to praise, in bad English and broad Scotch, those miscellaneous efforts of genius which gathered around his smiles for their support. But as this wretched sovereign was no Augustus, his vile taste, and worse pedantry, fostered a fatal propensity to false wit. Strange and unexpected connexions of sound or of idea, came to be substituted for genuine humour, or even the effusions of the stronger passions. The mischief had commenced, beyond question, under the virgin queen; but Elizabeth, together with her courtiers, possessed and preserved, amongst innumerable defects, at least real manliness of character. The royal professor of kingcraft, his admirers and minions, his favourite companions and parasites—these were the proper *old women* of their day. Their garrulity, and assumption of an erudition that never belonged to them, licked the monster into a shape, and size, and fashion, which it would never otherwise have enjoyed. Sir Walter Scott himself admits that its great nursery was “at court—a sphere in which its denizens never think they move with due lustre, until they have adopted a form of expression, as well as a system of manners, different from that which is proper to mankind at large. These outrages upon language were committed without regard to time or place. They were held good arguments at the bar, though Bacon sat on the woolsack.” Sermons themselves could not escape from their intrusion. James was an inveterate punster; and meanwhile, the metaphysical poets used the same violence towards images and ideas, which had formerly been applied to words. These quibbled to the mind, as a corresponding section of their contemporaries performed the same ridiculous function to the ear. Nature and simplicity were altogether lost sight of, when at length the civil war caused men to throw aside their gray-goose quills, and draw their swords. The contest, being waged for principles of the very highest importance, imparted an earnestness and religious seriousness to the literary productions of the roundheads, which their irreverent opponents could neither brook nor bear. Waller, Denham, Fairfax, and Suckling, were, indeed, gradually preparing the public for better things; and from them, as well as Cowley, John Dryden was collecting, strengthening, and polishing those powers of fancy, which were to effect so much for the reformation of poetic numbers.

No sooner, then, had poetry witnessed the downfall of the protectorate, than it plunged, for the most part, into the same headlong course of profligacy, which disgraced the government, and polluted the morals of that remarkable era. Dramas became the order of the day. Playhouses, of old patronized by the Stuarts, were now opened, after their long eclipse; and naturally were

resorted to by those who loved them, with all the ardour inspired by novelty. Their machinery and decorations, even under the auspices of Charles the First and his consort, had presented no inconsiderable splendour; which to enjoy, or to boast of the enjoyment, constituted an eminent badge of loyalty. Our biographer, in describing these matters as "elegant amusements," nevertheless displays rather more than his usual historical accuracy in what follows:—

"The taste of the restored monarch was decidedly in favour of the drama. At the foreign courts which it had been his lot to visit, the theatre was the chief entertainment; and as amusement was always his principal pursuit, it cannot be doubted that he often sought it there. The interest, therefore, which he took in the stage, and its restoration, was direct and personal. '*No throne—no theatre!*' seemed as just a dogma as the famous '*No king—no bishop!*' Had it not been for this circumstance, it seems probable that the general audience, for a time at least, would have demanded a revival of those pieces which had been most successful before the civil wars, and that Shakspeare, Massinger, and Fletcher, would have resumed their acknowledged superiority upon the English stage. But as the theatres were re-established and cherished by the immediate influence of the sovereign, and of the court which returned with him from exile, a taste formed during their residence abroad dictated the nature of entertainments which were to be presented to them at home. It is worthy of remark, that Charles took the model of the two grand departments of the drama from two different countries." p. 13.

These twin fountains of abomination and bad taste were Spain and France. The latter afforded a pattern for those tragedies, which continued in vogue, for twenty years after the Restoration, and were styled "Rhyming or Heroic Plays." At Paris, Louis the Fourteenth was, by a fiction of French fashion, presumed to be always present in his box at the theatre, just as our sovereign is supposed to possess a political ubiquity in her privy council, and at the House of Lords. Childishness lies at the root of all such monstrous imaginations, although concealed under the gentle term of etiquette. Shadows may sometimes work wonders; and those of the Grand Monarque imprinted the court manners of the Tuilleries and Versailles upon French tragedy and comedy. "Every king was, by prescriptive right, a hero, every female a goddess, every tyrant a fire-breathing chimera, and every soldier an irresistible Amadis; in which, when perfected, we find lofty sentiments, splendid imagery, eloquent expression, now and then sound morality; and, in short, everything but the language of human passion, and human character." Racine and Corneille fought manfully the fight of genius against such fearful odds; but the plan being fundamentally wrong, "the high talents of

those authors only tended to reconcile their countrymen to a style of writing, which must otherwise have fallen into contempt." The comedy of Molière, however, was not indelicate enough it seems for the merry, or as we ought rather to say, the wicked monarch! There was no occasion for the comic muse "to dwell in decencies for ever;" hence he revelled with the lowest of the audience, in the gross lasciviousness, the coarse vulgarities, the profane witticisms, and naked immoralities, which inundated the stage, and thence rushed, like a land-flood, over the length and breadth of national habits. Sir Walter Scott allows, that the drama would have seemed insipid to Charles the Second, had it not been seasoned with his own libertine spirit, and with the bustle, disguise, and complicated intrigue, which though not even tolerated at Paris, found a refuge and patronage at Madrid. Hence, correctness in copying nature, elegance of expression, arrangement in action, and noble traits of character, gave way to vile double *entendre*, masques, rencontres, mistakes, disguises, and escapes; all easily accomplished by the scene-painters and stage-carpenters, through the intervention of well-managed canvas and coloured pasteboard, sliding panels, trap-doors, veils, dominoes, dresses, and dark lanterns. The theatres of London were limited to a couple, after the restoration;—a pair of moral ulcers, admirably calculated for corrupting youth and age, for nourishing and fomenting every evil of the human heart, for indulging and pandering to the lowest vices of mankind.

One of these privileged temples of iniquity was placed under the direction of Sir William Davenant; whose set of performers, including the famous Betterton, was called the Duke's Company; the other, under Thomas Killigrew, notorious for his colloquial wit, bore the title of the King's Company. To the service of the last, poor Dryden yoked himself. His plays, which we are neither going to enumerate, nor criticise analytically, appear just so far to have succeeded, as to have put the bread of mental prostitution into his mouth. His personal morals were not sound; notwithstanding the miserable glosses of his biographer, who evidently conceived that there was a long list of little sins, which gentlemen of birth, fortune, or genius might indulge in; more especially whilst keeping clear of the vulgarisms of vital religion. We mention these things with regret; but nothing shall ever induce us to mince matters, even for Dryden or Walter Scott. The former indulged at this time in heinous fornication, disguised and gilded under the phrase of gallantry. He intrigued with a beautiful actress, or harlot, of the name of Reeves, as well as with many others of a similar class. The prince of modern novelists tells us, that "it would not be edifying, were it possible,

to trace these instances of his success," in various debaucheries ; but how much less edifying is it to have his gifted pen, almost immediately afterwards, describing "the moral character" of his subject as altogether "*unexceptionable!*" So again, after shewing what sinks of wickedness theatres were, in former as well as later days, he can discern no good reason why they should be limited in number, since "they are *at least harmless, if not laudable places of amusement!*" Alas, for the inconsistencies of men ! Dryden himself, however, became a more decent character when he had married. This event occurred in 1665. His wife was Lady Elizabeth Howard, eldest daughter to the Earl of Berkshire ; a woman far gone in the family-way, when she stood before the nuptial altar. She had been mistress to Lord Chesterfield, and brought her husband the righteous dower of a violent temper, weak intellects, with a small property in Wiltshire, which yielded from 50*l.* to 60*l.* annually. From his father-in-law's seat at Charlton, the poet dated the introduction of his "*Annus Mirabilis,*" published at the end of 1667. His "*Essay on Dramatic Poetry*" soon followed ; and the necessities of an increasing family compelled him, about the same time, to promise no less than three plays a-year to the king's company. "In consideration of this engagement he was admitted to hold one share and a quarter in the profits of the theatre, which was stated by the managers to have produced him three or four hundred pounds, *communibus annis.* Either, however, the players became sensible that by urging their pensioner to continued drudgery, they in fact lessened the value of his labours, or Dryden felt himself unequal to perform the task he had undertaken ; for the average number which he produced was only about half that which had been contracted for." His full portion of profit, nevertheless, appears to have been paid. In August, 1670, he obtained, by patent, having already enjoyed for two or three years by nomination, the two offices of royal historiographer and poet-laureat, with a salary, promised quarterly, of 200*l.* per annum, besides a butt of canary. From the profits, therefore, of his works, the revenue of his appointments, his slender patrimony, and more recent marriage settlement, we may reckon his income, during this the most prosperous period of his life, at from 600*l.* to 700*l.* a-year, equivalent at least to what 1500*l.* per annum would be now. His connexions and fame had augmented still more than his fortune ; the former placing him directly under the patronage of his majesty and the very highest nobility ; the latter never seems to have declined. Ormonde, Clifford, Newcastle, Dorset, Buckhurst, Sedley, and even Rochester, for a brief interval, were all proud to pay his transcendent genius the homage which it fairly deserved.

Yet he, like others who cast in their lot with an evil world, had soon to experience the truthfulness of an assertion by Horace, that in the midst of his most fortunate career, *post equitem sedet atra cura!* A greater than the Roman has also declared, that all is vanity. Envy and hostility are rarely tardy in stalking after intellectual elevation. The Duke of Buckingham attacked his system of Rhyming Plays, in the witty farce of the Rehearsal. Handed down to posterity, as a nobleman only less detestable than Cataline, inasmuch as he wanted the masculine powers of the arch-conspirator, George Villiers could at least exhibit his malevolence and profligacy on all possible occasions. He had evidently kept by him the outline of a satire for several seasons, to be hurled at any remarkable person, whose mental irritation at such an attack might gratify himself, or amuse the metropolis. The principal character was to have been Sir Robert Howard, or Sir William Davenant, the author of Gondibert, until the pre-eminence of Dryden marked him out as a much better quarry than either. Under the peculiarities of Bayes, the language of the laureat was exactly parodied, and held up to inconceivable ridicule. The duke condescended to instruct Lacy the actor, personally, how to imitate the very voice and manner of his victim; so that the public, being at no loss to perceive at once whom it was to laugh at, expatiated night after night in the luxury of splenetic ill-nature. The success of the Rehearsal proved unbounded:—

“Besides the attraction of personal severity upon living and distinguished literary characters, and the broad humour of the burlesque, the part of Bayes had a claim to superior praise, as drawn with admirable attention to the foibles of the poetic tribe. His greedy appetite for applause; his testy repulse of censure or criticism; his inordinate and overwhelming vanity, not unmixed with a vein of flattery to those who he hopes will gratify him by returning it in kind: finally, that extreme, anxious, and fidgetty attention to the minute parts of what even in the whole is scarce worthy of any,—are, I fear, but too appropriate qualities of the *genus vatium*.” p. 26. “It is easy to conceive what Dryden must have felt at beholding his labours, and even his person, held up to derision, on the very theatre, too, where he had so often triumphed. But he was too prudent to shew outward signs of resentment; and, in conversation, allowed that the farce had a great many good things in it, though so severe against himself.” p. 27.

Dryden had afterwards an opportunity of repaying Buckingham in kind, which he took care to turn to what the world calls the best account. But an obscure person, named Elkanah Settle, also headed a faction, on the side of the Rehearsal, and published a rival drama, entitled the Empress of Morocco, which annoyed the laureat to the quick; when Lord Rochester, who had lately

quarrelled with him, procured for this ignoble adversary the high honour of having his worthless piece acted at Whitehall by the courtiers and ladies. Acrimonious and vehement was the uproar which ensued. Settle soon lost his patrons, and Dryden his temper. Samuel Johnson gravely, yet justly observes, that "to see the highest mind thus levelled with the meanest, may produce some solace to weakness, and some mortification to the pride of wisdom. But let it be remembered, that minds are not levelled in their powers, but when they are first levelled in their desires. Elkanah and his great opponent had both sought their happiness in the claps of multitudes." A whole pack of smaller scribblers and critics now joined the hue and cry. It would be sacrilege to disinter their names from the dust of libraries to which oblivion quickly consigned them. The needy laureat laid about him with one hand, and wrote for his daily bread with the other. His emoluments from the royal household were always in arrear. A fire had materially diminished the value of his theatrical property: hence he was driven to keep the wolf from his door, by retailing adulation to the great, for certain contemptible sums of money. Almost every production had its special dedication; until flattery itself grew too common to be marketable. "That praise is worth nothing of which the price is known." His prologues nevertheless maintained something like a golden value; being generally written for from two to five guineas a-piece. From Southern he demanded ten:* "Not," said he, "young man, out of disrespect to you; but the players have had my goods too cheap." What proved far worse was, that as in 1670 he had attempted to improve Shakspeare, by producing a foolish counterpart to the plot of the *Tempest*; so in the course of 1673 he fell upon the presumptuous task of performing the same kind office for Milton! In other words, he ventured to remodel the *Paradise Lost* into a dramatic poem, written partially in rhyme, and styled "The State of Innocence, or, the Fall of Man"! As may be imagined, it turned out a total failure,—a vain endeavour "to gild pure gold, and set a perfume on the violet." One redeeming feature alone occurred; and this was, that in the preface he boldly informs the degenerate world that it knew not how to appreciate the very epic which he was himself about to mar; "but that he accounts it undoubtedly one of the greatest, most noble, and most sublime poems, which his own, or any other age, or nation, had ever produced." The venerable bard, on being informed by his operator of the cruel intention, is said by Aubrey to have given his contemptuous assent in these words: "Ay, you may *tag* my verses if you

* Dr. Johnson mentions that the usual price was two guineas; but that from Southern three were requested. Malone, however, is almost always accurate, and Scott has followed him throughout.

will." The *Paradise Lost*, however, proved "a rock of diamond;" and, as if incapable of receiving injury from any mortal hands, still shines uninjured in its unapproachable glory.

In 1675, Lord Mulgrave having composed an *Essay upon Satire*, requested that Dryden would revise it; which he did, and it was published four years afterwards. Rochester most unjustly attributing to the pen of the laureat some remarks in it, which reflected upon himself, had the meanness to concert an attack upon the individual whom he suspected, more worthy of an assassin than a nobleman. Dryden, just before Christmas, was waylaid by hired ruffians, and severely beaten, as he passed through Rose Street, Covent Garden. Rewards were offered for sufficient evidence to bring home the cowardly villany to its notorious perpetrator, but all in vain. None could be found to incur the *scandalum magnatum*, and carry a coronet within reach of the truncheon of the law. One of the worst symptoms of the taste and public feeling, at the time, was, that the outrage, instead of exciting compassion or indignation, became a matter of perpetual reproach against its victim. The latter, however, healed his wounds and bruises as well as he could, disregarded the sarcasms of his contemporaries, and looked towards posterity for more honourable fame. Political agitations had convulsed society to its centre. The conversion of the Duke of York to Romanism, the Popish Plot, and the celebrated Exclusion Bill, divided and excited all ranks and classes. Monmouth had returned home from Holland, whither he had been banished, without any licence from the king his father; and was making progresses through the kingdom, as the avowed leader of a party. Shaftesbury acted towards him the true character of an evil counsellor. It was under such circumstances that the poem of Absalom and Ahitophel astonished and delighted the world:

"Shaftesbury had been just committed to the Tower, only a few days before the grand jury were to take into consideration the bill preferred against him for high treason. Its sale was rapid beyond example; and even those who were most severely characterized were compelled to acknowledge the beauty, if not the justice, of the satire. The character of Monmouth, an easy and gentle temper, inflamed beyond its usual pitch by ambition, and seduced by the arts of a wily and interested associate, is touched with exquisite delicacy. The poet is as careful of the offending Absalom's fame, as the father in scripture is of the life of his rebel son. The fairer side of his character is industriously presented, and a veil drawn over all that was worthy of blame. But Shaftesbury pays the lenity with which Monmouth is dismissed. The traits of praise, and the tributes paid to that statesman's talents, are so qualified and artfully blended with censure, that they seem to render his

faults even more conspicuous and more hateful. In this skilful mixture of applause and blame lies the nicest art of satire. There must be an appearance of candour on the part of the poet, and just so much merit allowed, even to the object of his censure, as to make his picture natural. It is a child alone who fears the aggravated terrors of a Saracen's head; the painter who would move the awe of an enlightened spectator must delineate his tyrant with human features. It seems likely that Dryden considered the portrait of Shaftesbury in the first edition as somewhat deficient in this respect; at least, the second edition contains twelve additional lines, the principal tendency of which is to praise the ability and integrity with which Shaftesbury had discharged the office of lord high chancellor. It has been reported that this mitigation was intended to repay a singular exertion of generosity on the part of Shaftesbury, who, while smarting under the lash of Dryden, had the liberality to procure admission for the poet's son upon the foundation of the Charter House, of which he was then governor. But Malone has fully confuted this tale, and shewn from the records of the seminary that Erasmus Dryden was admitted upon the recommendation of the king himself. The insertion, therefore, of the lines in commemoration of Shaftesbury's judicial character was a voluntary effusion on the part of Dryden, and a tribute which he seems to have judged it proper to pay to the merit even of an enemy." p. 44.

Other members of the opposition came in for their full share of fame, or infamy, as the case might occur. Buckingham, under the character of Zimri, was remembered, and made to suffer ample vengeance for whatever he had formerly done in the Rehearsal. Titus Oates, Bethel, the sheriff of London, and a number more, are portrayed with almost equal felicity. Shaftesbury was soon liberated from the Tower; and as a medal was struck on the occasion, immensely to the annoyance of the court, Charles himself suggested it to Dryden as a suitable subject for another poem, similar in kind to the last. The laureat forthwith acquiesced; and on the 16th of March, 1681, there appeared, anonymously, "The Medal, a Satire against Sedition." On its being taken to the king, his majesty presented its servile, although gifted author, with one hundred broad pieces; an unusual outbreak of liberality, prompted, no doubt, rather by the depth of the royal sympathy with autocratic principles, than by any inherent admiration for the genius and talents which were there exhibited. Many answers presently appeared to both Absalom and Ahitophel, and the Medal; but unfortunately the cause of freedom had to rely upon its innate excellence alone. Parnassus, in that fearful time, was frequented by few who had not prostituted their powers to the service or laudation of oppression, both in church and state. Liberty having once vindicated its divine origin in producing a Milton, seemed to turn, for the present, from the imaginations to the hearts and bosoms of the

nation: so that Dryden, for a few years longer, had matters all his own way. Shadwell had given just cause of offence, by originating or assisting in the composition of a variety of lampoons against his person and opinions, (for they were nothing better,) which were born, and which died almost as quickly, one after the other: Dryden therefore singled him out for poetical impalement, in a piece called "Mac-Flecnoe;" wherein Shadwell stands represented as the son of a proverbial bard, whose name gives the satire a title, and who so long,

In prose and verse was owned without dispute,
Through all the realms of nonsense—absolute!

This production will always be deemed unsurpassable for the keenness of its wit, the felicity of its conception, and the force, in many places, of its versification. Pope afterwards adopted the idea, and enlarged it into the *Dunciad*. Nahum Tate, about the same period, brought out a second part to *Absalom and Ahiophel*, with respect to which the author of the first part merely revised it, and added two hundred lines,—imbued, indeed, with what Sir Walter Scott describes as "a double portion of the original spirit." Here again the trenchant blade was drawn against Settle and Shadwell, under the respective appellations of *Doeg* and *Og*! This was followed by the "*Religio Laici*," in the month of November, 1682—an ingenious effusion, but replete beyond a question with those theological views, which, when carried out into their natural results, conducted him at once to Rome. His biographical preface to the *Lives of Plutarch* succeeded in 1683. The injunctions of his sovereign then set him upon the translation of the *History of the League*, by Maimbourg; a work dear to the Stuarts, as everything else was, which could form the shadow of an apology for hereditary absolutism or indefeasible right. Amidst a litter of libels, on both sides,—for the Rye House affair, and the death of Lord Russel, had exasperated the court against the patriots, and the patriots against their profligate oppressors,—Charles the Second passed away from the scene; leaving his brother on the throne, the people in a state of something like stupefaction, and the Tories rampant with joy. We have often said, because we are satisfied as to the correctness of the assertion, that had James only let the established church alone, his reign need never have terminated in the revolution of 1688. Matters would have gone on, perhaps, as before, for a generation or two, until they had reached such a crisis, as that deliverance from the evils of an aristocracy would have accompanied the abolition of monarchical thralldom. These countries might in that case have enjoyed the grand blessings of an hereditary, but limited crown, such as is

now so gracefully worn by our present sovereign, based upon really popular institutions. Dryden, alas! was a courtier to the back-bone. To him the royal favour seemed the breath of his nostrils. Satisfied with having effected a revolution in the versification of his countrymen, he had no bowels for civil or religious freedom. He wrote his "Threnodia Augustalis" on the demise of his old master, and then fell on all fours to secure the patronage of his new one. "Albion and Albanus" came forth, as a gaudy, noisy opera, attempting to illustrate, under a very thin veil of allegory, the restoration of the Stuarts, their escape from recent perils, and their supposed conquest of whiggism for ever and ever! Great expense was incurred in exhibiting this piece, which concluded with the succession of James to the throne, after alluding to, and even closely representing, a celestial phenomenon, witnessed by Captain Christopher Gunman, when lying off Calais, in his yacht Mary, on the 18th March, 1683-4. He beheld in the firmament three suns enclosed in rainbows, which wonderfully affected a superstitious age; so that the poet caught at the coincidence, and formed the solar apparition into the machine on which Iris appears in the opera! "Albion and Albanus" had been acted six times, when tidings reached London that the Duke of Monmouth had landed. Consternation, as well as universal interest in affairs of far greater importance, prevented any further repetition of the performance; which occasioned not a little disappointment to Dryden, whilst it half ruined the unfortunate players, who had embarked their capital in thus endeavouring to amuse the metropolis.

It was at this juncture that our author announced himself a convert to the Roman-catholic faith. However sincere might have been his motives, of which none but the Searcher of hearts could be a judge, most certain it is, that James would do nothing for him until he had seceded from Protestantism. Sir Walter Scott handles this passage, in the life of his subject, with much tenderness and delicacy. Strong prepossessions must inevitably be excited, in certain quarters, against any individual, whose change of religion has deprived his friends or party of important services. Such prepossessions grow into prejudices, when temporal advantages happen to be attendant upon what those who are deserted consider apostasy. Yet impartiality will admit, that the accident of secular gain coinciding with particular changes of mind or conduct, does not necessarily imply hypocrisy. Dryden had probably reached a somewhat advanced period, before invisible realities at all attracted his serious attention. When at length they did so, the profligacy of the times, the licentiousness of his own writings, his close connexion with the court and the stage, those *duo spiracula Ditis*, together with

the company he kept, and the general associations of his thoughts, words, and deeds,—would all concur to place him in a position the most disadvantageous possible for taking into his hands the golden balances of the sanctuary. He could have had little idea of prayer, and still less as to the necessity under which he lay of being guided from above, in his investigation of spiritual things. Religion, with persons of his class, can be seldom much more than a mere set of notions or opinions. Dryden, after experiencing the emptiness of that void which worldliness creates in the heart of its votaries, no doubt sighed for something to rest upon, both as to time and eternity. Puritanism he had only known, in his earliest days, as imperfectly illustrated, or, more likely, altogether distorted, through the selfish and inconsistent conduct of disagreeable relations. Deism vanished into thin air, before the coruscations of his own inimitable, although unenlightened intellect; whilst Romanism made so many promises, that at last he surrendered his judgment to that which captivated Chillingworth, Bayle, and Gibbon. Some of his family, including his lady and eldest son, had already gone over to Rome. His interests also, as a courtier and placeman, must have conduced to his final resolution; even allowing his internal convictions to have been precisely what he ever afterwards contended that they were. Moreover, he never manifested any tendency towards subsequent vacillation; so that when we contemplate him, in his later years, under poverty, reproach, and persecution, still adhering to the communion he had adopted, the award of charity would certainly seem to be, that, upon the whole, John Dryden, from a point somewhat previous to the publication of his “Hind and Panther,” became a serious and sincere Roman Catholic, in the intellectual sense, we mean, of such an assertion.

His expected harvest, from the conversion, proved both scanty and transitory. James added 100*l.* per annum, payable quarterly, to his previous salary. But battle had to be given, almost immediately, with no less an antagonist than Stillingfleet. Both champions sustained the standard of their respective admirers with much admixture of what we should now deem personal and disgraceful acrimony. Dryden was perhaps ruder than the divine, who tells him plainly, that “zeal in a new convert is a terrible thing; for it not only burns, but rages like the eruptions of Mount Etna; it fills the air with noise and smoke, and throws out such a torrent of living fire, that there is no standing before it.” The laureat, according to ancient tradition, is said to have composed his “Hind and Panther” in an embowered walk at Rushton, not far from his birth-place. Outrageous clamour received it on its first appearance. Ro-

manism had then sealed its alliance with arbitrary power; and contending protestants and patriots almost imagined they could hear and see the fetters which their enemies were forging to enslave three nations. The king mightily promoted the dispersion of a poem, every line of which fell in with his own private predilections, and tended to promote the more ambitious objects of his government. Its author meanwhile had sold himself to a tyrant; and that tyrant kept him to his oars. He was ordered to translate the "History of Heresies, by Varillas," into English, as also the Memoir of St. Francis Xavier; which last he executed. Mary of Este had chosen the Roman missionary to India and Japan as her tutelary saint, through whose intercessions, it was absurdly given out, that her son, the future pretender, was born. His first Ode on the Festival of St. Cecilia, that to the memory of Mrs. Ann Killigrew, and some translations of Latin hymns, were his next efforts, previous to the Revolution. This event seemed to deprive him at once both of patronage and bread; yet it was not altogether so. His old friend, Lord Dorset, now constituted high chamberlain at court, had to deprive him of his two situations; to which, *proh pudor*, Shadwell, the Mac-Flecnoe of his bitterest satire, succeeded! But there is some ground for supposing that his lordship, who must have sustained the greatest repugnance to such an exertion, however necessary, of his official duty, generously made up no slight portion of the 300*l.* per annum to Dryden, out of his own purse. We cannot help wishing that this were more clearly ascertained, and to what extent it operated; but that the great genius of his age continued to retain many warm supporters, on the one hand, and at the same time to suffer many severe privations, on the other, are facts perfectly well established. Prosperity, until the abdication of the Stuarts, had shone at various intervals on his wayward path: henceforward, although neither his spirits nor his courage ever failed him, the general characteristics of his course were those of a pitiless tempest. The theatre again became his main resource; and a truly miserable one, as we should style it, notwithstanding the fame he acquired by Don Sebastian, the most beautiful of all his tragedies. Other dramatic efforts ensued. Donations of money, from sundry noblemen and opulent admirers of talent, eked out a precarious income. Miscellaneous pieces, the Satires of Juvenal, his second and great Ode to St. Cecilia, his noble translation of Virgil, obscure disputes with Milbourn and Sir Richard Blackmore, and, lastly, his celebrated Fables, completed his contributions to our poetical literature. His Fables and Virgil are shewn to have realized for him about 1500*l.*; besides a present from the Duke of Ormond of 500*l.* more, for the

introductory verses to the *Duchess*. His critical supremacy never seems to have experienced any considerable shock. His decision was a law to the witty, the imaginative, or the learned. A pinch out of his snuff-box, at Will's Coffee House, was equivalent to taking a degree in the academies of British intellect. Nor would it be just to omit the remarkable statement, that these honours were as meekly carried as they were universally acknowledged. Dryden was by nature sufficiently irascible; but he could bear to be contradicted, and even to be reprov'd. Collier, the notorious nonjuror, had attacked his literary criminalities, in terms not less severe than just; and the following forms a unanimous reply in his preface to the *Fables*:

“I shall say the less of Mr. Collier, because in many things he has attacked me justly; and I have pleaded guilty to all thoughts and expressions of mine which can be truly argued or accused of obscenity, profaneness, or immorality—and I *RETRACT THEM*. If he be my enemy, let him triumph: if he be my friend, as I have given him no personal occasion to be otherwise, he will be glad of my repentance. It becomes me not to draw my pen in the defence of a bad cause, when I have so often drawn it for a good one.” p. 74.

It must be further remembered, that his reverend and well-meaning antagonist could be a little coarse himself,—that “he had too much horse-play in his raillery,” and that if his “zeal for God's house had not positively eaten him up, it had, at least, devoured some part of his good manners and civility.”

It is, however, most melancholy to perceive, that as the sands of life ran out, there appeared to be no suitable preparation, on the part of Dryden, for death, judgment, and eternity. His biographer coolly observes, that “as his career began upon the stage, it was in some degree doomed to terminate there.” He had long suffered both by the gout and gravel; and latterly, erysipelas seized one of his legs. Lady Elizabeth thus addresses her son at Rome, describing the health of her partner, with an elegance of style and correctness of orthography, richly illustrative of aristocratic attainments and manners in that day: it is given *literatim et verbatim*: “Your father is much at woon as to his helth, and his defnese is not wosce, but much as he was when he was heare; give me a true account how my deare sone Charllis is head dus!” Such was the noble helpmate whom in evil hour the poor poet had selected to overshadow the evening of his existence. Meanwhile, he still carried on his controversies, in fresh prefaces to his own works, or those of others; and, we are sorry to say, apparently with no other object than “a palliation, if not the defence, of dramatic immorality.” Even his last hours were embittered with this unseemly warfare: and so dearly had his pre-eminent reputation been purchased, that “nature, over-

watched and worn out, was like a besieged garrison, forced to obey the call to arms, and defend" the bubble of literary fame, "even with the very latest exertion of the vital spirit." The approach of death was sudden, rather than gradual. An inflammation, in itself deemed unimportant, at the extremity of one of his toes, through the skin growing over the nail, became from neglect a gangrene. Amputation, when suggested, he decidedly declined; but calmly alluding to his age, remarked that "he did not care to part with one limb, to lead in his seventieth year an uncomfortable life on the rest." After a short interval, he expired on Wednesday morning, the 1st of May, 1700, in the catholic faith, "with submission and entire resignation to the divine will, taking leave of his friends in so tender and obliging a farewell, as none but he himself could have expressed." Sir Walter Scott winds up the sad story as follows:

"The death of a man like Dryden, especially in narrow and neglected circumstances, is usually an alarum-bell to the public. Unavailing and mutual reproaches for unthankful and pitiless negligence, waste themselves in newspaper paragraphs, elegies, and funeral processions; the debt to genius is then deemed discharged, and a new account of neglect and commemoration is opened between the public and the next who rises to supply his room. It was thus with Dryden; his family were preparing to bury him with the decency becoming their limited circumstances, when Charles Montague, Lord Jeffries, and other men of quality, made a subscription for a public funeral. The body of the poet was then conveyed to Physicians' Hall, where it was embalmed, and lay in state for twelve days after his decease. On the 13th day of May, the celebrated Dr. Garth pronounced a Latin oration over the remains of his departed friend, which were then, with considerable pomp, preceded by a band of music, and attended by a numerous procession of carriages, transported to Westminster Abbey, and deposited between the graves of Chaucer and Cowley." p. 76.

Our glances at his most important works must, of necessity, be brief, and therefore very imperfect. His dramas have long been consigned to a merited oblivion; nor even were it otherwise, would a review of them either edify or amuse our readers. Doctor Johnson himself wished that no necessity had been imposed on the biographer "of following the progress of his theatrical fame, or tracing the meanders of his mind through the series of his dramatic performances." They, nevertheless, told very materially on the taste of his times. Theatrical harmony was tried on an enormous scale, in numerous rhyming plays, which instructed the ears of public audiences no longer to tolerate the ruggedness of Donne, or the limping, blundering measures of common contemporaries. Melody in versification thus beheld its claims asserted and established; a result which,

whatever may be its value, no other man had accomplished in the same manner, or to the same extent, that Dryden had done it. His name stood first in English literature, from the year 1666, to the moment of his dissolution: nor was it at all limited to Britain. Rapin learned our language for the mere pleasure and satisfaction of reading Dryden's works. At Paris, there was one general sensation of sorrow at so great a genius being withdrawn from the world. At home, the poets were not silent, although their strains, until Pope arose, "only evinced their woful degeneracy from him whom they mourned." We must acknowledge him to have been the founder of our reformed school of poetry in modern times. His genius possessed that peculiar power which enabled it to reason, in the most appropriate language, even when upon the wing, and ascending into the sublimest altitudes. It was the same gift, as to the imagination, which Bacon and Newton enjoyed as to the understanding; which led the one into the recesses of philosophy, and the other into the cabinet of nature. Even the prose of this eminent bard is accurately stated to "bear repeated evidence" to his abilities in acquiring and arranging knowledge rational or moral, in handling hypotheses by which natural results may be illustrated or explained, or in expatiating generally throughout the universe of science. In his poetry, the lights of fancy shed around a perpetual illumination, although from an innate want of sympathy with sentimental passion, or spiritual refinement, we too often feel, that it is rather the glare of nocturnal bonfires, than as if the intellectual firmament were really glorified through the day by solar radiance, or at night with the gentle moon resplendently "walking in her brightness." John Dryden, in fact, was a secularized poet. His etherealism had quenched much of its original brilliancy in the muddy waters which defile the purlieus of playhouses, and the palaces of kings. The angel of genuine religion will rarely trouble those polluted cisterns, or transform them, as by the touch of miracle, into a purifying pool of Siloam. Hence, he contracted mental coarseness, or gross indelicacy, for which, in proportion to his apostasy from God and nature, he could contrive no other covering besides the absurdities of romance or chivalry. Force, vigour, animation, he never lost; nor can any eulogium be more just than that pronounced by Doctor Garth, when he declares, "I cannot pass by this admirable person without endeavouring to make our country sensible of the obligations we are under to his muse. If we trace him from the first productions of his youth, to the last performances of his age, we shall find, that as the tyranny of rhyme never imposed on the perspicuity of sense, so a languid sense never wanted to be set off by the harmony of rhyme. And as his

earlier works wanted no maturity, so his latter wanted no force or spirit. *The falling off of his hair had no other consequence than to make his laurels be seen the more.*"

His celebrated ode on the Feast of Alexander has placed him by the throne of Pindar, in the lyrical department of our poesy. It may be said to stand alone in its glory, when we remember the loftiness of its language, the simplicity of its ideas, its exquisite harmony and variety. It combines the sublime and beautiful of a number of agitated minds, all obedient to the influence of a present and potent enchanter. "The change of tone, in the harp of Timotheus, regulates the measure and the melody, and the very language of every stanza." According to one account, it was struck off in a single night; but according to another, the author spent an entire fortnight on its composition. Neither statement, in our judgment, need be questioned. The former period gave it conception, birth, and a certain sort of completion; the latter polished it into inimitable perfection. Amongst his satires, we have already alluded to the most remarkable. It was, perhaps, to this walk of literature more particularly, that what an ancient said of Rome being adorned by Augustus, Johnson applied to English poetry as improved by Dryden—"he found it of brick, and left it of marble." This reformation not merely proceeded from an excellent ear, and a superlative capability of gratifying it, but from the most correct taste, connected with an analytical discernment of those nerves which will convey agony to the heart, as well as from a close, accurate, and continued study of his native language. It is indeed to be regretted, that such energy of thought, such force of expression, such ratiocination, penetrated by passion, should have been expended upon the gratification of personal spleen or party spirit. We often wish, perhaps, for more worthy subjects of reproach than Settle and Shadwell, "yet we cannot account the amber less precious, because they are grubs and flies that are enclosed within it." So says Sir Walter Scott, in the plenitude of his scorn, with regard to almost every object that lay without the gilded pale of a profligate aristocracy. If there is to be any comparison amongst wicked men, Elkanah and Mac Flecnoe appear to have been tolerable specimens of humanity by the side of Buckingham, Rochester, and Shaftesbury! As a narrative poet, Dryden commenced with his *Annus Mirabilis*, in which occur many wonderful stanzas, such as those especially which describe the fire of London, or the conflagration of the vessels at sea after the great naval engagement of the Dutch war. There are, however, various hyperbolical absurdities; nor had he, as yet, formed his versification, or "settled his system of propriety." It is written throughout in quatrains, upon the plan

of Gondibert, by Sir William Davenant. His Fables altogether constitute a congeries of masterpieces. When he composed them, he was in the autumn of his years, in the sense of maturity, and not of decay. His greatest success, however, even here, is when he avoids dwelling on the pathetic; for although, as Johnson remarks, with regard to another poem, the *Threnodia Augustalis*, "he is often petrified with grief, yet sometimes the marble trickles into a joke." In the *Knight's Tale* he has only modernized Chaucer; yet, at the same time, it is to such an extent of excellence, that his merit becomes almost more than equal to that of mere rude originality. He strikes his pen into the mine of antique barbarism; and lo! golden effusions gush forth at every stroke. Passages might easily be adduced from the *Flower and the Leaf*, from *Guiscard and Sigismonda*, or from *Theodore and Honoria*, which would delight our readers; but, as a specimen, we must limit ourselves to an extract from the last, describing the approach of an apparition, and its effects upon animated and inanimated nature, even before it becomes visible:

"While listening to the murmuring leaves he stood,
More than a mile immersed within the wood;
At once the wind was laid; the whispering sound
Was dumb; a rising earthquake rocked the ground:
With deeper brown the grove was overspread,
A sudden horror seized his giddy head,
And his ears tingled, and his colour fled!
Nature was in alarm; some danger nigh
Seemed threatened, though unseen to mortal eye."

An interesting parallel might be drawn, had we room for it, between the ancient father of English poetry, and its more modern reformer. The former abounded in images, but the latter was more choice in his selection of them. The picturesque accompaniment to the statue of Mars, however, in Chaucer, has escaped Dryden:

"A wolfe did stand before him at his feet,
With eyen red, and of a man he eat!"

His pieces under the titles of *Religio Laici*, and the *Hind and Panther*, will now be studied oftener by the curious or the metaphysical, than by those who merely read poetry for recreation. They shew how easily "the most powerful mind may entangle itself in sophistical toils of its own weaving." It seems not a little remarkable that he believed in the chimeras of alchymy, and the jargon of judicial astrology. We find him even casting a horoscope for his favourite son; so that peculiar influences must be always allowed for, both upon his understanding and imagination. His biographer conceives that a slight degree of credulity, whilst it crushes and crows a mind of

low rank, may exalt one of a higher order, through visionary feelings assisting the sublimity of his ideas. This seems to be no more than saying, that mysticism constitutes an appropriate idiosyncrasy amongst some of those who walk upon earth with their heads in the clouds. That the subject of the present article generally did so, may be thought not unlikely. We could have wished to have investigated his translation of Virgil, but it would require a paper by itself. It has been justly observed, that of all the classical versions we possess, none is so acceptable to the class of readers, to whom the learned languages are "a clasped book, and a sealed fountain." And surely, it is no moderate praise to say, "that a work is universally pleasing to those for whose use it is principally intended, and to whom only it is absolutely indispensable." The prose style of his critical prefaces has won universal admiration. In them, according to our great moralist, "nothing is cold or languid; the whole is airy, animated, and vigorous: what is little, is gay,—what is great, is splendid. Everything is excused by the play of images, and the sprightliness of expression. Though all is easy, nothing is feeble; though all seems careless, there is nothing harsh; and though since his earlier works more than a century has passed, they have nothing either uncouth or obsolete." He evidently loved the beautiful for its own sake. His mornings were spent in study, until about two o'clock, when he dined with his family. Afterwards, he usually went to his coffee-house, the notable rendezvous for all the wits of his age. There he had his established chair, by the chimney in winter, and near the balcony in summer. At once he was *rex literarum inter omnes*; the apartment was his royal saloon, the waiter was his premier, and the whole audience his very humble servants. As chameleons were said to live upon air, so his reign subsisted upon reputation. He had none of his successor Alexander Pope's prudence, or he might have enjoyed more "solid pudding," with perhaps less "empty praise." He would sometimes imbibe a moderate quantity of wine, and was thought most frequently rather shy and silent in general society, until he had done so. When young, the ladies considered him handsome, with a pleasing countenance, not altogether free from a slightly saturnine expression. The latter years of his life saw him rather corpulent and florid, with the lineaments of genius stamped upon an animated forehead, with the fire of his eyes somewhat chilled through disappointment, but with those waving gray hairs which so affectingly remind the spectator of time, as they ought to do their wearer of eternity.

The labours of his present biographer demand at least one or two concluding observations. We could cordially desire that the

pages of Sir Walter Scott were as morally, as they doubtless are intellectually attractive. It is lamentable enough to perceive the sympathy which this latter eminent author, at once the novelist and the magician of his day, seems to have had in the theatrical career, the low standard of virtue, the grovelling worldliness, the abhorrence of vital godliness, and the servile toryism which made up the temporal life of poor Dryden. Let our readers be assured that we are no fanatical denouncers of the pleasures of imagination, nor amongst those who would revive the exaggerations of puritanism, or make genuine religion consist in pulling long faces. On the contrary, we rejoice in whatever will tend to augment or multiply harmless and unworldly recreation; or which may help to raise the mind of man out of the dust, and from off the dung-hills of the earth. Mental cultivation, on proper occasions and within suitable limits, may become the fairest handmaid to the life of God in the soul; only let it be so managed, that whether we eat, or drink, or whatsoever we do, all may be done with a single eye to the divine glory. But the inclinations of Sir Walter Scott were, unhappily, in an opposite direction. His sneers at such a saint as Richard Baxter, or those like him, his caricatures, not of their errors alone, but of their virtues also, place him, with many a sincere sigh on our part, in the chair of the scorner! Matters, also, which the scriptures condemn as transgressions, the politeness of the biographer passes off as pardonable peccadilloes. The test whereby he estimates what is wrong and what is right; the varnish with which criminal motives and criminal conduct are so covered over, that to an unconverted person the heinousness of sin may fail to be perceived,—are dangerous in the extreme. To whom much has been imparted, of them will be much required. There is no nobler sight under the sun, than to witness the consecration of talents, or the correct employment of literary influence. But, on the other hand, it might make an angel weep to behold a name; which the whole world has gone after, employed in rendering vicious men less odious, or virtuous ones less honourable. It is an abuse of gifts, moreover, which must carry with it its speedy punishment. As generations get wiser and better, they will adjudicate for themselves upon the respective results of what Howe, and Owen, and Flavel effected for their fellow-creatures, as compared with the corruptions which Dryden supported, and the author of *Waverley* sanctioned. With regard to literary merit, the biography before us may be fairly ranked among the second or third rate productions of Sir Walter Scott. He has failed, we think, in observing some of the germs of genius which lie hidden, perhaps under heaps of rubbish, in several of the minor performances of his hero; others we consider him to have much overrated. The

Memoir is prefixed to a cheap edition of his miscellaneous prose writings, printed in royal octavo, with double columns upon each page. The type, though clear, is small, and so crowded, that to the eyes of any except those who are young, or in the earlier portion of middle life, we should imagine the general appearance of the publication neither so agreeable nor so legible as a corresponding edition, in small octavo, of the collected novels, to be completed in twenty-five volumes, at four shillings each. Sir Walter seems to have admired the theatre almost as much as Dryden once did, and as a happily decreasing number of persons do still. We will briefly relate, for the benefit of these last, an authentic anecdote. A young lady, in one of our stage-coaches, before railroads were dreamed of, was not content with reading Shakespeare herself, but she insisted upon exacting from all her fellow-travellers approbation for her poet and his dramas nearly as fervent as her own. There sat an old gentleman in one corner, out of whom she could get nothing by innuendoes, until at last she bluntly demanded, "What his opinion was about plays?" Roused by so pointed an interrogation, his answer is recorded to have been as follows:—"Madam, I know and care little about any dramas, except two, both of which possess at least a title in the pages of your favourite author. One I see acted every day of my life, *Much Ado about Nothing*; the other I hope to see performed on my death-bed, *All's Well that Ends Well!*"

Art. IV. *Die Zukunft der Protestantischen Kirche in Deutschland, vom Standpunkte der Württembergischen verhältnisse aus.* [*The Prospects of the Protestant Church in Germany, from the Standpoint of the Württemberg relations.* By Karl Wolff, Minister at Bernstein.] Stuttgart, 1840.

AMONG the evidences which the ordinary course of things around us furnishes of the truth that mankind are placed under a righteous system of moral government, there is none more striking than the fact that every institution, which is not based upon truth and justice, sooner or later, even when unassailed by hostile powers, works its own decay. Whatever influences may be combined in its support, however much the prejudices of the people may be enlisted in its defence, and to whatever extent it may be guarded against assault from without, nothing, it would seem, can avail to counterbalance effectually the pernicious operation of its inherent evil, or to save the institution from the ruin which that evil is incessantly tending to effect.

“The legs of the lame,” says the wise man, “are not equal,” and no artifice will ever prevent such an one from halting. Institutions based upon falsehood are essentially mischievous, and nothing can permanently prevent their evil from being detected, their iniquity exposed, and their overthrow desired.

Of the truth of these remarks we have an illustration in the growing suspicion and dislike with which multitudes in different parts of Christendom are beginning to regard civil establishments of religion. That in a country like this, where dissent has been so long tolerated, and where it has so extensively spread, the error and iniquity of such institutions should be perceived and exposed, is perhaps little to be wondered at. The feeling to which we have referred, however, is not confined to this country, but is shewing itself even in regions where the sway of the established church is uninterrupted by the toleration of dissent in any of its forms. The volume now before us is an evidence that it has penetrated into Germany, than which we know no protestant country which, a few years ago, seemed more hermetically sealed against the intrusion of any such influence. Nor is Mr. Wolff alone in Germany in the discussion of this question. The voluntary controversy has, in fact, been fairly mooted both in Prussia and in other states of the Germanic empire; and though it has not yet assumed anything of the general interest which it has attracted in this country, the thoughts of many pious and some great minds have, in that part of Europe, been turned to the questions which it involves. The very perfection of their system of church establishments has forced this upon them. Disgusted with the minute and rigid enactments by which the freedom of Christian activity within the church is fettered, and tired of a system which is mighty in project, but impotent in action, imposing in outward form, contemptible and too often vile in inward substance, they have been constrained to inquire whether what they once deemed the bulwark of religion in their country has not in reality been its greatest obstacle, and the source of its acknowledged depression. Among those who have uttered their feelings and opinions in writing upon this subject, Mr. Wolff is by far the most decided advocate, so far as we have had any opportunity of judging, of the perfect freedom of the church. For our knowledge of his work—the title of which we have translated with a closeness to the original which some of our readers may perhaps be disposed to condemn, but which will, at all events, give them some small idea of what difficulties those have to contend with who would render German sentences into easy and idiomatic English—we stand indebted to an article in a late number of the “*Theologische Studien und Kritiken*”—a periodical conducted with great ability by Professors Ullmann and Umbreit, of Heidelberg, in

conjunction with Doctors Gieseler, Lücke, and Nitsch. This article is written by Mr. W. F. Frey, Dean at Umstadt, in the grand duchy of Hesse, and after the faithful fashion of German reviews, contains a copious analysis, very much in the author's own words, of the contents of his book. Judging from this article, we should not take Mr. Wolff to be a man of very superior mind, but his work seems to be written in a manly and candid spirit, and his opinions are avowed with much distinctness and fervour. Studying his reasonings through the medium of an analysis of them made by a third party, it does not become us to pronounce any very decided opinion upon them. This, however, need not prevent our laying before our readers a general view of the course of remark which the author pursues, accompanied by such observations as may be thereby suggested to us. For this the article by Dean Frey furnishes ample materials; and our readers will thus get a sufficiently correct general idea of how the question of establishments is moving at present in Germany.

Mr. Wolff divides his work into three books. In the first of these, he considers the relation of the church to the state; in the second, he animadverts, and that in no very measured terms, upon the ecclesiastical institutions of his own district, the duchy of Wirtemberg; and, in the third, he gives utterance to the hopes and wishes with which he is inspired for the future. It is to the first of these that we intend, almost exclusively, to confine ourselves at present, as that which presents the topic of chief interest to our readers. Before proceeding to the analysis of it, however, we shall borrow from the second a detailed outline of the system of ecclesiastical government which prevails in Wirtemberg, and which is regarded in Germany as the most perfect development of the type on which all the churches of the Lutheran confession are constructed—the beau idéal, in fact, of Lutheran church order. Certainly, if a multiplicity of offices, and a consequently complicated system of operation, constitute the perfection of church government, our readers will learn, from the following detail, that they have only to go to Wirtemberg to behold the boldest approximation, at least, to such perfection, which has yet been made by any of the reformed churches.

1. *The Prince*, as bishop of the country. 2. *The Privy Council*, to which belongs the duty of deciding upon the weightier questions which may arise respecting the relation of the church to the state, of determining ultimately in any case of judicial accusation against the clergy on the part of the administrative offices, and of assuming the episcopal power in case of the prince becoming catholic. 3. *The Courts of Justice*. They have charge of matters relating to marriages; and in cases of prosecution of the clergy, with them lies the power of ordering the

removal and punishment of the culprit. 4. *The Provinces*, with their important influence on ecclesiastical legislature and finance. 5. *The Supreme Study-Council* (Oberstudienrath), which superintends the theological seminaries. 6. *The Ministry for Church Affairs*, to which the Supreme Government-College (Oberregierung-Collegium), in cases of weighty deliberation, is added. On this devolves the duty of protecting the church and superintending it in the name of the bishop of the country; it is, however, entirely under the control of the minister for the time being. 7. *The Prelates, or General Superintendents*, six in number. They visit, every two years, the deaneries of their diocese, pronounce upon the reports of the deans and clergymen for the Consistory, and meet with the latter yearly in a synod, in which the condition of the whole church is not only taken into consideration, but resolutions, both of a special and general nature, may be formed. 8. *The Consistory*, by which the subjects of education and ecclesiastical finance are superintended, care taken for the maintenance of the church-constitution, the ordering of the worship and the continuance of the teaching, and watchfulness exercised over the appointments to office of clergymen and teachers by the prelates and deans. 9. *The Deans*, under whom, even in dioceses of from 15,000 to 20,000 souls, the whole of the churches and schools are placed, and who must visit personally every parish once in two years. They form the proper medium for the exercise of the collective government of the church, and have besides the power, in many cases, of joining as colleagues with the secular officer of the district, as with the upper-bailiff (oberamptmanne), to constitute the upper bailiwick for the management of the ecclesiastical police, pauperism, education, &c., and with the supreme judge to constitute the supreme tribunal of the bailiwick, before which come matters relating to marriage, and in part to divorce. 10. *The Church-Convention*, consisting of the minister, the chief magistrate, and certain members selected from the political council, along with the accountant for the church. The business of this body concerns, besides the schools and the poor, all the ordinary affairs of the presbyteries. 11. *The Establishment-Council* (Stiftungs-rath), formed from the congregational council, under the presidency of the pastor. 12. Lastly, *The Pastor*, who, though the last member of this order, is, as respects the proper object of the church, the most important.

Such is the scheme of ecclesiastical order which obtains in the duchy of Wirtemberg. If political arrangement could secure the efficiency and well-being of the church, we might expect, under so thoroughly organized a scheme, where every interest seems to be provided for, and every emergency guarded against, a church endowed with all the life, purity, and vigour, of apostolic days.

Our readers, however, may suspect that, as the incorporation of worldly power with the church of Christ has invariably tended to the injury of the latter, in a spiritual sense, the more complete and minute any such system of ecclesiastical regimen may be, the more extensive will be the degrading and secularizing influence which it will exert upon the true well-being of the church. Of the justice of this suspicion, the state of things in Wirtemberg would seem to furnish a striking illustration. Though apparently a sorrowing, Mr. Wolff is an unhesitating witness as to the melancholy state of religious feeling and practice in the members of this elaborately-organized church establishment. "Whilst the external forms are carefully preserved," says he, "the Christian spirit has quite evaporated out of them, because committed to the keeping, not of the congregations with their ministers, but only of the secular and ecclesiastical officers of the state. Hence, in the lapse of time, the cosmo-political element has obtained such a preponderance in every department of the institution, that what is ecclesiastical can hardly any longer be called Christian; and the conceptions 'ecclesiastical' and 'Christian,' which, in idea, ought to be synonymous, are, in effect, widely separated from each other."

This is particularly apparent in the affairs placed under the management of the consistory, where "a rigid system of government, hardened in the forms of business, and demanding an unconditional obedience, such as proves destructive of the peculiar tendencies of a truly religious life in the church, is maintained, and would continue to be maintained, even though the persons administering it should apostatize from Christianity and join the number of those who are the enemies of the cross of Christ."

Moved by the sight of these evils, and observing, at the same time, the very different state of things in those "pietistic conventicles" which are entirely unconnected with the state, the author has been led seriously to question the wisdom of thus bringing the church into circumstances where her spiritual freedom is bartered for such merely worldly advantages as the state can bestow. He has asked himself, "Should a man really content himself with a church which apparently is held together by the mere power of the state, and the influence of custom? Can we hope to enjoy the spirit of Christ so long as our opponents can upbraid us with the fact, that it is the state which provides for the spiritual officers of the church by its money, and, by its oversight and discipline, keeps even the believers together? Or can we any longer console ourselves with the hope of the identification of the state with the church, whilst every day the separation between them is becoming greater, and the predominating spirit of both is daily growing more widely discordant? Would

it not be better to bring the state to the conviction, that if our church is ever to recover her hallowed influence over the mind of the people, the spirit of Christ must be left to operate free and unhindered, and that, on the other hand, if exposed to the continued foreign influence of the state, she must gradually lose her internal union, and fall away into different dissenting sects? This much, at least, is certain, that if the state of religion and church order among us appear unsatisfactory, the fault lies, not with the gospel, which is for ever equally powerful, but with us, with individuals, and with the relations and arrangements by which the due development of the Christian life is checked or disordered, and the right and appropriate application of the powers actually existing is prevented."

For evils such as those which the author has pointed out, he can see no remedy but in the entire separation of the church from the state. These two institutions, he contends, are founded upon entirely different principles, and prosper best when each, keeping to its own proper sphere, leaves the others free from interference. To the defence of this position the greater part of his book is devoted. Unhappily, however, as it appears to us, instead of taking up the matter as a question of "What saith the Lord?" Mr. Wolff, like a true German, envelopes himself in a cloud of metaphysics, and labours to work out his proposition by certain *a priori* deductions from the conception (*begriff*) of church and state respectively. In pursuance of this plan, he endeavours to steer a middle course between the notion that the church is that, the full development of which will absorb the state, and the opposite notion, that the perfection of the church will be its annihilation by its absorption into the state—a notion which has lately found a very able and zealous advocate in Richard Rothe, a member of the Theological Faculty at Heidelberg.* As might be expected, this mode of discussing such a question does not lead to a very satisfactory result. We fear, indeed, that, like many of his countrymen, in taking to metaphysics, the author has crossed the real bent of his nature, and sacrificed to the Time-spirit, of which German writers speak so much, and which there are few of them who do not worship. Providence, we suspect, designed him to be a mere denizen of earth—plodding, painstaking, to some extent vigorous, above all, sincere and earnest. But with this destiny he has not been able to content himself; as what German could? Like Peisthetairos, "the crow hath indicated somewhat to him above,"† and therefore he must needs

* In a work entitled "Die Anfänge der Christlichen Kirche und ihrer Verfassung," The Beginnings of the Christian Church and its Constitution. Wittenberg, 1837.

† Arist. Aves. v. 50.

visit Nephelococcygia. We have no great inclination, we must confess, to attempt such flights ourselves; but having assumed the office of interpreting between Mr. Wolff and our readers, we must endeavour to follow him so far, at least, into the cloudy regions as to render into English his reviewer's synopsis of his argument—in the main we think a sound one—against Rothe. Our readers will thus, at any rate, get a specimen of how a German mind likes to deal with such questions.

“He maintains that church and state are as essentially opposed to each other, as the kingdom of God and the world; that sin belongs to the very essence of that world within which alone the state has its existence and continuance; that consequently the world would as soon give itself up to the kingdom of God as the state would; and that, on the other hand, so long as the world lasts, the kingdom of God, in its essential opposition to the world, has no other problem to work out than how to *separate* itself more and more from the world, and more purely and perfectly to unfold its own proper form—that is, the church. In maintaining this ground, the author does not shrink from consequences. He even asserts that the morality of the state and the religion of the church have nothing in common. The former, in his view, is purely of a political nature, is mere legality, and rests solely on the compulsory obedience which has respect to the ordinances and laws of the government,—things of an overt character, which can have neither place nor influence in the church, where all actions must be prompted by inward conviction, and the mutual brotherly love of the members. Nay, he even goes the length of maintaining the ticklish doctrine that, as respects salvation through Christ, the morality of men is not to be considered, and that the moral man is really not nearer this than the immoral. Politics and Christianity appear to him things so utterly heterogenous, that the most excellent statesman, in spite of all his political success and services, may yet be a very bad Christian, and may incur the risk of ruining his political reputation, were he to act the diplomate on Christian principles.”

Dean Frey, in giving this synopsis of Wolff's views, complains that he does not keep fairly to abstract reasoning, but descends to eke out his argument by an appeal to actually existing arrangements. This may be; but, though we do not subscribe to all the sentiments contained in the above extract, it furnishes, we think, substantially, a very fair and sufficient reply to Rothe's argument. That argument, as we understand it, is this: religion and morality are essentially one and the same thing; but the proper sphere for the perfecting of a man's destination to morality is society, which is also the proper province of the state; consequently, it is only within the province of the state that religion, which is the proper object of the church, can flourish. As, therefore, the church extends its religion, it tends to perfect general society; and, by consequence, the state, whose province

that society is; and so to prepare the way for its own entire absorption into the state. Now, to this piece of transcendentalism it does appear to us a very adequate reply to say that the morality which is sufficient for general society, and of which alone the state can take cognizance, is something very different from the religion which it is the design of the church to extend amongst men; and that consequently, even supposing the state to arrive at its perfection, there would still remain much for the church to accomplish in her peculiar vocation. Still, of what use is all this speculation, either on the one side or the other, as respects the question at issue? Suppose we grant Rothe's theory—it still remains to ask, how does the fact, that the church is ultimately to be merged in the state, justify the state, in its present confessedly imperfect condition, in legislating for the church, and forcing it to work out its peculiar destiny by other than its own inherent powers? May not this very interference be injurious to the state itself, and tend to prevent the Euthanasia of the church, by retarding the advance of both to that point, where the one is to be absorbed in the other? On the other hand, suppose we adopt Wolff's view, and maintain the essential tendency of church and state to separate, to a greater distance, as each grows more into conformity with its formative idea, what good reason is there in this why the state should not interfere to regulate the affairs of the church? Does it necessarily follow that an institution should contemplate exactly the same ends and tend to the same result as the general government of the country in which it exists, before that government can take any cognizance of its existence or operations? On the contrary, does it not rather appear as if the existence of a difference, and still more, of a contrariety on these points, between a state and any institution existing within its jurisdiction, made it imperative upon the state to take that institution so under its charge, that no injury should result from it to the interests of the government? And with respect to the question of *endowing* the church, seeing the church, in working out its problem of making men religious, directly benefits the state, by at the same time making its subjects virtuous, what is there in the mere fact, that the state is a worldly and the church a spiritual institution, to forbid the former attempting to secure to itself this great benefit, in an increasing degree, by facilitating the efforts of the latter? To us it appears that these abstract reasonings do not touch the real merits of the question on either side. Had Wolff argued that the state, as an institution for certain specific purposes of human comfort, has no right to go beyond its sphere to meddle with purposes it was never designed to serve; or that the church, as a spiritual institution, designed for specific spiritual purposes, cannot, without injury to these purposes, accept of the bounty, or permit the interference of the

state, he would, we think, have come greatly nearer the mark at which he aims. Such modes of reasoning, however, we suppose, are too *factisch* to find favour with a true German theologian; though it is but fair to mention, that having indulged himself in this flight, our author follows it up with a sober enough exposition of the advantages which would accrue to the church if left unfettered by her connexion with the state.

When he comes to give utterance to his wishes for the future, we regret to observe that Mr. Wolff descends from the ground he had previously assumed, and, instead of insisting upon the entire separation of church and state, as the only radical cure of the evils of which he complains, as from his previous tone and remarks we were anticipating, he contents himself with proposing certain modifications and changes of the present internal state of the Lutheran churches, for "the purpose of affording greater scope to the religious feelings and sympathies of individuals, in the way of forming societies and meeting in conventicles"—a relaxation, in short, of the present system of rigid control and uniformity. "In place," says Mr. Frey, "of desiring that the church should break with the state, and form her new edifice on purely church foundations, which is the only thing to the point, the cautious and circumspect author, who seems to have a consciousness of the confusion and mischief attendant on such an experiment, only prescribes certain preparatory measures for the gradual attainment of his end. First of all, he demands full freedom for the unrestricted formation and internal unfolding of religious associations and unions. Next, he would have the rights of the deans and pastors—of whom the latter under the present system are the most efficient for purely Christian ends—greatly extended, so that they might secure these ends, both more widely, and more thoroughly, in regard to individuals in their congregations. Both of these proposals, however, are obviously dependent for their realization simply on the good will of the government; and when, consequently, they are avowedly urged, upon the ground that by means of them the ultimate separation of the church from the state will be accelerated, it is much to be doubted, especially in the present conflicting state of our political and ecclesiastical relations, and whilst the state is every day harassed by the strugglings of hierarchical assumption,* whether such good will is to be hoped for, in which case the project will come to nothing, and all things remain as they are." In all this there is much sound sense; and the fate of Wolff's proposals will be nothing else, we are pretty confident, than the learned dean has predicted. That

* The allusion here is, doubtless, to the recent quarrel between the King of Prussia and the Archbishop of Cologne.

his conclusion should have been so impotent, after so bold a commencement, is to us, however, more a matter of regret than surprise, when we consider the grounds upon which he has supported his theories. When any question appertaining to the proper constitution of the church of Christ comes to be determined upon such purely philosophical principles as Wolff has sought to rest his argument upon, it is not to be expected that the conclusion will be urged to a practical issue with any great pertinacity or zeal in the face of strongly-opposing interests. Men are seldom very zealous for abstractions. A mere theory finds few martyrs. The displeasure of princes, or the risk of temporal loss, is not often incurred in support of opinions which are reached by mere processes of deduction from certain speculative ideas. It is only when we come to view certain doctrines and practices in the light of offences against sound morality and the will of God that we become sufficiently impressed with their inherent evil, to determine, at all hazards, to expose their enormity, and labour for their destruction. It was this view of the evils of the church of Rome which led to the reformation. It was this view of the iniquity of slavery which led to its abolition in the British dominions. It was this view of the grievances of dissenters in this country that brought on the repeal of the test and corporation acts, and the bill for catholic emancipation. It is this view of the evils of a civil establishment of religion, which is working in the minds of the opponents of such institutions in Great Britain at the present time, and urging them to such persevering and ever-increasing efforts for their overthrow. And it is only where such institutions are so viewed, as violations of the Divine plan, and encroachments on the high prerogative of Heaven, that men will gain sufficient stimulus to labour for their removal, against the otherwise resistless combination of wealth, prejudice, and power, by which they will be defended. Had Mr. Wolff taken his stand upon this ground, we have no doubt but that his assault upon the institutions whose evils he so strikingly depicts would have been maintained, both with more honour to himself and advantage to his cause.

It is occasion for serious regret, that in this respect our author is only a fair specimen of his countrymen in general. We see nothing in modern German theological literature more to be deplored than the unwillingness which, to a greater or less degree, even its most pious cultivators display, to bring all their opinions and controversies to the simple test of scriptural authority. A taint of rationalism adheres, almost unconsciously, to them, even in their most anxious efforts against that ruinous system. We know of none so free of this as Tholuck, Neander and Hengstenberg, especially the latter, of whose "English

mind" and "rough occidental materialism"* his countrymen sometimes complain; but even they might be better in this respect than they are. Oh! that men of their vast and well-stored minds were *thoroughly* possessed of the idea, that one clear injunction of the Divine Spirit is, to the true believer, of more worth and of more constraining energy than all the reasonings which the deepest thinker ever drew out of an abstract conception! Then might we hope that "the word of the Lord would grow mightily and prevail" in that interesting country, for whose spiritual regeneration they have been already honoured to do so much.

Meanwhile, it is pleasing to see that many meditative and pious minds in Germany are dissatisfied with the stiff, cold, and all-embracing forms in which the church in that country has hitherto lived, and are ardently breathing their desires for a state of things more in accordance with the internal purity and spiritual glory of the kingdom of Christ. Such aspirations are like so many tongues of flame, which gradually grow into each other, until a blaze be kindled, such as nothing can withstand. "Many pious and lofty desires and glimpses," says Jean Paul, in a sentence quoted by Dean Frey, "dwell for centuries in thousands of quiet hearts, and nought comes to pass but the opposite; till, at length, a Man grasps the club, and breaks open every bosom, and gives as much vent to heaven as hell has had before." Already, in regard to the freedom of Christ's church, glimpses of truth, and wishes for a better order of things, are settling down in many pious hearts; the man who is to give scope to them will also come in due time.

Art. V. *China; or, Illustrations of the Symbols, Philosophy, Antiquities, Customs, Superstitions, Laws, Government, Education, and Literature of the Chinese, derived from original sources, &c.* By Samuel Kidd, Professor of the Chinese Language and Literature, University College. London: Taylor and Walton.

WE could have wished to give an earlier notice of this important and interesting volume, but when in attendance on the great we never march with hurried steps. China, in its own estimation, "the celestial empire," under the rule of "the son of heaven," must be owned by us "outside barbarians" to be half a world. It is the phenomenon of nations, both for what it is, and what it is

* Umbreit. "Studien und Kritiken," 1830. S. 13.

not. Three or four hundred millions of immortal beings, hitherto shut out from the light of revelation, must be to the Christian an object of agonising interest, that plunges us into mighty musings on the mysteries of Providence, and taxes all our powers to "vindicate the ways of God to man."

To the philosophical student of history this is a riddle that might puzzle Ædipus. The Chinese have gone so far, they have stopped so short, that we know not whether to ask why they who have done so much could do no more, or how they who could do no more could have done so much? They have combined the writing of philosophers with the speech of babes. They who best know their written medium of communication affirm that they have accomplished what the mathematical Wilkins attempted to prove possible,—to create a universal language; and those who *converse* with them, find that they have yet to learn to talk; for they are obliged to help out their infantile prattle with their philosophical characters. All who have dealt in "the tongues" have had their speculations on language; but Chinese must be, to a certain extent, known before our theory of language can have either compass or depth. For we have always supposed that the written must have a relation to the spoken language of a people; and the Chinese have proved that no such necessity exists. Yet we had before our eyes what might have taught us this truth so much unknown. The arithmetical figures are a written language, employed by all Europe, which derived it from Asia; but when various nations talk these figures over, one nation cannot understand another. To the eye they are the same; to the ear they are different. Thus, they who use the Fu-keen and the Mandarin Chinese, write the same characters, and cannot converse but through an interpreter. This anomaly is a study for a life.

In works as well as in words the celestial empire is a combination of contrasts. Some of their productions would induce the conclusion that the Chinese are oriental Greeks, masters of the fine arts; but we look again, and take up other specimens of their skill, and we perceive that we were like children deceived with blighted cherries, which we thought ripe: the premature colour proved, not precocity, but want of vital stamina. All that the Chinese do, betrays excessive labour vainly striving to supply the want of science. Their boasted wall is the work of Cyclops without even one eye: it shuts them in rather than keeps their enemies out. Their porcelain has taught us to surpass in a century, what they had been perfecting for a millennium; so that wealthy Mandarins will give any sum for English china.

But, ah! their philosophy, their morals, and their religion!—

what a chaos of sublime folly, of wicked virtue, and impious piety! The whole of their philosophy is founded on the Yin and the Yang, the male and the female principles, which they suppose generated woman and man, the latter partaking most of the male, and the woman most of the female influence. But the philosophy of Moore's Almanack, which reigns among them, is not worth our ink, or the reader's time. As to morals, the Chinese may be characterized, in Johnson's words, as placing virtue in the manners of a dancing-master; for polite ceremonies are the alpha and omega of Chinese morality, except that submission to the despotic authority of a father is inculcated to sanction the despotism of the autocrat. The religion of the empire is various; Confucian deism, Buddhism, Pantheism, and something like the Greek idolatry, though without what Gibbon would call its elegant mythology.

This, however, reminds us Christians of our shame. For, what have we done to prove our superior piety and benevolence? Rome, indeed, sought to repair her losses at the Reformation, by conquests in the celestial empire. Her profound policy was displayed in the superior order of men whom she sent on this mission; of which the "Lettres edifiantes et curieuses" are a noble monument; for the whole compass of literature scarcely contains anything more interesting, though but a part relates to China. No missionary to that quarter of the world should be unacquainted with these volumes, some of which are in Latin, and the rest in French. They are interesting as specimens of fine writing; instructive, as details of the mode of procedure among foreigners; and often delightful, as proofs of the Christian piety which lurked among the slaves of superstition. The scholar who has never read those Letters can have no idea of his loss. But the interference of the Jesuits with the other orders, who had entered this field, at first advanced, and at last, as usual, spoiled everything. The pope took the side of their adversaries, and the disciples of Loyola, like many other advocates of despotism, shewed that it is easier to profess absolute submission, when authority is on our side, than to practise it when power favours our opponent. The catholic mission, which at one time hoped to convert the empire, never having made the people acquainted with the Scriptures, proved a mountain of snow before the scorching sun of persecution, and we may now say of it, as of Pompey, *stat magni nominis umbra*.

But what have protestants done for China? Though late, they have not loitered in the field. Morrison has given the Scriptures to these hundreds of millions of benighted heathens. He founded the Anglo-Chinese college at Malacca, where the author of this volume has laboured as a missionary. We should,

on a fitting occasion, notice Marshman, the Baptist missionary, who laboured in the same high vocation at Bengal, where he printed a Chinese version of the Scriptures.

Numerous works on China have lately attested the interest we are but beginning to take in a people with whom we ought to be better acquainted. But it seems that trade and war are necessary to rouse this Christian nation to put forth its energies. According to the maxims of this world's politicians, war with the celestial empire has long been inevitable. To the Chinese, it must seem a war to force upon them our demoralizing and murderous opium. Though *we* may prove the contrary to our own countrymen, we shall never convince the Chinese, nor any other nation, that we are not fighting to compel them to smoke this poison. The war, which began with at least the face of iniquity, has been carried on with the heart of folly. We have been attempting to combine two incompatible things—arms and commerce; to be at once wholesale dealers in gunpowder and in tea; to trade to-day and fight to-morrow; while the merchant has spoiled the warrior, and the warrior the merchant.

That China, like all barbarous or semi-barbarous nations, must be subdued by the more cultivated, or, which is the same thing, that Europe must absorb by conquest or by colonies all the rest of the world, is manifest; and is probably necessary to the highest advancement of the human race. But the amount of crime which this brings to the charge of the conquerors, who have no good intentions, makes us shrink from the conclusion. In this there is, however, more of feeling than of judgment. The crimes of our countrymen in obtaining our Indian empire were indeed horrible; but they were merely a hurricane against a perpetual *malaria*. For the settled course of the Indian governments was vile and mischievous; and the rule of the British is far better than any domination that India has ever before known. The same process with regard to China will lead to the same results. From the hour that we crushed the Burmese empire it was manifest that its celestial neighbour, becoming virtually our neighbour, must fall next, and we must prepare for an intercourse which we have never yet obtained.

Intense, therefore, is the interest which attaches to everything that makes us better acquainted with this half of the human race. Professor Kidd has taken the right course to satisfy those who wish to go to the root of the matter. No people can be thoroughly known but by means of their own language; and the volume before us employs the best mode of engaging our countrymen in this pursuit. It has impressed us with the conviction, that our government ought to endow Chinese professorships; for though Greek or mathematics may find students enough to reward the diligence of masters, no man

can expect to be recompensed for his labour in acquiring Chinese, by anything but national munificence. The Christian church ought, indeed, to supply this desideratum; for as Christ must rule in China as well as the rest of the world, all missionary societies should combine to furnish the means. But Christians are too much divided—*proh dolor!*—to have any hope of concurrence even in this object, in which we have all a common interest. “The Language Institution” failed in spite of the generous services of some Christian scholars; because it was too catholic for our sectarian times. Alas! we have since plunged deeper into this folly. Yet every missionary who goes out to China ought to know its language before he quits our shores. But when we speak of knowing the language, we mean something more than being able to decipher a few of its characters, or to read an easy sentence. Missionaries should be advanced, not only to the point of reading with ease the books of the nation, but also of writing tracts, and conversing familiarly with the natives.

As this may be done, it ought to be done. For in our own country the labour, which must be great, could be endured without the sacrifice of health—we had almost said life; but in a hot climate the acquisition so frequently costs both, that we are always beginning over again. It is high time that we applied to this cruel discouraging waste of our resources the remedy which Providence has placed within our reach. Nor is this previous acquisition of the language valuable, merely for the sake of saving the time, health, or life of the missionary, and the funds of missionary societies, but also for the superior influence which it would give to those who go into the field. The Chinese are a proud people, and while they see him who is to be their teacher poring over the first elements of their language, they feel themselves exalted over him, who never after recovers the influence which he has thus lost. But they would wonder and admire, if they saw a missionary capable of conversing with them, and writing their language, as soon as he touched their shores. Every hour of his time would then turn to account; for by learning the language, he would have become acquainted with the people, and been saved from the necessity of unlearning what an ignorant foreigner acquires during his first abode in a country, only to throw it away again on a further acquaintance with the people.

But we must now give a specimen of Professor Kidd's work. Passing by his reasonings, we come to his luminous sketch of the genius of written Chinese.

“The following syllabus comprehends the general ideas indicated by these heads of classes, which I have arranged in the order of subjects,

but which for facility of reference are placed in Chinese dictionaries according to the number of strokes required in their formation, beginning at *one* and ending at *seventeen*; the *order*, therefore, is mine. 1. Heavenly objects—sun, moon, time, measured by the revolutions of the heavenly bodies, and the constellation of the Great Bear, which is worshipped in China. 2. Atmospheric Phenomena—wind, rain, frost, vapour, sound. 3. Man, as a generic term—one's self, the human frame—its members and properties—head, heart, face, eyes, ears, nose, mouth, tongue, teeth, hands, feet, skin, hair, flesh, blood, bones, nails, sinews. Relations of life—father, son, daughter. State incident to humanity—sickness, old age, death. Spirit—demon—or the shade of a human being. External condition—a servant, a scholar. 4. Animals, wild and domestic—as the tiger, dragon, tortoise, cow, sheep, dog, horse, hog, stag, squirrel, rabbit, rat, mouse, frog, or toad, an insect, a reptile; birds with short tails, and birds in the act of flying; fishes—the alligator; the same character includes the dragon and the lacerta species; the sea-tortoise, and the oyster. 5. The five original elements, which, according to Chinese philosophers, are—fire, water, metal, wood, earth; also, as related to earth—salt-land, hill, valley, mound, field; and as related to wood—bamboo, a splinter, a branch, a bud. 6. Productions of the earth; grain—the generic term—pulse, millet, wheat, hemp, paddy, rice, barley, herbs. 7. Qualities perceptible to the senses, comprehending *colour*, *taste* and *smell*—as black, white, yellow, carnation, azure; sweet, bitter, insipid, fragrant. 8. Domestic utensils, instruments of husbandry, tools, weapons, and things appropriated to sacred uses—these are, a mortar, a dish, a measure, a tripod with ears, a spoon, a knife, a hatchet, a pencil, a square vessel or chest, a stand or seat, a barb or hook, a ploughshare, boat, carriage; bow, arrow, dart, shield, lance, spear, drum; an incense pot, or an earthenware vase or urn; fragrant wine, used to invoke the descent of the gods; the character also denotes the herb from which it is made. 9. Abstract and concrete terms; minerals, and names of things not reducible to any particular class—as error, strength, a journey, great, small, slender, long, one, two, eight, a door, a receptacle, the flame of a candle, a covering for the head, garments, a slight stroke, veins on wood or stone, a channel for water to flow in, an instrument of music, tiles. 10. Characters denoting action or passion, called by the Chinese *living characters*, in contradistinction to nouns, which they designate *dead characters*;—these mean, to creep, to step, to walk, to walk swiftly, to run, to fly, to arrive at, to stop, to stand, to descend, to join hands, to fight, to kill, to imitate, to use, to compare, to produce, to see, to speak, to admonish, to divine, to disturb, to follow, to enter, to protect, to cover, to owe, to collect, to fold, to embroider, to tremble, to eat.”

It is easy to see that this language is ideographic, though some, who have speculated without understanding it, have been presumptuous enough to pronounce it syllabic. Our author gives good reasons for concluding that there has been, at some early period, a connexion between the Chinese and the Egyptians,

which should lead those who would understand the hieroglyphics of the latter to seek for the key in China. Here, most probably, it will be found, as we doubt whether it has yet been discovered; and we would advise Professor Kidd, or some other Chinese scholar, to turn his attention to this pursuit, in which there is much to interest the believer in revelation.

That the ideographic is essentially inferior to syllabic writing, is demonstrated by the labour required from the Chinese to master their own tongue. About twenty letters supersede all the multifarious characters of China; and whenever science and its literature become known there, the wretchedness of their system will be more deeply felt. The perfection of Hebrew, from its commencement, so unlike the rude attempts of all other early languages, leads to the conclusion, that the language, like the first man, was formed by the Creator, whose works are at once perfect. Syllabic language is little else than a miracle. No one who has calculated what combinations may be formed by a few letters, can help wondering at the perfection of the instrument.

But this theme has sent us wandering from China. Professor Kidd has shewn that the only grammatical distinction recognised there, is between living words and dead ones—i. e., the same word which was a noun originally, and signified a thing, becomes, merely by position, a verb, and signifies action, either exerted or suffered. Of their method of conveying the sounds of foreign words, we say nothing; for it is evidently a clumsy attempt to turn a language for the eye into one for the ear; and, as it is in violation of the genius of their whole system, is *invita Minerva*.

Many a precious morsel that has interested ourselves, tempted us to extract it for the instruction or amusement of our readers, when further reflection convinced us that much of the interest was derived from the connexion which we could not exhibit. We must content ourselves with that which, perhaps, is not the best:—

“The following account of the Chinese deluge, which occurred in this reign, is translated from the Shoo-king. According to the Chinese system of chronology, it happened in the year of the world seventeen hundred and thirteen, which is only fifty-seven years later than the generally-received date of the deluge of Moses.

“The emperor Yaou said—‘Vast and destructive are the accumulating waters, which, having overflowed their banks, rise so high as to cover the hills, and overtop the loftiest mountains, while they are co-extensive with the spacious concave of heaven. Alas! for the mass of the people; who shall relieve them from their calamities?’ All replied—‘Behold Kwāu!’ ‘Ah, no, it cannot be!’ answered his majesty; ‘he opposes the commands of his superiors, and subverts the nine classes of kindred.’ It was remarked by the ministers—‘That is doubtful; try him; perhaps he may succeed.’ The emperor said—‘Let him go then,

but be cautious.' He was engaged nine years, without accomplishing his task, and eventually atoned for the failure by his death. Yu, his son, was next employed, who perfected the great work of removing the flood, and restoring order to the empire. The following dialogue, on the subject of his labours, occurred between Yu and his sovereign. The emperor says—'Approach the imperial presence, you have abundant communications to make.' Yu worshipped, and said—'May it please your majesty, how can I speak? My thoughts were unweariedly and incessantly employed, day by day. The deluge rose high, and spread wide as the spacious vault of heaven; buried the hills and covered the mountains with its waters, into which the common people, astonished to stupefaction, sunk. I travelled on dry land in a chariot, on water in a boat, in miry places on a sledge, and climbed the sides of hills by means of spikes in my shoes. I went from mountain to mountain, felling trees; fed the people with raw food; formed a passage for the waters to the sea, on every part of the empire, by cutting nine distinct beds, and preparing channels to conduct them to the rivers. The waters having subsided, I taught the people to plough and sow, who, while the devastating effects of the flood continued, were constrained to eat uncooked food. I urged them to barter such things as they could spare for others, of which they stood in need. In this way, the people were fed, and ten thousand provinces restored to order and prosperity.'"

The reader may now wish for an analysis of the volume. It is divided into seven sections. The first has delighted us by unfolding the mystery, or philosophy of the language. The second is historical in the best sense; giving us a bird's-eye view of the stream of time, as it has flowed down the celestial empire. The three sects which have divided the people are made known to us in the third section, of which the fourth is an appendix, that unfolds their *moral* philosophy, if we may be forgiven for so profaning that term. The fifth section should be studied by statesmen, for it gives the best account of the political state of the Chinese. The next exhibits what may be called the superstition of the people, which is wrought into their very constitution. The volume closes with their education, literature, medicine, botany, and natural history. Some very appropriate reflections on the whole are just what we might expect from a missionary who has been prevented by ill health from pursuing the grand object of evangelizing the country, for which he acquired their most difficult tongue.

Whoever is entitled to the name of the philosopher that investigates facts in their causes, of the philanthropist who feels interested in the condition and destinies of our species, or of the Christian who regards man as immortal, and this globe as Christ's empire, should read this work, which places China exactly in that point of view, which must make up all the soul of research, of benevolence, and of devotional zeal. To pretend to a know-

ledge of man while ignorant of China, is like professing an acquaintance with physics, without understanding gravitation or magnetism. For if the history of Greece is that of literature and science, and the Roman story involves the knowledge of empire, "the flowery nation" exhibits that most curious and interesting of all phenomena, the middle link between the ignorant savage and the scientific European. A Chinese is among men like a bat among birds or beasts, or a seal amidst terrestrial and aquatic animals, for we know not to what class they should be assigned. They have at once wings and teats, fins and feet; the ignorance of the savage and the polished literature of the civilized portion of our race.

That almost a half of mankind should have remained to so late a period in this equivocal position is itself a curious fact; but that the jealousy of weakness should have succeeded in keeping them there, comparatively at peace, free from the intrusion of those restless spirits whose vigour and science could crush them like a moth, is more than curious. But, whoever wishes to see the thing as it is, must study it now; for that the day of China's transition to a new order of being is near, all things declare. Whether Britain shall throw around the empire her iron net from the south, or Russia from the north, shall enslave, under the pretence of protecting the celestials, China will soon become unlike herself. Philanthropy shudders at the prospect; for the pride of the son of heaven, and the knowledge of his numerical advantages and superiority to the mere savage, will be sure to make him restless under defeat, and reckless in the career that leads to destruction. The hand is raised that shall write her story: "Troja fuit."

The Christian must deplore the tendency which the horrors of war will have, to make millions "blaspheme the worthy name by which we are called;" but we have no other resource than prayer to Heaven in their behalf, and jealous efforts to call them to the knowledge of the truth, which will teach them to distinguish between what is called a Christian nation and those Christians which that nation contains. It is true, indeed, that the Chinese mind presents peculiar difficulties to the missionary, who has to contend with a combination of all that is most formidable in ignorance or perverse knowledge. Deism, or even atheism, is here mixed up with Pantheistic speculation, and demonology with material idolatry; while the antiquity of a hundred ages gives force to the errors and vices "received by tradition from their fathers." But while Christ says, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature," we must say, "nil desperandum, auspice Christo." The success will be equal to the labour. We shall not have to elevate the celestials from the degradation of the Polynesian, nor to contend with the feebleness

of the Hindus. A literary, thinking people, far above what our forefathers were when the gospel came to Britain, presents an encouraging field to those who go with a Chinese Bible in their hands. Christian literature will one day spread over the vast empire like the fire kindled by the friction of dry trees over the immense prairies of America. Born again, by the Spirit of God, accompanying the word of truth, which liveth and abideth for ever, the Chinese may become as remarkable among Christians as they have hitherto been among men.

If we have yet made few converts, we have had more success than we have deserved. Late in the field, we have employed fewer labourers than we ought, if we had come in good time. We have been attempting to level the Andes with a tooth-pick. But whither would this spirit-stirring theme hurry us?—We must close.

The language well befits the work, being simply elegant and perspicuous; and if we have refrained from extracts, our readers should remember that a leg or an arm from a statue by the chisel of Phidias, could do but little to make it known: we must view the whole. Some curious engravings of interesting objects, and a thoroughly Chinese whole-length portrait of "Reason's Glory," the present emperor, increase the value of a work which deserves to succeed, whatever may be its fate.

ART. VI. *Nugæ Literariæ : Prose and Verse.* By the Rev. Richard Winter Hamilton, Minister of Belgrave Chapel, Leeds. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co.

DID not the former publications of Mr. Hamilton, and our knowledge of his character, raise him in our minds above all possible suspicion of affectation, we should, perhaps, accuse him of discovering a spice of it, at least, in the title which he has given to the present volume, especially after making ourselves acquainted with its contents; but we know that he belongs to the intellectual athlete, and that what would task to the utmost all the powers of most other men, is mere pastime to him. Highly as we appreciate these pourings forth of an affluent mind—so clear in thought, so convincing in argument, so imbued with learning, and so embellished with taste, yet we give the author full credit, when he says, speaking of them under a different metaphor from the one we have employed, addressing his friend, the Rev. John Ely:—"Even these poor flowers,—wildings—plucked in haste, I should loathe and trample, could I think that any duty of the holy office had been neglected while I gathered them;" we confess, however, that the humility which breathes in the succeeding sen-

tence is far beyond us, we cannot attain unto it; we ought, however, to believe that it is genuine, while we are left to wonder at the vivid perceptions of ideal excellence which the author had in his mind, that could induce him to say of these elaborate and high wrought performances:—"I have no confidence that to the most partial kindness they can present any bloom, or breathe any fragrance, save for a few short days: their chief value to me is, that they enable me to bind a little wreath—though they wither in the offering—in token and in memory of a friendship which has survived the course, and sustained the proof, of thirty years."

We are not among the number of those critics who, on such a subject, ill-naturedly take an author at his word. It would have been scarcely worth his while to weave a wreath so fragile that it would wither in the offering, especially when it was intended to grace the brow of a friendship such as he describes. Each one of the essays in the volume, and they are eleven in number, deserves a place among the first productions of the year, and would alone confer upon its writer a high literary reputation. Each one stands alone, with the exception of two, and bears no sort of relation to the rest, except the family likeness, which leaves not the slightest doubt of their paternity.

We imagine, indeed we have heard, that they were originally cast into the form of lectures, that they were delivered before the Literary and Scientific Institute at Leeds, and that they were afterwards remodelled as essays for the press. This will account both for the nature and diversity of the subjects on which they treat, as well as for the popular style of address which they retain. Half a score of independent treatises, forming one large volume, present to the reviewer a somewhat onerous task. Where space cannot be afforded for a critical analysis of each, and such a notice as will put the reader in possession of its merits, a less satisfactory course must be adopted, and to this we are reluctantly driven on the present occasion. In stating the subject of each essay, we must content ourselves with one or two passing observations, with occasional extracts to illustrate and justify them.

Before, however, we enter upon this, there is one subject, which as it applies to all the prose pieces in the volume, demands our preliminary attention. It is that of style. Of this we have no standard in our language. Our classical writers agree in general principles of composition and taste; but their styles are as diversified as their minds, modes of thought, and educational training. Some of them, such as Robert Hall, Middleton, Horsley, and Cebbet, whatever may be their nicer distinctions, possess in common one transcendent excellence. Their style is the graceful and transparent drapery of thought. The clear medium through which one intellect, as by intuition, communicates with another; the music and the beauty, by which the

creations of the mind render themselves audible and visible. The styles of Gibbon, Dr. Johnson, John Foster, and Thomas Carlyle, though possessing in some good degree this superlative quality, are yet distinguished by others which constitute their individual character. Each is *sui generis*. To this latter class Mr. Hamilton belongs, if we may call that a class, whose peculiarities are such that they have scarcely any thing in common, except the elements of the language in which they write. They are a class, however, inasmuch as they are always men of powerful intellect, who think for themselves, and whose embodiment of thought is as original as the conception. Mr. Hamilton speaks of an "eloquence—the severe rhetoric of nature—whose words are never thought of until the mind has received all the sentiment, and then are felt to be most worthy of it." And this is the eloquence which he himself has cultivated. Some tell us that his style is obscure. We examine the alleged passage, and find that it conveys a profound thought through the most appropriate medium, that there is no ambiguity in the language nor yet in the thought, except to those who have not the power to grasp it. Again, it is said it is ambitious, and often swells into fustian and bombast. We read, and discover that it is only the natural expression of lofty and ennobling ideas, which nothing else could render intelligible. By some we are assured that it is affectedly classical and erudite, and wearies by its stately march and monotonous elevation. Perhaps it is chargeable with all this in some degree, yet, as a whole, though classical, it is, with few exceptions, purely English. Though erudite, it is as often simple; and though it may occasionally betray more of stately monotony than a correct taste can justify, yet, for the most part, no sentences can be more varied, no cadences more natural, no music more sweet. So far from its being a laboured style, we are inclined to think that more labour would have removed from it this objection.

Writers of vigorous minds, and whose thoughts flow with rapidity, are apt to imagine that the phraseology in which their conceptions are first clothed is the best. They clearly understand themselves, and therefore imagine that they are equally intelligible to others. When Mr. Hamilton is obscure, or rather when some of his readers think so, and when they accuse him of an affected use of Latinized words, and classical and somewhat eccentric phrases, to the exclusion of the racy idioms of his own language, we are persuaded it is to be attributed to haste rather than labour, to carelessness rather than to affectation.

The first essay is on the "Isiac Mysteries," and a masterly performance it is. We cannot, however, do more than extract from it two passages—one as a specimen of Mr. Hamilton's style when he begins to glow with the inspiration of his subject, when the

sublime almost trembles on the verge of the ridiculous; the other, as an exhibition of the homage which sanctified genius never fails to offer at the shrine of piety.

“The spectacle of Olympus swells upon us very gorgeously. We think that we behold some lofty summit of crystals rising into the azure and splendour of mid-heaven. It is aerial, without an earthly base. There expands the dome of the Celestial! Like as Ovid records of the palace of the sun, the workmanship exceeds the substance, however costly, out of which it is formed. The year is but a spring, and the spring is no delay of harvest. The wool of Ormus and the dye of Tyre in vain would emulate these tissues. Architecture builds itself up with gold and gem. The choicest incense loads each gale. The amaranth casts its shade and scatters its breath. Music flows from sightless lyres. The nectar cannot fail. Ambrosia grows with inexhaustible abundance. The awful inhabitants of this heaven-embowering elime, this empyrean, are the *αθάνατοι*, the undying, the immortals. Sometimes they withdraw into their respective dwellings and jurisdictions; at other times they keep high banquet and hold solemn debate. One while they separate as stars, the next mingle as constellations. On the lofty throne of that exalted state sits the sire of gods and men. The cloud-compelling Jupiter,—his eagle Perknos couching at his feet,—his brow clothed with thunder,—his nod affrighting the universe,—he proclaims supremacy, and defies fate. Juno, with her perfect beauty reclines by the monarch’s side; she is sceptered,—the peacock spreads his argus-eyed train of plumes in advance of her,—or many of this glorious bird yoke themselves to her car, while her handmaid Iris throws the variegated arch above her head. The ivy-wreathed hair of Bacchus sets off his perennial youth, his thyrsus rules his panthers, and his only wrath pursues the goat because it roots up the vines: Silenus and his satyrs follow him not thither, nor do his earthly orgies and dithyrambics disturb the sky. Mars glitters in his mail. Apollo, that noble charioteer with his fiery-footed steeds of immortal race, only circles heaven in his daily course, and unfatigued relieves the ‘noctes, cœnæque Deum’ with his noble gesture, and sweet harp, and the eloquence of which men can only say that the most perfect imitators ‘Phœbo digna locuti.’ Vesta is mysteriously silent; her thought is fixed and impassioned; the holy veil covers her face; she muses ‘in pure white robes, like very sanctity.’ And now for tricky Mercury, ever voluble, but ever humorous and ready to oblige, prepared to fly head-foremost with his petasus, and with his talaria, or winged heels, just touching earth to rebound to his native seat with all the news of earth. Pallas, the Tritogeneia, with corslet and helm, often quells the anger of her father Jove by her wisdom and moderation, and leaving the wine-god to his magpie, prefers the grave monotonous whoop of her owl. Venus and Cupid here offer little annoyance to ‘the immortal shapes of bright aerial spirits;’ while the boy’s sportive archery need not be feared so long as he is in point-blank range of the Pythian ‘Lord of the unerring bow.’ Diana, with her crescent ensign, is a still better protectress,

and she stands braced and pure as new risen from the Castalian fount. Old Neptune, though always leaning on his trident and surveying his ocean-realm, proves his amphibious capacity, and seems happier aloft than in his coral caves. Some subordinate powers here receive a welcome and an office, though they can plead no prescriptive title to the place. Aurora, always the earliest riser, unbars the threshold of that vast festive pile at dawn. Hebe and Ganymede are the graceful cup-bearers when it pleases their superiors to quaff. Momus is zany of the court. The Hours weave their zone. The Muses fill their choir. The Graces twine their group. There, too, are they who were of divine descent, but still not summoned to this nobility—like commoners courteously distinguished during their aristocratic fathers' lamented lifetime : and a few who, though displaying a sinister bend of earthliness in their shield, are admirable heroes of exploit and fame. Vulcan, that skilful armorer and forger of thunderbolts, often leaves his smithy of Etna to take his patent's rank and seat. Esculapius has abandoned practice, and takes no less medicine above than he did below. Hercules, Castor, and Pollux, though the writ of summons could not avail them but only a new creation, disgrace not the 'ætherea domus' to which they have been called."—p. 5.

It is the Isiac Institute, in its last state of pollution and wickedness, that draws forth the following indignant yet animating strains :—

"It was a paradise of fools ; and an Erebus, throwing its pall of darkness over mankind. Not a debt of gratitude could it ever claim. Evils of the most monstrous malignity grew up under its protection. It looked coldly on the ignorance, and stood unmoved by the wretchedness of nations upon whose wealth it rapaciously fastened ; into whose chains it drove rivet after rivet, and jointed link after link. It juggled for itself, and long its sleight availed it. In the mean time, who of the epoptæ became, from *its* lustration and impulse, the benefactor of his species ? Who was the deliverer, the philanthropist, that came forth thence, his country's blessing, the world's restorer and friend ? Until the reign of Hadrian, there had been issued no proclamation against human sacrifices. And what was that which built its very morals on obscenity, and taught its virtues within precincts devoted to all that can sicken and revolt ? What must the state of feeling be, when the lowest vice is piety, and the most unbridled libertinism is worship ? And how has it disappeared ? Did Epicurus reason down its madness ? Or did the dreams of Plato spiritualize away its grossness ? To the eternal infamy of those philosophers, they made common cause with it, lent it their advocacy, and flung over it their shield. But too late came their help. Its hidden recesses were already profaned ; its mighty pillars were visibly shaken. And soon the dread and awe, which had held the human mind so long enslaved, were indignantly renounced. A new cause of fear, a new form of hostility arose. A light had pierced and scared it. A power was moving over the minds of men which smote it to the ground. It had withstood time,—political shock,—all mortal chance and change,—it could not resist *Christianity!*

This brings with it no secrets but its wonders of love. It is the revelation of the mystery, and would make all men see what is its fellowship. Every artifice of iniquity, imposture, superstition, shrunk from the eye of this blessed religion. Hers was the triumph of this overthrow. It was her unassisted victory. She did more: she achieved, for the first time, human happiness. Every other attempt to retrieve the condition of our world and the destiny of our race had been disconcerted. Jurisprudence, philosophy, art, civilization, all had failed. Their experiments lay in ruins. She met them retiring, flying from the struggle. She advanced the more confident and assured. She lifted up her meek but sublime standard; and still she is the living power of all truth and goodness. Still she builds for virtue its only foundations, and for peace its only safeguards. Government cannot boast so solid a pillar, and patriotism cannot imbibe so pure a motive. She lives in light, she walks in love,—Knowledge is her herald, and Benevolence fills her train!"—pp. 42, 43.

The second essay has for its subject "The Olympic Games." It is not for us to reconcile the "poor flowers—the wildings—plucked in haste," in the epistle dedicatory, with the following announcement of the author's design, and the labour that was necessary for the completion of his task:—

"The subject of this essay is very interesting, not unuseful, illustrative of the most wonderful people which ever existed, deciphering many peculiarities of their national temperament, opening a passage to the heart of their idolatry,—besides constituting a splendid observance which survived kings and kingdoms, and filled a notation of more than a thousand years. It is pertinent to historical letters, and classic studies: it can be made to portray and impress the course of each duty and the encounter of each ill!

"If I may crave indulgence for any heaviness of the style, or any minuteness of the detail, in this discussion,—it should be recollected that accuracy is everything in such questions: moreover, I may claim credit for the utmost pains-taking and research in my power. It will often be necessary to cite the opinions, allusions, and statements of Grecian and Latin authors: the greater part is mine own selection, while others, which were suggested to me, I have always attempted to verify. Knowing that Gilbert West was the chief modern writer on these Games, I forbore to examine him until my principal materials were collected: I then read him with much advantage, and some mortification, for I soon found that proofs and descriptions which were, until then, regarded by me as fortunate and hard-gained treasures, had been ascertained and seized by him before. I cheerfully, however, remit the reader to that author, that he may try the extent of my obligations to him."—p. 50.

No one, after the perusal of the whole treatise, thus pertinently introduced, will be able to say of the writer's labours, "*Magno conatu magnas Nugas;*" he must rather hail it as

“*Munus Apolline dignum.*” But the author worships at a higher shrine, for thus he closes the dissertation :—

“While this retrospect of a marvellous institute, based on the solidity of ages,—elaborated by the arts of sculpture, eloquence, and poesy—the school of glory,—the centre of intelligence,—the apex and paragon of fame,—while this retrospect has opened upon us,—let us,—thinking of our higher duties and graver responsibilities and incomparably more precious advantages,—learn from this course of agonistic strife and struggle to fulfil our nobler, better, course! There was one who had seen the first, or who was fully informed concerning it,—and it may be well,—at least cannot be harmful,—to listen to his ‘conclusion of the whole matter.’ He seems to have in imagination the throng of spectators,—the debated course,—the contested rivalry,—the gymnastic curriculum,—he transfers it all to a grander combat and a sublimer speed—‘Wherefore seeing we also are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, let us lay aside every weight, and the sin which doth so easily entangle, and let us run with patience the race that is set before us!’ ‘Know ye not that they which run in a race run all, but one receiveth the prize? So run, that ye may obtain.’ ‘If a man also strive for masteries, yet is he not crowned, except he strive lawfully.’ ‘Now they do it to obtain a corruptible crown, but,—we an incorruptible!’”—p. 107.

“The History and Prospects of the Human Species considered in relation to Intellectual and Social Improvement,” which is the third essay, will interest a far more numerous class than the two former; we can only remark upon it, that the theories of human nature which have at any time gained the attention of the world are examined—that man’s origin is traced, his capacities exhibited in their various states of development, the causes which have advanced and retarded his progress are unfolded, and cheering anticipations of the future are justified by arguments derived from the everlasting principles of moral government, as combined in the system, and embodied in the only form of religion which is designed for universality, and which, in spite of all opposition, must achieve its ultimate triumph in the renovation of our entire species.

There is a noble passage on the Reformation, to which we can only refer, and quote instead, a much shorter one. The subject is Revolution.

“Revolution can never take place in the governments of the world, without a great aptness in public sentiment for it. Seldom, however, is a people so ripe and so prepared, that such a change shall not cost a struggle. But as seldom does such change not repay it. The causes must be deep and general: men are commonly long injured,—worn out with wrong,—ere they are goaded to this redress. Our own was but the proscription of a hated dynasty, and the dash of a pen achieved

it. That of America, be its provocation great or small, was the requirement of self-rule, by a vast colony which was old enough for a patriotism, and strong enough for a defiance. Never had country a juster ground for this species of vindication than France. There was not a great heart but beat in sympathy with it. Had it been earlier, its righteousness would have been clearer still. It should have fallen upon the rampant vice of tyranny, and not upon its feebleness. The worst, by the delay, were spared. And then it was acted by the few, and only imitated by the multitude. There was no standard morality, no restraining principle. It was a terrible recoil of passion. It was a judgment for martyred blood. The original quarrel was forgotten, and assassins seized on it as an occasion for massacre and booty. Yet when this age has passed, and its wars are forgotten, and its prejudices are allayed,—even that tempest and whirlwind shall be confessed to have ventilated the political atmosphere of the earth, and to have dissipated many a putrid pest which they found hanging there!

“That a crisis now solemnly pauses over the human family, that the chronicle of our world has now reached a surpassing interest, few will deny. The spirit of this age, growing long and maturing fast, struggles for expression. It teems, it travails, with glorious presages. What are its signs? It is the spirit of *vindication*. Man feels that he has been the subject of atrocious wrong. He has been crushed to the dust. His claims have all been mocked and spurned. He but asserts himself, but that assertion is a business of no mean import, and must prove one of mighty earnest. It is the spirit of *knowledge*. The soul feels that, to be without it, is not good. As the eye covets light, and even the flower of the cavern turns towards it, man disdains the ignorance which has been forced upon him, and, ‘more than they who wait for the morning,’ invokes the irradiation which can change mental darkness into day. It is the spirit of *independence*. The postulates of intellectual exaction are refused. The watchwords of general opinion are slighted. Proof is craved. Test is applied. Theory is sifted. It is the spirit of *liberty*. The quenchless passion which found an inbeing in the bosom of the enlightened and the virtuous few of old, has now awakened an all but universal sympathy. Even the slave breaks his bonds, and shall idiot-sway hold nations captive? It is the spirit of *dignity*. Man emulates his proper place and rank:

‘Himself he too much prizes to be proud,
And nothing thinks so great in man as man.’—YOUNG.

And though there may be much superficial boast, though the malapert sciolist may be often observed, though the affected confidence may be the look of vacaney, though the vaunted march may be the strut of conceit and the stalk of pride,—yet is there in all that encourages our hope and confirms our augury, depth as well as diffusion, and strength as well as lustre. The pillar is massive in every proportion to its ornament. The bed of the river will sustain every rush of its tides and every confluence of its waters. The time shall come when the universal plan will be expounded,—how all has subserved one end, and hastened to one goal.”—pp. 145, 146.

From the fourth essay, "On the Grounds and Sources of History," we can only afford space for the opening paragraph on Scepticism, which reminds us of a transcendantly glorious passage in one of Foster's Essays:—

"Certainly there be that delight in giddiness; and count it a bondage to fix a belief.' This trite quotation from the first of Bacon's beautiful and compendious Essays, describes a not uncommon state of the human mind. Scepticism of *all* truth and certainty, is not infrequently vaunted as our worthiest and most ennobling independence. A very satisfaction is cherished by some in doubting everything. Theirs is not the suspense of caution, nor the interval of deliberation,—they deride the hope, they abjure the capacity, of conviction. Now this is an intellectual condition most unhappy or most illegitimate,—most unhappy, if the nature of things precludes the possibility of just assent and settled belief,—most illegitimate, if there be an indifference to truth and a scorn of the evidence which confirms it. Whomsoever these Pyrrhonists call their master, in their universal indetermination they have little cause to boast. Might not a more discursive inquiry, a more observant eye, detect the deciding proof? May there not exist; and only latent to carelessness and lassitude, powers and instruments of assurance to which even they must yield? If more silent and more reverent,—might not the oracle speak to them, and in no equivocal response? At what point of human life, at what stage of human history, can man be justified in declaring that all the faculties of research are exhausted, that all the departments of knowledge are explored? And truly the spirit within us is placed most abjectly in all that concerns its improvement and pleasure, if it possess no tests by which to discriminate the impressions forced upon it, no rules to adjudge the circumstances out of which those impressions grow. To it only is this a phantom-world. It secures to itself the prerogative of dreaming, only to question its dreams. To the inferior tribes all is real and indubitable. This diffuses joy and animation over the economies of sentient nature. It riots in the bound of the antelope, trills in the carol of the lark, sweeps along in the flight of the eagle. It is existence in sympathy with all the scenes about it,—the green earth, the blue heaven,—existence conscious, assured, unsuspecting,—existence which jealousy of any single instinct or object would cloud and mar. If man cannot thus partake the ecstasy of confidence,—if his superior intelligence compels him to a timid apprehensiveness of all that his predecessors have told, and all his contemporaries yet tell,—it is natural that he should bewail his fate, it may be laudable for him to submit to it,—but it must be an enormous inconsistency to make it a reason of exultation. And that mind which so flippantly and recklessly avows its willingness to oscillate for ever between fact and falsehood, should, at least, be informed of its unhealthiness and decrepitude. It is the eye of the understanding which has gathered a film over itself,—the page which it cannot read is undefaced! The balance is accurately equal,—it is the palsied hand which agitates the scales into their ceaseless alternations!"—pp. 149, 150.

The subject of the next two essays is Shakspeare. Some whom we know, and others of whom we have heard, will dilate the pupils of their eyes, and look with all the blank simplicity of astonishment as they receive this information. A minister of religion, an orthodox dissenting minister, too, of "the stricter sect," to be the critic and the eulogist of Shakspeare!! Yes! and we honour the magnanimity and the independence, which, on a fitting occasion, did not shrink from the task of doing justice to one of the greatest geniuses which this or any other country ever produced. In former years, and not very distant either, the fact of having Shakspeare in his library would have subjected the student or the pastor not only to censure, but almost to proscription. Indeed, a case is within our own recollection, where a man of some eminence, and occupying a distinguished station, was denounced, his company avoided, and a pulpit in one of our provincial cities closed against him, for no other reason than his having been detected in the very act of reading a volume of Shakspeare. Had it been Sophocles, Terence, or the dramatic writer quoted by Paul, at Athens, he would have been perfectly safe—the ignorance of his visitor would have proved his security—but it was the English Shakspeare, and his doom was sealed. While we rejoice in a healthier state of the religious mind, on the subject of fictitious and dramatic writing, and think there was much ignorant zealotry in the opposition which this species of composition so long encountered, we are not disposed very severely to censure its authors, whose chief fault seems to have been that they perceived no distinction between the acted and the written drama, and looked upon all the works of the imagination as ensnarers of the understanding, and enemies to the truth and sobriety of religion. In many cases they ought to have discriminated where they absolutely proscribed, yet we doubt not the purity of their motives, we only question the soundness of their judgment. Hannah More, among the strictly evangelical class, was the first who set a noble example of this discrimination. She took off the ban of intolerance from the name of Shakspeare, and taught the youth of that generation how to read him with advantage.

We are quite sure that we yield to none in our abhorrence of the literature which charms the mind only to corrupt the heart. Works of this character every patriot and every Christian is bound to regard as the most effectual contaminators of innocence, and therefore to be carefully excluded from the family circle.

But do the works of Shakspeare come within this category? Let us hear Mr. Hamilton.

At the conclusion of the first lecture, entitled "The Tragic Genius of Shakspeare," he observes—

“In drawing these annotations on this incomparable genius to a close, I must be allowed to say, that I have wished nothing to extenuate and to set down naught in malice. Conscientiously adverse to theatrical amusements, I see no reason why a poem should become dangerous to morality, because cast into scene and dialogue, the true dramatic shape. Shakspeare has obtained such a mastery of the human mind, such a throne in the world of letters, that it is impossible to banish him from our libraries: he is so singularly impressive, is so readily remembered, that it is equally impossible to chase him from our memory. Read and quoted he will ever be. His descriptions, like rich hangings and tapestries, fill our minds. We think through him,—by him we speak. He belongs to our national treasures—he controls our manners, and modulates our expressions, even still. For more than two centuries has his name been glorifying. Ever-strengthening is his spell. The guardian of youth and the minister of religion have here no easy path to walk, nor unhesitating counsel to enunciate. It cannot be denied that, in perusing him, there is danger of moral contamination. It is vain to say that his worst evil is his fidelity, that he calls the spade the spade. There is sometimes a lavish pruriency. His power is occasionally for evil as well as good. Explore his deep lore of human nature, study the principles and laws which he so clearly expounds, mark how even he can only make vice look frightful and leprously deformed,—and, as our taste passes by his verbal conceit and idle pun, let our better and purer sensibilities reject and spurn the oblique, and the too often undisguised, grossness which blots his page,—grossness so uncongenial with the poet, so injurious to the dramatist, so unworthy of the man!

“Plato, describing the poetic inspiration, says that it loves to visit a *tender* and *solitary* spirit.* How happily do these epithets describe the poet of whom we speak. How tender was his nature to every impulse and contact! It was like one sensorium. It was the cloud of spring, pliant to every form, reflective of every hue, and tremulous with every gale.—It, too, with all its fellowships, dwelt apart. How it soared above, and was unlike all common things. It walked amidst the haunts of men in a sweetly contemplative loneliness. It was the star, it rose and set, its glory was of itself, but it still moved to the harmony of a system and shed a living lustre all around. Or, if this imagery be thought too elated, we may think of his birth-place and its variegated scenes, and still speak of him as the tender and the solitary. His genius was, as his Avon, rippled by every breath, and throbbing with every impulse,—it flowed alone, as that lovely stream, its simple self, but was a mirror to every eye, and a harmony to every ear,—dulcet as the nightingale in the grove along its margin, and majestic as the swan which glided on its bosom!”—pp. 234, 235.

At the commencement of the essay he expresses his opinion of theatrical performances, and it is condemnatory:—

“It may be permitted me to say, that disapproving of the acted drama as a school of morality and source of amusement,—that incredulous

* “*Απαλην και αλατην ψυχην.*”—PLATON. PHÆDO.

lous of its susceptibility of any decided improvement,—that convinced that the ideal and vision of poetry are injured by the proudest imitations of the histrionic art,—no taunt can lie against me because I enthusiastically love the dramatic literature of the olden model. It is a solid substitute and compensation to me for all my loss of the pleasure which others derive from theatrical show, mechanism, and illusion. I can read my authors,—their strain of harmonious numbers is my orchestra,—their vivid description paints, illumines, and shifts my scenery,—their summons crowds my stage with kingly presence, struggling virtue, awful incantation,—and the ‘*Veluti in speculum*’ I can afford to forego, when they bid their creations rise up without a medium, and speak without an interpreter for themselves.”—p. 191.

The second lecture on Shakspeare, entitled “The Classical Comedy compared with that of Shakspeare,” thus concludes:—

“I shall repeat nothing that was offered in a former essay upon the too spontaneous, too complacent, introduction of grossness in many of this author’s works. I will say nothing on that question of personal consistency which respects admiration of the dramatic structure of poetry, and specially of the productions of this bard, and disapprobation of theatrical establishments and exhibitions. He must be read,—he ought to be read,—and my humble province has been to shew what are some of his merits, and also to suggest some cautions in his perusal. There are times when even he must not be excused our sorrow and disgust. But when I recal the fine, noble, sentiments of religion which often warm his page,—when I dwell upon his careful discernment of the human heart,—when I behold his nature and his truth,—when I think of the magician who can crowd his circle with fairy and goblin, the heroes of mythos and the heroes of history, prince and peasant, courtier and clown, Titania that zephyr, Caliban that earth,—when I mark well his reverence for virtue, and specially for female virtue, his guardianship of the virgin and matronly white robe,—when I see at every wicket and doorstead his image as the Lar of all household fidelity and love,—when I hear in his voice the clarion of liberty,—when I find that he has spoken to kings as they were never before addressed, and to peoples as they were never before represented, furnishing manuals for both,—when I trace the language universal which he easily enunciates, dialogue for the council, harangue for the forum, rally-cry for the host,—the subdued phrase of the palace, the majestic oratory of the throne, together with strains in which poets sing and philosophers descant, in which lovers whisper and friends confer, in which the mob shouts and the housewife chides,—the sweetest iambic of rhythm, the noblest instrument of eloquence,—when I muse all this,—the depth to which I believe no other man has reached,—the power of which I believe no other man has held the grasp,—the minstrelsy of every chord which I believe he alone could strike, and which of all men he only could direct as it floated around him,—then scarcely can I put a check upon my wonder, or set a bound to my homage,—(though finding and conveying no apology in the sentiment for whatever there may be of vice:)

‘Ubi plura nitent, non ego paucis
 Offendar maculis, quas aut incuria fudit,
 Aut humana parum cavit natura.’*

To these essays on Shakspeare, the glory of the volume, we must remit our readers, without enriching our pages with any further extracts. The dissertations which follow, “On the Yorkshire Dialect,” and “On Correlates and Synonyms,” discover considerable research, discrimination, and ingenuity. The first is also enlivened by occasional flashes of wit and strokes of humour. The next, “On the Passions of the Human Mind,” is philosophically just, and in some points original, as they correct the errors of metaphysicians of great name.

“Personal Identity,” and “Craniology” are the subjects of the last two essays. In the latter, the pretensions of the advocates of this vain speculation are laughed to scorn, their facts are shewn to be groundless assumptions, and their reasonings proved to be fallacious and absurd.

On that portion of the volume which is devoted to “verse,” we forbear to offer any comments. Mr. Hamilton’s fame does not rest on his poetry. After reading these “Nugæ Literariæ,” if we might sum up our judgment of the author’s merits in one sentence, it should be the following:—“ΟΙΚΕΙΑ ΖΥΝΕΣΕΙ, ΦΥΣΕΩΣ ΜΕΝ ΔΥΝΑΜΕΙ, ΜΕΛΕΤΗΣ ΔΕ ΒΡΑΧΥΤΗΤΙ, ΚΡΑΤΙΣΤΟΣ ΔΗ ΟΥΤΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΣΧΕΔΙΑΖΕΙΝ ΤΑ ΔΕΟΝΤΑ.”—Thucyd. lib. i., sect. 138.

*Letter from the Earl of Shrewsbury to Ambrose Lisle Phillipps, Esq.,
 Descriptive of the Estatica of Caldaro and Addolorata of Capriana.*
 London : Charles Dolman. 1841.

THIS is altogether a marvellous pamphlet, which may well serve to convince us that the age of credulity is not passed. Its perusal has awakened in our mind both astonishment and regret,—astonishment that an Englishman should be found, in 1841, of such easy credence as is here evinced, and regret, that the human intellect, aided by all the information of the present day, should permit itself to be so stultified and priest-ridden. But so it is, and we must deal with facts as we find them, however mortifying to our pride, or subversive they may be of our most cherished theories. We have been accustomed to imagine that the credulity of the dark ages had disappeared with its ignorance, and that as sorcery and witchcraft had ceased to terrify our nur-

* Hor. Ars. Poet., 351.

series, so the follies of an over-rank superstition had lost their power on men of larger growth. We were not wholly ignorant of the fact, that in some secluded nooks and corners vestiges of the former faith might yet be found, the last remnants of a spell once so powerful and terrific ; but we had to learn—we confess it in our simplicity—that the Romish faith retained such power over its votaries, and those, too, the most noble born and well bred, as to invest the impositions of priestcraft, or the hallucinations of an over-wrought temperament, with the attributes of a miraculous interposition. Such, however, is the fact, as the letter before us clearly proves, and it remains that we draw from its startling disclosures the unwelcome lessons with which they are fraught.

The schoolmaster has now been abroad for many years ; he has walked the length and breadth of our land, scattering the elements of knowledge and the influences of intellectual life, amongst the masses of our working population. The consequences are apparent on every hand, in the increased activity and enlarged inquiries of the popular mind. A mighty revolution has been effected in the intellectual status of our people, and the change is still going on. Our artisans and labourers are lifting themselves up from the debasement of ages, and are substituting inquiry and ratiocination for the blind faith and slavish fear of their fathers. The traditions which were formerly sacred are now discarded with contempt, and the assumptions of the clergy, together with the dogmas of selfish politicians, are laughed at and set at naught. This is as it should be ; but the singular and ominous feature of the times, is the revival just now—and that, too, by a powerful party—of the exploded doctrines of the middle ages ; the fictions, by a skilful use of which, priestcraft formerly rose to power. In this resurrection we see—whatever temporary purposes it may answer—a sure sign of the bad spirit and conscious insecurity of hierarchical Christianity. The abettors of priestism have been driven by the popular tendencies of modern protestantism to this revival of obsolete dogmas, but the effort will not avail them. It may promise security, but it will prove their ruin, and that, too, in proportion to the zeal with which such nostrums are enforced.

But we must not be diverted from our more immediate object, even by the pretensions and activity of a party in whose proceedings we are so deeply interested. It is in perfect harmony with the Oxford movement, that popery should revive some of its old pretensions. They are parts of the same system of tactics by which the man of sin hopes to regain his former supremacy, and will succeed or fail together. It is the same spirit which animates the Puseyite party that is evinced, though with less prudent reserve, in the pamphlet before us. In the one case, we see the

initial, in the other, the mature development of one and the same principle. The difference is one of degree, not of spirit. They are like travellers who have started from the same point, and are moving in the same direction, though one be somewhat in advance of the other. Rome already rejoices in the anticipated reconciliation of the Oxford party to the holy see, whilst that party, though discarding some of the names, and mystifying many of the dogmas of popery, are evidently looking in the direction of spiritual Babylon. The Earl of Shrewsbury's letter displays, in the full growth of its absurdity, that uninquiring reliance on ecclesiastical officials which Dr. Pusey and Mr. Newman demand at our hands.

But to the pamphlet before us. Its title is sufficiently unintelligible, nor will the astonishment of our readers be diminished, when they learn that it relates to two young women, whose enthusiastic devotions have awakened the admiration and wonder of their catholic neighbours. The surprise excited by this discovery will give way to stronger feelings when the pamphlet itself is read, which is so perfectly unique in modern times, so out of harmony with all the sympathies and thoughts of an intelligent age, as to carry the mind back to the period, when folly assumed the garb of wisdom, and priestcraft was converted into a divinity. We can scarcely convey to our readers an accurate notion of the feelings which successively rose in our minds while engaged in the perusal of this singular letter. As observed by a contemporary—"We read the title with a kind of incredulous wonder; then we turned over the leaves with a disposition to contempt, gradually growing into a struggle to resist bursting into immoderate laughter. But this gave way to a feeling of humbling shame, that in the nineteenth century, in such a country as this, the premier earl of England should put forth such a production." But it is time that we permit our noble author to narrate the marvels which he witnessed. Our extract will be somewhat long, but we cannot otherwise do justice to the case:—

"Having brought letters from the bishop of Trent to the clergymen of the place, we were very shortly introduced into the house and into the chamber of the Estatica, accompanied by her confessor and the assistant-priest of the dean. It was about eleven o'clock. We found her in her usual state of ecstasy, kneeling upon her bed, with her eyes uplifted, and her hand joined in the attitude of prayer, as motionless as a statue. She was dressed in white, with her head uncovered, but with very long, flowing, black hair; and there was much of elegance in her figure, and grace in her attitude. Our first feeling was that of awe, at finding ourselves in the presence of so favoured a creature. When this had partially subsided, we might have mistaken her for a waxen image; for it appeared impossible that any being possessed of a soul could seem so inanimate—could remain so motionless; still a closer

inspection soon proved that that soul was at work. When in this state, she neither sees nor hears; all her senses are absorbed in the object of her contemplation; she is entranced—but it is neither the trance of death, nor the suspension of life, but a sort of supernatural existence; dead, indeed, to this world, but most feelingly alive to the other; one might fancy that the spirit were dwelling in heaven, while the body (without, however, losing its consciousness) remained expecting its return. After contemplating her in this condition for some minutes, she closed her eyelids, but without any other, even the slightest, movement, and certainly without the least perception of our presence. She might have remained in this state and posture for several hours, had not her confessor, by a slight touch or a word, we could not exactly say which, so quiet and imperceptible it was, caused her to fall back upon her pillow, which she did with the most perfect ease, placing herself in a sitting posture, with her legs extended under the counterpane, without the slightest effort, and without awakening from her ecstasy, remaining with her eyes shut and her hands joined as before, in the attitude of prayer; her lips motionless, and her soul transfixed in the same profound meditation. After again contemplating her for a few moments in this new position, her confessor proposed to us that he should awaken her entirely from her trance. We had no sooner assented, than he addressed her in a mild, gentle tone, as did the assistant-priest from the other side of the bed, which was placed with its head against the centre of one side of the room, we standing close at her feet, when in an instant, the most perfect animation was restored to her. She let fall her hands and opened her eyes, while her countenance beamed with a most heavenly, benignant smile, full of gratitude and joy, looking first to one side, then to the other, as if it were the unexpected meeting of friends whom she had not seen for years. She then took the hand of her confessor and kissed it with most unaffected devotion; and, turning with equal kindness to the assistant, paid him the same mark of affectionate respect. Her consciousness of our presence was merely signified by an occasional glance of the eyes, which otherwise were kept modestly cast down upon her hands. These she was continually covering with the ruffles of her sleeves, which were wide and ample, for the express purpose of hiding the stigmata with which they were marked. Both the confessor and assistant said a few words to her at short intervals, which appeared to give her great pleasure, and to which she ever assented by an inclination of the head, with that same placid, benignant, and heavenly smile, which had stamped the moment of her awakening with an inexpressible charm. Amongst other things, the assistant said to her,—‘*Maria, this is an easy life;*’ to which she replied, ‘*Yes,*’ with her usual sweetness. This was said in Italian, which we understood, while the rest was spoken in German, which we understood not. We all agreed it was the sweetest scene we ever beheld. It was, however, soon and abruptly terminated; for one of our party happening incautiously to ask the confessor, in her hearing, whether she were marked with the stigmata, she instantly changed countenance, as if she had heard that which should make her sorrowful; and, without any perceptible transition, became again transfixed in ecstasy,

with her hands, as before, joined over her breast in the attitude of prayer. Her confessor then told us, that she had the stigmata on her hands, feet, and side, and that they occasionally emitted blood; a statement which was afterwards confirmed by the assistant, who remarked, that he could only vouch for the wound in the side by the assertion of the women who had dressed her, but the others he had seen with his own eyes.

“After allowing her to remain for a few minutes in this second ecstasy, her confessor again brought her to herself by speaking gently to her, and she once more awoke with the same angelic countenance. The assistant then asked her to present us each with a small holy print, of which he took a box full out of a drawer, and handed them to her for the purpose. She selected them one by one, presenting them to us with great complacency and affability; and it was upon this occasion that we distinctly observed the stigmata on her hands, though marked only by a red spot, perhaps a quarter of an inch in diameter. Only a few minutes more had elapsed, when she again became absorbed in ecstatic contemplation; and, not wishing to trouble her or her attendants any longer, we reluctantly took our leave, inexpressibly delighted, interested, and edified by our visit to this singularly favoured child of heaven. Her ecstasy aside, the circumstance which struck us as the most extraordinary, was the extreme facility with which her confessor transformed her from a state of perfect unconsciousness as to sensible objects, to one of ordinary life. Though we all entered the room at once, accompanied by her confessor and the assistant, and all conversed together, yet, though, her eyes were wide open, she was most certainly wholly ignorant of our presence, and would probably have remained so for several hours. Her confessor had found her in that same state and posture at half-past six in the morning, though he then put her out of it, in which we found her at eleven. It is, indeed, become so completely her ordinary condition, that every day she is frequently in ecstasy, and even passes much of the night in ecstatic contemplation. She has been known to remain thirty-six hours together in the state and position in which we first saw her; and on Sunday it generally happens that she is raised off her knees, resting only on the tips of her feet, as if enjoying a nearer prospect of heaven, and participating in the glorious mystery of that auspicious day. Yet, with all this, it requires no effort, no noise, hardly any ostensible agency to break the spell; a gentle touch or whisper from her confessor, or any ecclesiastic with whom she is acquainted, is sufficient to dissolve the charm completely and at once.”—pp. 3—8.

This young woman, whose name is Maria Mörl, was born, we are informed, on the 16th of October, 1812. One of her brothers is a Capuchin friar, and she has a sister belonging to the order of Ursuline nuns. She appears to have suffered severely from illness during her early years, which she bore with exemplary patience. The first appearance of the ecstatic state which has since become so common to her, was in 1832, when it uniformly succeeded her attendance on the holy communion. At one of

the church festivals during that year, it assumed a more decided character, on which occasion she is alleged to have retained her kneeling posture and ecstatic state of mind during thirty-six hours. This, though sufficiently marvellous, is quite possible, and may be paralleled by many feats of enthusiasts and fanatics. What follows is much more remarkable, and places beyond all reasonable question, the imposture practised by some, at least, of the parties concerned. Maria Mörl, it must be borne in mind, belongs to the third order of St. Francis, a most superstitious and fanatical zealot of the thirteenth century, who imprinted on his hands, feet, and side, wounds analogous to those borne by the Redeemer. These wounds, known by the name of stigmata, were appealed to by himself and his followers, as a miraculous attestation to his sympathetic union with a crucified Saviour: and the tale, though too ridiculous to be believed by any intelligent man, was readily circulated by the abettors of ecclesiastical assumptions. Such was the model, according to which the ghostly confessors of Maria Mörl were to work, and the following account, furnished by the Earl of Shrewsbury, from the pages of Görres, sufficiently bespeaks their skill:—

“ So early as the autumn of the year 1833, her confessor observed, accidentally, that the part of the hands where the wounds afterwards appeared, began to sink in, as if under the pressure of some external body, and also that they became painful, and frequently attacked by cramps. He conjectured from these appearances that the stigmata would eventually appear, and the result fulfilled his expectations. On the Purification, on the 2nd of February, 1834, he found her holding a cloth, with which from time to time she wiped her hands, frightened like a child at what she saw there. Perceiving blood upon the cloth, he asked her what it meant? She replied, that she did not know herself; that she must have hurt herself so as to draw blood. But, in fact, these were the stigmata, which thenceforward continued upon her hands, and shortly afterwards made their appearance upon her feet, and to these, at the same time, was added the wound upon the heart. The manner in which her confessor, Father Capistran, deals with her is so simple, so far from aiming at the marvellous, that he did not even inquire what had passed within her to give occasion to these wonderful appearances. They are nearly round, but a little extending lengthwise, from three to four lines in diameter, and are stationary on both the hands and feet. Drops of clear blood frequently flow from these wounds on Thursday evenings and Fridays; on other days they seem covered with a sort of crust of dry blood, without the least appearance of inflammation, ulceration, or any vestige of lymph.

“ She concealed this circumstance, as she concealed in general whatever could reveal the state of her interior. But in 1833, during the passage of a solemn procession, ecstasy of jubilation appeared in her; she was seized by it in the presence of several witnesses, who beheld her, like a glorious angel, scarcely touching the bed with the points of

her feet, splendid as a rose, her arms extended in the form of a cross, plunged in the joys of love. All present could then see the stigmata upon her hands, and the miracle could no longer be kept secret."—pp. 18—20.

Her bodily sufferings during her seasons of ecstasy would seem to be intensely severe. "Her sighs change into a moaning that wrings the heart; a flush of deep red suffuses her cheeks,—the swollen tongue seemed glued to her parched palate,—convulsions become more violent and more intense,—the hands, which at first were sinking by degrees, now dropped more rapidly,—the fingers entwined convulsively,—the rattle of death is heard in her throat; still, at long intervals, a few sighs seem to burst from the organs which death has stiffened." These fearful convulsions take place, we are informed, every Friday, so regular is the period of their recurrence, and are so entirely under the control of her confessor, as to cease instantly at his bidding. "A single word," we are told, "from her confessor, or from any other person spiritually connected with her, is sufficient to recall her to herself, without its being possible to observe the transition."

If these circumstances taken together—the sex and age of the party, her early illnesses, her regularly returning fits, for such only can we call them, the constant presence of her confessors and their paramount influence over her, do not indicate a case of physical disease and high-wrought fanaticism on her part, and of cool, deliberate imposture on the part of others about her, then we shall be willing to credit all the monstrous fables by which an erring piety or priestly selfishness has sought to accomplish their several ends. But we have not yet attained to the limit of the Earl of Shrewsbury's faith. The *Estatica of Caldaro* is far surpassed by the *Addolorata of Capriana*. "If," says our noble author, "you have felt Maria Mörl to be an object of surpassing interest, I think you will soon acknowledge that Domenica Lazzari is one of surpassing wonder;" and he afterwards describes the case of the latter as "perhaps the most striking supernatural personification of the sufferings of the Redeemer, which in his infinite wisdom and goodness the Almighty has vouchsafed to manifest upon earth." This is indeed marvellous language to be used by a sane man, living in the nineteenth century, and conversant somewhat with the free thoughts and bold speculations of protestant England. Nor will the astonishment of our readers at the earl's credulity be lessened when they learn, that the miracle thus referred to, consists of a poor miller's daughter, whose bodily and mental suffering, while adapted to awaken pity towards herself, possesses no one attribute, nor is capable of accomplishing any one end, of a miraculous attestation. The locality of the hamlet in which the sufferer dwells, is in happy

harmony with the impression which is sought to be made on her visitors. Situated amidst the lonely mountains of the Tyrol, surrounded by rude, wild, and desolate scenery, the visiter is awed by the wild sublimities of Nature, and his imagination aroused to more than its wonted activity, before he is introduced into the chamber of this most marvellous of Rome's modern wonders. The following is our author's account of this singular case:—

“Having also brought letters from the Bishop of Trent to the pastor of the place, we readily gained admittance to the chamber of the Ad-dolorata, as she is styled, and there found her with the stigmata in a state of the most painful reality, and perhaps more distinctly marked than they have ever yet been known in any human being. It was at about a quarter after three on Friday the 21st of May. She was as usual lying on her back in bed, though comparatively free from suffering. The crown of thorns was as regularly and as distinctly marked across her forehead by a number of small punctures as if they had been pricked with a large pin, and the wounds appeared quite fresh, though no blood was flowing from them. Beneath was a regular interval of about a quarter of an inch, also perfectly free from blood, so as to give the punctures, which represented the wounds from the crown of thorns, the most perfect possible degree of distinctness. Below this line, her forehead, eyelids, nose, and cheeks, were entirely covered with blood, leaving only the upper lip and the whole of the lower jaw free from it. It had flowed in the morning, and was then dry. Her hands were firmly clasped over her chest, as of one in a state of considerable pain, and her whole frame was convulsed with a short, quick, tremulous motion. The blood was still oozing perceptibly from the wounds in the back of her hands, though the blood and serum which had flowed from them did not extend above two, or at most three inches. Her fingers were so firmly clasped, that, to judge from appearances, she had not the power to loose them; but on the clergyman who accompanied us asking her to let us see the inside of her hands, she immediately opened them from underneath, without unclasping her fingers, as a shell opens upon its hinges; so that we distinctly saw the wounds, and the blood and serum quite fresh, and flowing down over the wrist. At our request he also asked the mother to uncover her feet, which she did, though with some small reluctance, when we found them in the same condition as the hands, with, however, this singular and surprising difference—that, instead of taking its natural course, the blood flows upwards over the toes, as it would do were she suspended on the cross. We had already heard of this extraordinary deviation from the laws of nature, and were now happy to have an opportunity of verifying it in person.

“Understanding that she sometimes gave small prints of pious subjects to her visitors, we asked for some through the clergyman, who took them out of a drawer, and at our earnest request gave them to her to kiss before we received them from her. She took them between her forefinger and thumb, one after another as presented to her, without unclasping her hands, kissed them with great apparent fervour,

and returned them to us. She said a few words to the priest, but did not speak to us, though, by the intelligent expression of her countenance, it was clear that she understood all that was said. She often moved her lips, as if in prayer. She sometimes smiled, and her whole demeanour impressed us with the idea of a person of the most mild and amiable disposition. We solicited her prayers, to which she signified her assent, and then took our leave with feelings of reverential awe, inspired by the presence of so supernatural a spectacle, and of gratitude to the Almighty for permitting us to witness so striking an evidence of the truth of his holy religion, and so singular a manifestation of his power.”—pp. 29—32.

In addition to this account, we are informed of some minor miracles pertaining to her case, which evince a luxuriance and prodigality of superhuman powers, to which no parallel can be found in the records of genuine history. The blood which oozes from the stigmata on her forehead is said to disappear spontaneously, leaving the skin quite pure. In like manner, her linen is affirmed never to be stained from the blood which flows from her foot and side; and she is said neither to have eat, drunk, nor slept during the last eight years. She was born at Capriana, in 1816, of poor parents, and is represented as having given early indications of extraordinary piety. Like Maria Mörl, she seems to have encountered in early life severe bodily suffering, and to this circumstance we are ready to attribute much that has subsequently transpired. His lordship, after referring to the sufferings of Christ, suggests a parallel between them and those of his heroine, which reflects as little credit on his piety as on his taste.

“So was *Domenica* prepared for the wonders that were to be wrought in her, by long and most excruciating maladies; wonders which had an immediate reference to the passion of Christ, and which were intended, by the woful spectacle they present to us, to impress upon our minds a deeper sense of the heinousness of sin, and of the sad price paid to redeem us from its penalties.

“Her sufferings were so great that her screams were often heard to a great distance; still her patience was inexhaustible, and her resignation so perfect, that, in the midst of her torments, she continually expressed her gratitude and her love to God, and her sense of his mercy and goodness to her. The holy communion alone relieved her, after which she frequently lay entranced for a considerable time.

“It was under these circumstances that, during one night, her whole head was encircled by small wounds, fifty-three in number, which opened and bled profusely every Friday. Fourteen days after the crown of thorns, she received the stigmata in the hands and feet, and the wound in the side.”—pp. 34, 35.

The influence of bodily suffering on minds of an excitable order is well known. The two elements of our compounded nature act and re-act on each other; they are mutually cause and

effect, and the result of their conjoint action is precisely that morbid state of body and of mind which constitutes the impostor or the dupe,—the wilful deceiver or the plastic instrument by which the cunning or the craft of others accomplishes their nefarious designs.

Of this tendency the cases before us afford apt illustrations. It may be difficult to determine the precise position of these female devotees; whether they are themselves deceived, or are knowingly concurrent in the deception of others, we cannot say, though somewhat inclined to the former supposition. But of the general character of the two cases no doubt can be entertained by any impartial and intelligent bystander. They possess no one qualification which can entitle them to rank with those scriptural miracles, by the side of which the Earl of Shrewsbury would place them. For aught that appears, they are perfectly within the reach of human power. The bodily convulsions and mental ecstasies, together with the wounds, impiously termed holy and likened to those of our blessed Lord, may all have been produced by priestly contrivance for the accomplishment of its own sinister designs. To liken such things to the miracles of our Saviour is to undermine the foundations of our faith, and to insult the reason with which we are endowed. When the blind received their sight, the lame walked, the lepers were cleansed, or the dead were raised to life, tangible facts were presented which all could examine, and for the production of which no other cause would suffice than a Divine interposition. The effects of such miracles were beneficent as their authorship was thus obviously divine. Can anything of the like kind be alleged in the cases thus heralded into notice by the Earl of Shrewsbury? Do they not rather pertain to the mystery of iniquity, which “with all power, and signs, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness,” seeks to ensnare and ruin the souls of men? But it is idle to reason on facts so obvious, and we therefore dismiss the present publication with an earnest exhortation to our readers, and more particularly to such of them as are engaged in the ministry, to apply themselves diligently, and without loss of time, to the study of the history, and principles, the immutability of nature, and ever-varying phases of popery. No matter whether it be seen at Oxford or at Rome, it is essentially one and the same, and is destined, if we mistake not, to become the all-absorbing topic in which many others will be merged. To be thoroughly masters of its principles and its details is, therefore, the solemn duty of every religious teacher, and will soon be felt to be absolutely needful to the defence of the church of God against this most arrogant and pestiferous heresy.

Brief Notices.

The Difficulties of Elementary Geometry, especially those which concern the Straight Line, the Plane, and the Theory of Parallels. By Francis William Newman, formerly Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford. 8vo. pp. 143. London: Ball and Co. 1841.

This is a fragmentary work. "It consists," says our author, with much modesty, "of extracts from one which was intended to form a continuous system of elementary geometry; but as he finds no reasonable ground for hoping that any one would adopt his system as a whole, he has determined on selecting those parts which are either wholly new, or wanting in the common treatises." "In this form," he adds, "they may be read as supplementary by a student who has gone through Euclid; yet the endeavour has been made so to arrange them, that no part shall be unintelligible to a person who may have no previous acquaintance with geometry." That this little volume may be read with advantage by one who has already studied geometry to some extent, we have no manner of doubt; for many of the speculations it contains are exceedingly acute and ingenious, the reasonings clearly and lucidly expressed, and the methods of development and illustration not a little novel. But that they can be intelligible to any one previously ignorant of the science to which they relate, we are disposed to question. To us they appear far too brief, and too little developed for *that*.

We have also our doubts upon another point. Our author appears to think that an attempt might be hopefully made to clear up many of the fundamental difficulties connected with the science, *even to the novice*; for example, to remove the difficulties respecting the "definition of a straight line," or "the celebrated difficulties embarrassing the doctrines of parallel straight lines." For our own parts we much doubt it, considering what endless controversy these difficulties have occasioned, and the doubts which have been entertained as to the completeness or incompleteness of the reasonings offered for their elucidation, even amongst the greatest geometers.

Our author "anticipates that objections will be made on two heads to the methods which he has employed,—to the introduction of *motion* in geometry, and to the early use of the doctrine of *limits*." To such objections, however, we think he has fairly replied, so far as such objections are directed against the *logical* propriety of the course pursued. If he thought that clearer ideas might be imparted by such a course, he has quite made good his logical right to adopt it. It may, however, be made a question by many, whether the introduction of such notions (if they are to be made clear and satisfactory to the youthful mind,) will not involve difficulties as great as "those with which the elements of geometry abound." Our author thinks otherwise. "To him it appears that the notion of a limit enters into the very first conceptions of geometry, (as of a surface, a line, and a point,) and is essential to the establishment of those laws on which he believes

the science to rest." This might be allowed, and yet it might be replied, that many of the earliest conceptions of childhood itself involve some of the most subtle exercises of abstraction, while yet it would be impossible to make the mind of childhood conscious of the wondrous processes it was performing, or so explain such processes as to render them intelligible to it. The same observation applies to all youthful minds, previous to a certain stage of development.

But we must have done. If we could hope to render such discussions palatable to the generality of our readers, it would delight us to follow our author into at least the principal parts of his little volume. As it is, we must content ourselves with strongly recommending it to the attention of our mathematical readers, assuring them that whether they agree with our author's method, or not,—whether they think that he has succeeded in removing any of the fundamental difficulties of the science, or that those difficulties, so far as respects the youthful student, must be left where they are, either because they involve notions so simple as to defy demonstration, or, where that is not the case, necessitate demonstrations which cannot be adequately understood by the young,—they will find themselves conversing with a highly intelligent, acute, and well-furnished mind, and cannot fail to derive from his work both profit and pleasure.

Illustrations of Scripture, from the Geography, Natural History, and Manners and Customs of the East. By the late Professor George Paxton, D.D., of Edinburgh. Third edition. Revised and greatly Enlarged. By Rev. Robert Jamieson. Vol. I. Manners and Customs. Edinburgh: W. Oliphant and Sons.

Dr. Paxton's work is too well known to require comment or description. It exhibits a wider range of subjects than those of Harmer and Burder, and constitutes a general depository of such information as is illustrative of the manners and customs, geography and natural history, of the Bible. The present reprint will consist of four volumes, of which the first only is yet published, of the same size as the uniform editions of Montgomery and other modern poets, which have been recently issued. It will contain a memoir of the author, by Dr. Mitchel, of Glasgow, as well as much new matter from the pen of Mr. Jamieson. For completeness, therefore, as well as for the cheap and neat form in which it appears, it must speedily supersede its predecessors.

Account of Koonawur, in the Himalaya, &c. &c. &c. By the late Captain Alexander Gerard. Edited by George Lloyd. London: Madden and Co.

This volume constitutes a valuable supplement to the narratives of Sir William Lloyd and Captain Gerard, which were noticed in a former number of our journal.* The lamented decease of the latter gentleman having left his design unaccomplished, his papers were committed to Mr. George Lloyd, and his father, a surveyor of the East

* New Series, vol. viii. p. 92.

India Company, for publication. "They have been," says Mr. Lloyd, "carefully read, and out of the mass of route-books, observations, loose memoranda, &c., the result is this volume." In a letter to Mr. Lloyd, from which an extract is given in the preface, Captain Gerard refers to his manuscript account of Koonawur, as "a description of the country, without any narrative," and which he could easily extend to double its length. This design, if ever it assumed so definite a form, was never accomplished, though the copy was carefully corrected by its author. The work, therefore, necessarily appears under some disadvantages, which, however, are more than counterbalanced by the valuable information it supplies. To the man of science, the volume will prove of especial value, while the general reader, and the merchant, will derive from it information at once useful and interesting.

The Congregational Calendar and Family Almanac for 1842.

London: Jackson and Walford.

This useful manual contains, in addition to the usual matter found in such publications, much useful and valuable information respecting the history, principles, and societies of the Independent denomination. The editor has laboured with considerable diligence in the service of his brethren, and is well entitled to their prompt and general support. "As this work," he remarks, in his advertisement, "is published especially to promote a more complete denominational union amongst the Independent churches of the empire, so the editor has laboured to supply the members of those churches with the fullest information respecting their various societies and efforts, separate and associated." Such a design, so skilfully executed, cannot fail to be highly appreciated by the body whose benefit it contemplates, and we trust that the publication will speedily find its way into the hands of the ministers and members of our churches generally.

The History of Nelly Vanner, who died April 26, 1839, aged Ten Years. Written for Children of the same Age. By John Curwen. Sixth Thousand. London: Ward and Co. 12mo, pp. 96.

This little book is one of the best things of the kind we have ever seen. Mr. Curwen says, in a short but intelligent preface, "This book is addressed to the hearts and minds of little children. It aims, therefore, to be simple, and does not disdain to be called childish." He has written the book as if he were *telling* the story to a parcel of little folks in his study. He has made himself one with his young auditory, and, consequently, has succeeded most admirably in writing in such a manner as cannot fail of delighting young persons. We earnestly advise Christian parents, now that the year is closed, to purchase this little book as a new year's present to their children. It is one of the most affecting and useful publications which can be selected for that purpose. The most important doctrines of scripture are presented in the plainest and simplest manner. We recommend its perusal in the strongest terms.

1. *The Illuminated Atlas of Scripture Geography; a series of Maps, delineating the Physical and Historical Features in the Geography of Palestine and the adjacent Countries: accompanied with an Explanatory Notice of each Map, and a Copious Index of the Names of Places.* By W. Hughes, F.G.R.S. London: Knight and Co. Royal 8vo, 1840.
2. *The Biblical Atlas; containing Seventeen Maps, with Explanatory Notices.* London: Religious Tract Society. Royal 8vo, 1840.

Happy are the biblical students of our day, and in nothing more so than in the ample provision which has been made of books, the object of which is to illustrate biblical history, antiquities, and geography. It is only of late that the arts have been made to contribute their full share to this species of literature. Pictorial and illustrated works were formerly so expensive (to say nothing of their inaccuracy) as to place them altogether out of the reach of ordinary purchasers. To no man are students so deeply indebted for developing the capabilities and resources of the art of wood-engraving, as the enterprising publisher of the first of the above works. By the enormous stimulus given to that branch of art, in the large and various works of a pictorial kind which he has brought out, the resources of the art have been fully exhibited, and some of its choicest products brought within the reach even of the most moderate purse. In no department of literature has he conferred more signal benefit on the public, than in that of scripture history, antiquities, and geography. His "Pictorial History of Palestine," his "Pictorial Bible," his "Illustrated Commentary," (embodying the notes and all the illustrations of the "Pictorial Bible," in a cheaper form,) are works of the highest value. Well worthy of being placed by their side is the "Illuminated Atlas." It is altogether the best and completest work of the kind that has ever come under our notice. It contains not less than twenty maps, each of which is accompanied by a valuable geographical disquisition. The whole of this descriptive letter-press (together with extensive tables of latitudes and longitudes) occupies about fifty large and closely-printed pages. The maps are beautifully coloured by that new method of "illumination," for which Mr. Knight has taken out a patent; and in which, as our readers are well aware, the colours are not laid on by the slow process of manual labour, but by the *press*. The colours appear more sober and less brilliant than under the old process; but, though less dazzling, they are, to our eyes, much more pleasant, and undoubtedly shew the outlines of the maps with much greater distinctness. Whether it be wholly owing to the method of colouring, or partly also to the style of engraving, we know not; but unquestionably the various portions of these maps are thrown out in much stronger relief than we have ever noticed in any other "Atlas" whatsoever. We are inclined, however, to attribute by far the greater portion of the effect to the novel and ingenious method of colouring. This, together with the greater cheapness of the process, must ultimately secure to the new method the preference of the public. It may require some little time

to familiarize the eye to it, but of its final success we think there can be little doubt.

The "Tract Society" has also recently conferred upon Biblical students some works of great value, and of unrivalled cheapness. To say nothing of their "Antiquities of Egypt," (of which we hope shortly to present our readers with a fuller notice,) the "Atlas" at the head of this article is one of the neatest, and certainly by far the most moderate in price, hitherto published. To students, to teachers in Sabbath schools, and to all private readers of the Scripture who cannot afford to purchase more extensive or costly works, it is a most valuable boon. Though less elaborate than the "Illuminated Atlas," and of far inferior pretensions generally, it seems to have been got up with much care. Though the maps are small, they are characterized by great clearness and commendable accuracy. They are not coloured; but this defect may be easily supplied by a very little ingenuity and trouble on the part of the young of either sex who may purchase it, and indeed it would be a good exercise in sacred geography, if every one who has the opportunity were to spend a few hours in rudely colouring the maps according to some copy furnished by other and larger "Atlases." We have known the attempt made with great advantage; and need not say that the value and utility of the Atlas have thereby been much increased. The maps are accompanied, like those of the "Illuminated Atlas," by descriptive letter-press, which occupies about thirty large pages.

An Inquiry into the Use of Church Authority, Tradition, and Private Judgment, in the Investigation of Revealed Truth, with a "Catena Patrum," from the Writings of Anglican Divines, who have regarded Scripture as the only Test of the Divine Will. By the Rev. John Moore Capes, B.A. 8vo, pp. 390. London: Hatchard and Son.

This work is directed against some of the most pernicious errors of the Oxford school of high-church divinity. It appears to be the production of a mind possessed of unfeigned piety, considerable acuteness, sound learning, and calm judgment. We cannot say, however, that it is so satisfactory an exposition of the subject on many points as it might have been; and that for the simple reason, that the author is trammelled by being a member of the church of England. It is true, that he says quite enough to condemn many of the worst errors of the Oxford school, but there are many others which, if adequately refuted at all, must be refuted by taking ground, which one who has sworn an *ex animo* assent to the articles, canons, and liturgy of the church of England has well nigh precluded himself from occupying. At all events, the arguments employed must often be so cautiously, and guardedly, and tenderly insisted upon, by one in the predicament of our author,—must be stated with so many limitations and qualifications, as to despoil them, in a good measure, of their force and consistency. There is nothing we hold to be more certain, than that the Oxford tractists, on a great variety of points, have, and must have, the best of

the argument as against any members of their own church, and therefore we do not expect that the success of the evangelical clergy in this great controversy will ever be more than partial. It is true, indeed, that the latter may convict the former of inconsistency as often as the former can convict the latter; and that simply because the church of England *itself* teaches inconsistencies. But it is poor consolation, that each party can prove the other to be in the wrong, while neither can prove itself to be in the right. As to a "catena patrum" of Anglican divines, we hold it very cheap, whether on the one side or the other, for we can select testimonies which shall form a "catena patrum" on behalf of the most opposite opinions; and who, indeed, can wonder at it, when the standards of the very church, of which such divines are but the ministers, themselves furnish such discordant doctrines? Still, there are many important points in the present work, well reasoned, and conclusively established; and whether the author be perfectly consistent or not, or whether he be in the best possible position for carrying on the controversy or not, certain it is, that he has delivered an earnest and fearless, yet singularly modest and impartial, testimony on behalf of the principal truths which the Oxford writers have impugned, and especially against that enormous error which would invest "tradition" with an authority co-ordinate with that of the "Scriptures." The sixth chapter, "Of the possibility of ascertaining the supposed Apostolical tradition through the medium of the church Catholic; and of the rule of Vincentius Lirinensis:"—the seventh chapter, "On the authority of the early Christian writers:"—and the eleventh, on the "Abuse of Private Judgment," will be found amongst the most interesting in the volume. The work we hold to be the more valuable, that it comes from "Oxford," and may possibly be read by some of the deluded youths there, when other, and even more forcible, works would be disregarded.

Elements of Electro-Metallurgy; or, the Art of Working in Metals by the Galvanic Fluid, containing the Laws regulating the Reduction of the Metals, the States in which the Deposit may take Place, the Apparatus to be Employed, and the Application of Electro-Metallurgy to Manufactures; with Minute Descriptions of the Processes for Electro-Gilding, Plating, Coppering, &c.; the Method of Etching by Galvanism, the Art of Working in Gold, Silver, Platinum, and Copper, with full Directions for Conducting the Electrotypic. (Illustrated with Woodcuts.) By Alfred Smee, Surgeon to the Bank of England, &c. London: Palmer, Longman, and Co. 8vo, pp. 163. 1841.

We have copied out the long title of the above work as the best and briefest way of making our readers acquainted with its contents. Varied as the subjects of this little volume are, they are treated both fully and clearly. We need not say they are full of importance and interest; the recent discoveries in electro-metallurgy, and the promise of still more striking and beautiful applications of the art, which these

discoveries hold out, have excited the liveliest attention in the public mind. The volume is very elegantly got up, and its value is greatly increased by an appendix, containing Palmer's descriptive catalogue of the various species of apparatus used in the illustration of chemistry, pneumatics, frictional and voltaic electricity, electro-magnetism, optics, &c., &c., accompanied by three hundred engravings, and a statement of prices.

Literary Intelligence.

In the Press.

A new edition of Dr. J. Pye Smith's Four Discourses on the Sacrifice, Priesthood, Atonement, and Redemption of Christ, is nearly ready, in 1 vol. f. cap 8vo.

Congregationalism; or, the Polity of Independent Churches viewed in relation to the State and Tendencies of Modern Society; including an Address delivered in Nottingham before the Autumnal Meeting of the Congregational Union of England and Wales. By Robert Vaughan, D.D. 1 vol. royal 12mo.

Proposals have been issued for publishing by subscription, in 1 vol. 8vo, Daniel and his Times, and Zechariah and his Times. By the late Thomas Wemyss, author of "Job and his Times," "Biblical Gleanings," &c. &c. To which will be prefixed, a Memoir of the Author. Subscribers' Names received by the Publishers, Messrs. Jackson and Walford, 18, St. Paul's Churchyard.

The Rev. Robert Montgomery, author of the "Omnipresence of the Deity," &c. &c., has in the press a new Poem, designed to embody the character and work of the Great Reformer.

Just Published.

The Biblical Cabinet, Vol. 34. Biblical Geography of Asia Minor, Phœnicia, and Arabia. By E. F. C. Rosenmüller, D.D.

The Biblical Cabinet, Vol. 33. The Life of Christians during the first three Centuries of the Church; a Series of Sermons on Church History. By C. L. Conard.

Modern Flirtations; or, a Month at Harrowgate. By Catherine Sinclair. 3 vols.

The Mental and Moral Dignity of Woman. By the Rev. Benj. Parsons.

Notes on the Acts of the Apostles. By A. Barnes. (Ward's Library.)

The History of the Knights-Templar and Temple Church. By Charles G. Addison, Esq. of the Inner Temple.

Visits to Remarkable Places, Old Halls, Battle Fields, and Scenes illustrative of striking Passages in History and Poetry. By W. Howitt. Second Series.

History of the Reformation in the Sixteenth Century. By J. H. Merle D'Aubigne; translated by D. D. Scott, Esq. Parts 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

The Christian's Daily Companion. By Clergymen of the Church of Scotland. Parts 1, 2, 3, 4.

Ancient Christianity, No. 7. The Miracles of the Nicene Church in attestation of its Demonolatry: with a Supplement.

Le Keux's Memorials of Cambridge. Nos. 20, 21.

The Pictorial Edition of Shakspeare—Poems. Part 2.

A Dictionary of Science, Literature, and Art. General Editor, W. T. Brande. Part 9.

The Omnipresence of the Deity, and other Poems. By Robert Montgomery, M.A.

A History of British Birds. By W. Yarrell. Parts 26, 27, 28.

A History of British Forest Trees, indigenous and introduced. By Prideaux John Selby. Parts 4, 5, 6.

Peace, Permanent and Universal; its Practicability, Value, and Consistency with Divine Revelation. By H. F. J. Macnamara.

Of the Apostasy predicted by St. Paul. By Mortimer O'Sullivan, D.D. Part Second.

The Book of the Bastiles, or the History of the Working of the New Poor Law. By G. R. W. Baxter.

Frederick the Great and His Times. Edited by Thomas Campbell, Esq.

Our New Vicar; a Tale of the Times.

The History of the Planting and Training of the Christian Church by the Apostles. By Dr. Augustus Neander, translated by J. E. Ryland. 2 vols. 12mo, (Biblical Cabinet.)

The Congregational Calendar and Family Annual, 1842.

New Zealand, South Australia, and New South Wales; a Record of Recent Travels in those Colonies, with especial reference to Emigration, By R. G. Jameson.

Canadian Scenery. Part 19.

Fox's Book of Martyrs. Part 9.

The Scenery and Antiquities of Ireland illustrated. Part 10.

Tracts of the Anglican Fathers. Vol. III. Discipline.

The Christian Offering. By George B. Scott.

The Young Islanders, a Tale of the Last Century. By Jefferys Taylor.

One Hundred and Ninety Sermons on the 119th Psalm. By Rev. Thos. Manton, D.D., 3 vols. 3rd edition; with a Life of the Author, by W. Harris, D.D.

The Philosophy of Necessity, or the Law of Consequences, as applicable to Mental, Moral, and Social Science. By Charles Bray. 2 vols. 8vo.

Treatises on Printing and Type-Founding. By T. C. Hansard. From 7th edition of Encyclopædia Britannica.

The Chain Rule, a Manual of Brief Commercial Arithmetic. By Charles Louis Schonberg.

Poems. By Thomas Miller.

Estimates of Missions in Heaven, Earth, and Hell. By An Old-fashioned Family.

Memoirs of John Caspar Lavater, with a Brief Memoir of his Widow. By P. J. Heisch, Esq.

The Character of Sir John Falstaff, as originally exhibited by Shakspeare, in the two parts of King Henry IV. By Jas. O. Halliwell, Esq.

Episcopacy and Presbytery. By Rev. A. Boyd, M.A.

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THE
ECLECTIC REVIEW

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Art. I. *The Kingdom of Christ delineated; in Two Essays, on our Lord's Account of His Person and of the Nature of His Kingdom, and on the Constitution, Powers, and Ministry of a Christian Church as appointed by Himself.* By Richard Whately, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin. 8vo. pp. xvi., 270. London: Fellowes. 1841.

ABP. WHATELY is a writer whom it is always refreshing to meet with, whatever be the subject which employs his pen, and he has written upon many subjects, throwing some fresh light upon all. A master at once of logic and of rhetoric, the clearness of his ideas imparts a forcible simplicity to his style; but what is especially characteristic of his writings, and sheds a moral charm over them, is the rare quality of an inflexible and fearless love of truth. That prime intellectual virtue, if we may so call it, which he has acutely analyzed and earnestly inculcated in his "Essays on the Writings of St. Paul," is not only apparent in the tone and spirit of his writings, but has evidently exerted a powerful influence in the formation of his opinions; since, if not always such as command our entire assent, they uniformly bear the stamp of independent examination, and are not unfrequently opposed to the prejudices and habits of thinking natural to persons in the author's station and circle of intercourse. Nothing, in fact, but the habit which Abp. Whately insists upon as so important, of cultivating "a sincere love of truth for its own sake, and a steady, thorough-going adherence to it in all philosophical, and especially in religious inquiries," could have enabled him to preserve his intellectual integrity, and to walk erect amid the servile devotees of authority, the monkish fanatics, and dotting antiquaries of Oxford. Whether his opinions are sound and correct or not, (and we have had occasion to con-

trovert some of those which he has advanced on political, as well as on theological subjects,) it is impossible to question the simplicity of purpose with which they are advanced, or to mistake the marks of perfect veracity.

In this respect, Abp. Whately is, both intellectually and morally, the opposite of Dr. Pusey and his colleagues. Not only are their religious opinions diametrically opposed, but we can detect the causes which have naturally led to this contrariety of sentiment. In the essay "On the Love of Truth," to which we have adverted, the learned Prelate has (whether intentionally or not) traced to their very source the errors which have since developed themselves in the doctrines of the Oxford Tracts. Speaking of the feelings which are apt to pre-occupy the minds of men, so as to influence their judgment on the side either of truth or of error, he mentions first, as one of the most common of those feelings, *an aversion to doubt*—a dislike of having the judgment kept in suspense. "He who would cultivate an habitual devotion to truth, must," it is remarked, "prefer doubt to the reception of falsehood, or to the admission of any conclusion on insufficient evidence." Now Puseyism offers a relief to those who are troubled with doubt, apart from evidence; and it teaches its votaries to prefer falsehood to doubt, provided that the error has the stamp of antiquity. In other individuals, the feeling that biasses the judgment is *the desire of originality*, heightened sometimes into the love of paradox. Such persons "are zealous for truth, provided it be some truth brought to light by themselves." This is always a feature in the character of the heresiarch. "Others, again," continues Dr. Whately, "and they are more numerous, are unduly biassed by an excessive respect for venerated authority; by an undue regard for any belief that is ancient, that is established, that has been maintained by eminent men. . . . And some are so biassed by authority, that they not only admit carelessly as true what they have not examined, but even tolerate a considerable admixture of what they themselves perceive to be untrue. And there are not a few who have more dread of anything that savours of novelty, even when they perceive nothing objectionable in it, than of what is generally received, even when they know it to be unsound." Now what is here pointed out as unfavourable to the attainment of truth, and as opposed to the principle of a genuine love of truth, is actually inculcated by the Puseyite doctors as a virtue. Once more: "The greatest of all the obstacles to the habit of following truth," our Author proceeds to say, "is the tendency to look, in the first instance, to the *expedient*; and this is the *sin which most easily besets those who are engaged in the instruction of others*; and it besets them the more easily, inasmuch as the consciousness of

falsehood, even if it exist in the outset, will very soon wear away. He who does not begin by preaching what he thoroughly believes, will speedily end by believing what he preaches. His habit of discriminating the true from the false, the well-established from the doubtful, will soon decay for want of assiduous exercise; and, thus inured to the sacrifice of complete sincerity to supposed utility, and accustomed to support true conclusions by *any* premises that offer, he will soon lose, through this faulty practice, even the power of distinguishing what conclusions are true." We do not, for a moment, imagine that Dr. Whately intended this as the portrait of any individual; but he must have had before him many familiar examples of this process of intellectual deterioration in the Oxford doctors. Two of the "Tracts for the Times" explicitly advocate a "reserve in communicating religious knowledge," which he shews to be a proceeding "in direct contradiction to the spirit of the gospel and the example of its Author;" while, in No. 90, the lawfulness of evasion, and the expediency of prevarication, are openly and zealously maintained. Who can wonder at this result of an educational system which exacts at matriculation implicit assent and subscription to Articles which are neither believed nor understood, which enforces conformity to rites that are not revered, which substitutes authority for evidence, and makes antiquity a test of truth?

It is always satisfactory to be able to trace errors up to their source. Hooker has finely remarked, that a longing to be saved without knowing the true way of salvation, is the cause of all the superstition in the world. What is superstition? Belief without reason, devotion without faith, religion without truth. We do not question the piety and earnestness of the Puseyite clergy; but their religious views have all the characters of superstition,—namely, credulity, mysticism, and mental error. Mistaking faith for fanaticism, they have embraced fanaticism for faith. That faith which is obedience to God, which consists in an implicit deference to revealed truth, a belief grounded upon divine evidence, is virtually rejected for a faith in human authority, in the church, in tradition, which has neither the sanction of reason nor the attestation of the Holy Spirit; for *this* faith is not of Divine production,—it is perfectly natural, springs up spontaneously in the mind that is a stranger to piety, and has nothing sanctifying in its influence. Such a faith, being a mere sentiment, having its seat in the imagination, rather than in the heart, may strictly be termed fanatical. Fanaticism begins when imagination takes the place of rational conviction, and credulity is mistaken for submission to the evidence of truth.

Such is, if we may be allowed the expression, the natural

history of Puseyism. It has been regarded, but erroneously, as a re-action from the rationalism and sceptical philosophy of the last century. The transition is, indeed, natural, from the idolatry of reason to a blind devotion, from infidelity to superstition, from pyrrhonism to popery. The opposite extremes are but the hot and cold fits of the same moral distemper. Credulity and incredulity are but different kinds of spiritual blindness. But Puseyism has not succeeded to rationalism or scepticism as the character of the age. It has followed, and to a lamentable extent displaced and absorbed, the revival of evangelical teaching and vital religion within the Establishment. Mr. Gladstone admits, that the first step towards the re-invigoration of the ministry of the church, was the preaching of the elementary truths of the gospel by men of the stamp of Toplady and Berridge, Romaine and Newton, Scott and Cecil; and he thinks it is clear, that "the preachers associated with the movement of the last century, have infused all that was most truly vital and material in their favourite tenets into the common and pervading tenour of pastoral instruction throughout the country."* In other words, all that is vital and practically excellent in the pervading tenour of pulpit teaching, is derived from the infusion of evangelical truth by those preachers. "Every year that has elapsed since the commencement of the present century," however, Mr. Gladstone remarks, "has seen modifications in the tone of teaching adopted by persons who have still not scrupled to profess themselves to be a school, and to be scholars in the main of those masters." Under "the insensible influence of the spirit of the church," that form of teaching "has joined itself harmoniously, in instances innumerable, to the strongest belief and most determinate assertion of church principles"—consisting in "the doctrines of catholic consent, of grace in the sacraments, of succession in the ministry, of visibility in the church." "The last twenty years, and in particular the last ten, have witnessed a resolute and determined inculcation of church principles by men whose sympathies, with respect to the earlier doctrinal struggle of the preceding generation, were far more with the promoters, than with the opponents of that movement." Of the correctness of this representation, it would be easy to adduce proofs from the writings of such semi-evangelical preachers as Bean and Lloyd; and the process of deterioration is strikingly evinced in the difference between the teaching of Simeon and of Melvill.

We cannot be mistaken, then, in regarding the rise of the Puseyite heresy, or the revival of Popish principles within the

* "Church Principles," pp. 466—470.

† Ibid. p. 473.

Establishment, as the natural and necessary effect of the system of education pursued at the national universities, combined with the tendency to formalism generated by a State Establishment. Nothing can be more unfavourable to the cultivation of the love of truth, and to the attainment of sound religious knowledge, pure-drawn from the Scriptures of truth, than the servile deference inculcated and required to that which neither commands the assent of the understanding by the force of evidence, nor the obedience of faith by the authority of God. "How can ye believe," said our Lord, "who receive honour one of another?" The honour paid to human authority in matters of religion, under the name of antiquity, tradition, or the church, is a fatal hinderance to the reception of revealed truth on the ground of its intrinsic evidence. Traditional notions have, in every age, led to the deterioration of religion. Partaking of the error, infirmity, and corruption of human nature, they inevitably bring in a lower tone of doctrine and practice. Such is always the effect of "teaching for doctrines" of faith "the commandments of men." But when Catholic tradition is substituted for the rule of faith upon the ground of the ambiguity of Scripture, the attempt to explain *obscurum per obscurius* can have no other effect than to confuse and weaken the moral perceptions by which the true is discriminated from the false, the certain from the doubtful.

In addition, however, to this cause of mental error, the doctrines themselves which constitute what are called church principles, must exert an influence hostile to truth and piety. The doctrine of Catholic consent, substituted, in fact, for divine illumination; that of grace in the sacraments, substituted for sanctification by the truth; of succession in the ministry, for the credentials of apostolic teaching; and of visibility in the church, for the unity of the body of Christ; connected as they are with notions of official authority and sanctity suited to flatter the self-love and inflame the ambition and arrogance of the sacerdotal caste;—such doctrines and principles must generate a corrupting and deteriorating influence. Hitherto, Mr. Gladstone being witness, this influence has been greatly neutralized by its admixture with evangelical teaching; but, when "the spirit of the church," by which that teaching has already become so much changed and modified, that "the teachers of fifty years back, who sympathized with methodism, would hardly be recognised in those of the present day,"*—shall have worked itself pure from the foreign admixture, then will be seen what the spirit of the church, as a school of doctrine and as an estab-

* Gladstone, p. 470.

lishment or priestly monopoly, really is,—a spirit utterly at variance with the whole system and genius of the gospel.

The enlightened Prelate whose present volume forms so able, decided, and forcible a protest against the so-called church principles, would of course demur to the representation which identifies those principles with the system and doctrines of the Church of England. He must be aware, however, that, by the vast majority of the clergy, notwithstanding his high reputation as a scholar and a master of reasoning, he is viewed as little short of heterodox. He complains, indeed, in the preface to the present volume, that, although, among the subjects here treated of, are some upon which he has not only reflected much, but has written and published, from time to time, for above twelve years past, yet, those who have maintained, and who still maintain, opposite opinions, have never attempted any refutation of the reasons adduced.

“For instance, that the introduction into the Christian religion of sacrifices and sacrificing priests is utterly at variance with the whole system of the gospel, and destructive of one of its most important characteristics ; and again, that the implicit deference due to the declarations and precepts of holy Scripture, is due to *nothing else*, and that it is not humble piety, but profane presumption, either to attribute infallibility to the traditions or decision of any uninspired man or body of men ; (whether church, council, fathers, or by whatever other title designated ;) or, still more, to acknowledge in these, *although fallible*, a right to fix absolutely the interpretation of Scripture to be blended therewith, and to supersede all private judgment ;—these are positions which I have put forth, from time to time, for many years past, in various forms of expression, and supported by a variety of arguments, in several different works, some of which have appeared in more than one edition And these arguments, though it is not for me to say that they are unanswerable, have certainly been hitherto, as far as I know, wholly unanswered even by those who continue to advocate opposite conclusions.

“All that has been said in reference to the positions above alluded to, (which are among those maintained in the second of these essays,) will equally apply to some of those maintained in the first essay ; for instance, that to attempt the propagation or support of gospel truth by secular force, or by establishing in behalf of Christians, as such, a monopoly of civil rights, is utterly at variance with the true character of Christ's kingdom, and with the teaching and practice of himself and his apostles ; and that to attribute to them any such design, is to impugn their character, not merely as inspired messengers from Heaven, but even as sincere and upright men.”

The reader will learn from this enumeration, the general character of the present volume. That such positions and princi-

ples should find in the Archbishop of Dublin a courageous and uncompromising champion, affords ground for high satisfaction; and could we indulge the hope that the candidates for ordination, and the bishops and clergy of the diocese of Dublin, to whom the volume is dedicated, would be brought to participate in the Author's enlightened views, we should augur better things than we can at present look for, as the fruit of a re-action in a direction opposite to the Oxford Tract movement.

With regard, however, to the learned Prelate's complaint, that his opinions and arguments remain unanswered and unnoticed, it is treatment to which the advocates of these same positions have long been accustomed, and which must be expected at the hands of men who, being pledged to certain opinions, seek only for reasons in support of their peremptory assumptions. The policy of not noticing the arguments of writers on the opposite side, and of abstaining from even any reference to their works, is worthy of a system which abhors the light of evidence, and claims the implicit prostration of the intellect before its authority; but how far such a proceeding is consistent with strict veracity, is another and most important consideration.

The subject of the first essay is one of great interest, and it is placed in a very striking light. Abp. Whately purposes to examine the account which our Lord gave of himself and of his kingdom, in the *two* trials which he underwent, before two distinct tribunals, and on charges totally different. On the one occasion he was found guilty, and on the other, acquitted; and he was ultimately put to death under the one authority, in compliance with the condemnation that had been pronounced by the other. The trial before the Jewish council was for blasphemy, because "He made himself the Son of God;" and the learned Prelate, pursuing a line of argument similar to that employed by Abbadie, in his valuable work upon the Person of Christ, contends that, as our Lord was condemned upon his own confession, knowing in what sense his words were taken, had he not been the Son of God, in such a sense as would involve blasphemy if applied to a mere man, he would have borne false witness against himself, and the sentence of condemnation would have been just. "The whole question of Christ's divine mission, and, consequently, of the truth of Christianity, turns on the claim, which he so plainly appears to have made, to divine honour for himself."

Applying the same rule of interpretation to the circumstances of the second trial, the Archbishop examines our Lord's defence against the charge of treason before Pilate, upon which he was acquitted.

“It is plain,” he remarks, “that Pilate understood him to plead *not guilty*, and gave credit to his plea. Pilate, therefore, must have taken the declaration that Christ’s ‘kingdom is not of this world,’ as amounting to a renunciation of all secular coercion, all forcible measures on behalf of his religion. And we cannot, without imputing to our Lord a fraudulent evasion, suppose him to have really meant anything different from the sense which he knew his words conveyed.”

Abp. Whately proceeds to notice and refute the ingenious special pleading on the words employed by our Lord, to which the advocates of State authority in matters of religion are driven, in order to extort from them a sense that may suit their purpose. What Christ disclaimed for himself, he must have intended to disclaim for his followers; otherwise the answer would have been a subterfuge.

“It might seem incredible, did we not know it to be the fact, that persons professing a deep reverence for Christ and his apostles, as Heaven-sent messengers, should attribute to them this double dealing; should believe them to have secretly entertained and taught the very views of which their adversaries accused them, and which they uniformly disclaimed;—that the blessed Jesus himself, who rebukes hypocrisy more strongly than perhaps any other sin, should be regarded by his professed followers as having pretended to disavow that which was his real design, and which he imparted to his apostles, teaching *them* in like manner to keep the secret, till they should be strong enough to assert the political supremacy of the gospel, and to extirpate, or hold in subjection as vassals, all professors of false religion.”

To the often-iterated question, “Must not Christians, as legislators, or civil magistrates, act on Christian principles?” the Archbishop gives the proper reply:—

“No doubt; but they would cease to act on Christian principles, if they should employ the *coercive power* of civil magistrates in *the cause of Christianity*—if they should not only take a part in civil affairs, but claim, as Christians, or *as members of a particular church*, a *monopoly* of civil rights. It is this, and this only, that tends to make Christ’s kingdom a ‘kingdom of this world.’”

These just and scriptural views are supported by a reference to the teaching and conduct of the apostles; yet, if the apostle Paul were now on earth, it is remarked, there would be some danger of his being accounted a *latitudinarian*, “for such is the character often attributed to any one who disapproves of the employment of secular force in behalf of the true faith, or of the monopoly by its professors of civil rights.” But, so far as principles are concerned, the real *latitudinarian*, who is indifferent about all religions and careless about religious sincerity, is the

more likely to be intolerant, and the sincerely conscientious, to be tolerant.

The value of these—concessions, we will not call them, as coming from Abp. Whately,—of these noble avowals, will be appreciated when the influential position of the Author is considered, at the head of ecclesiastical rule and authority in Ireland, where opposite maxims of civil government have been carried out to the full extent of the most cruel oppression and the most hideous intolerance. Through good report and evil report, the Archbishop of Dublin has acted upon the principles for which he contends, as far as his opportunities would admit, and has thereby entitled himself to rank, with Bishop Bedell and Robert Boyle, among the best benefactors of the Irish people.

It is not necessary, perhaps, that we should here raise the question, whether the exposition of our Lord's words, given by the learned Prelate, embraces or brings out all that is implied in them. Its truth is so manifest, that we may feel confident they are susceptible of no import *at variance* with the meaning which he ascribes to the declaration; yet, we may be allowed to express a doubt, whether it is correctly interpreted to denote that our Lord claimed only “a *spiritual* dominion over the souls of men”—a “kingdom of the next world,”—and that his “*kingly* office consists in bearing witness of the truth.” If, by a spiritual dominion, we understand a dominion extended and administered by means of truth—that is, of holy principles, sanctions drawn from the joys and terrors of the unseen world, spiritual weapons, and the sword of the Spirit,—we may admit the propriety of the language; only, we must not deem the reign of Christ a *figurative* kingdom, or regard it as simply denoting the prevalence of the principles of the gospel. As “the kingdom of darkness” is not merely the reign of heathen ignorance and wickedness, but implies the actual domination of the prince of darkness, the “potentate of death,” and, by usurpation, “prince of this world,” so, “the kingdom of God's dear Son” is not only the internal kingdom of righteousness and peace, which is established in the heart by the spirit of Christ, but also a *personal* reign of Christ, as head over all things to his church, and as the administrator of all power and rule in heaven and on earth. Thus, while it is declared by our Lord, that his kingdom has not a worldly origin, is not *from* this world, and does not admit of being promoted by worldly means or secular weapons, and, not being a political kingdom, cannot possibly come into hostile collision with human politics, it is elsewhere declared, that the kingdoms of this world, which *are* political kingdoms, shall ultimately become, or be merged in, the kingdom of Christ, when his authority, which is now actually supreme, shall be universally recognised. This

must imply, that, although the means and agencies by which the conquest is to be effected, differ essentially from those of earthly dominion, yet, the conquest will be not the less political in its result, while it will be the more demonstrably divine, as working by means of the truth, and rejecting the employment or aid of political or coercive power—the power of the sword.

The dream of a future political and territorial reign of Christ and his saints upon earth is, indeed, at utter variance with just views of his kingdom, which, as being universal, cannot be local, and as excluding the principle of political governments, must also exclude the forms of its administration, whether military, judicial, sacerdotal, or municipal. Whatever political forms or systems may *consist with* the triumph of this kingdom, they can never become *elements* of its administration, but must simply be subservient to it, as they are even now to the moral government of God. The reign of Christ *is* that moral government, visibly recognised and obeyed “on earth as it is in heaven,” which is the true theocracy. The establishment of this heavenly kingdom must involve, however, not only political changes, but a *conquest of principalities and powers* to whom the New Testament ascribes an actual and potent influence on human affairs, notwithstanding that they do not partake of the palpable nature of flesh and blood. The conflict, therefore, is not simply between truth and falsehood, religion and impiety, but also between Divine power and Satanic agencies, both exerted through the medium of human instrumentality, and working by means of opposite principles; and is an actual contest for empire over this world, between the prince of darkness and Him who became man in order to engage in a personal encounter with man's great enemy.

It is customary to speak of the church as the kingdom of Christ; and just so far as it exhibits the principles of Christianity exerting their proper influence, the church catholic may be said to give visible existence to the kingdom of heaven. But it is evident, that no political institution calling itself a church, can claim to be regarded in this light. A church which, in its constitution, is assimilated to the forms of civil polity, the sanctions of whose authority are political, and which lays claim to territorial proprietorship and jurisdiction, possesses all that characterizes the kingdoms of this world; and, being of the earth earthy, cannot be an institution identified with, or adapted to extend and establish, the reign of Christ.

We have been induced to dwell upon this point, because many prevalent errors appear to us to originate in mistaken or defective views of the nature of the kingdom of Christ, and of the import of the scriptural phrases. While some persons are apt to treat the expression as a mere metaphor, and others would

spiritualize away its reality, the papal theory and the millenarian doctrine alike convert it into a political reign, with this difference, that the Romanists claim for their church a present temporal dominion, while Protestant enthusiasts postpone the secular reign of the saints to a future period, and invest it with the mysterious character of a new and miraculous dispensation. It seems to us equally contrary to our Lord's express declaration, to deny that the kingdom of the power of Christ now exists, and is actually being administered, having this world as the theatre of its progress and eventual triumph; and to suppose the power of Christ, or of his kingdom, to be a political power—that species of power which he disclaimed while on earth, not only for himself, but for his followers, and which is, from its very nature, how necessary soever for the support of human institutions, incapable of promoting the moral subjugation of the world to Christ, or to his truth.

The subject of Abp. Whately's second essay is closely connected with the first. Regarding the church as a spiritual society or system of communities, it is the Author's object to establish the following propositions:—That Christianity was designed to be a social religion, a fellowship, or community;—that, as it belongs to the essence of a community to have officers, rules, and power to admit members, such rights and powers must be essentially inherent in Christian churches, being implied in the very institution, and are, moreover, recognised by our Lord's express directions to his apostles;—that the sense in which those directions were to be understood would be naturally interpreted in accordance with the rights and usages of that religious community in which the disciples had been brought up;—that they must thus have understood the expression, “binding and loosing,” in the sense familiar to the Jews, of enforcing and abrogating rules, and would also refer the “power of the keys” to the office of granting admission into the Christian society, the church being that “kingdom of heaven” to which the commission related;—that the first Christian institutions were probably derived from those of the synagogue, several of the earliest churches being, in fact, *converted synagogues*;—that new directions must, nevertheless, have been from time to time necessary, relative to church government, the Christian ministry, and public worship, which instructions the apostles, we may be certain, did give, but they were supernaturally withheld from recording those circumstantial details, which were not intended to be binding on all churches in every age and country;—that part of what the inspired writers do record (as respecting the appointment of the office of deacons) is recorded incidentally;—that it may clearly be inferred, from a candid survey of the sacred writings, that some things were in-

tended to be absolutely enjoined as universally requisite; others were designedly left to the discretion of the rulers of each church; and some things, again, were absolutely excluded as inconsistent with the character of the gospel religion, and of a Christian community.

To the neglect of this distinction, and to a want of due consideration of the character, offices, and rights of a Christian community, the learned Prelate attributes the opposite errors of those who regard no church ordinances as binding, and of those who seek, in Scripture or Tradition, for a sanction to each church enactment. The class of persons who hold the former error are not very clearly designated; and if, as we suspect, nonconformists are referred to, the learned Prelate cannot be acquainted with their real principles. Admitting that "a church has a right to make regulations not at variance with Scripture principles," the imposing of things indifferent as necessary, (the fertile source of schism,) is clearly at variance with apostolic principles. If every church has such an inherent right, and there are points left to be decided by the discretion of the several churches, then, for any political authority, whether styling itself the church, or availing itself of the power of the civil magistrate, to dictate to the churches of Christ in such matters, must be an invasion of the rights which belong to each separate community. But Abp. Whately would seem, with the natural prejudices of an episcopalian, to identify a church with a *national* community; a fallacy as great and as pernicious, we must contend, as any which his acuteness has led him to expose.

Had the learned writer only carried out a little further the principle upon which he so forcibly insists, that practices and institutions not authorized by Christianity—such as sacrifices, priests, and temples—are to be considered as intentionally excluded and virtually forbidden, being inconsistent with the character of the religion of Christ,—he would have found himself conducted to the conclusion, that those changes in the constitution of Christian churches, which have resulted from their assimilation to political communities, are not less expressly excluded than the papal headship or sovereignty, the authority of general councils, and the sacerdotal corruption of the gospel.

As the enlightened opponent of the so-called "church principles," Abp. Whately, however, appears to great advantage; and we should be glad to think that his character and station would procure for his clear and forcible statements an attention which has in vain been solicited for the truths they embody by writers whose works are in the *Index Expurgatorius* of the Anglican church. Next to the pleasure of having new light thrown upon an interesting subject, is that derived from finding truths

that have long been familiar to our minds, recognised and insisted upon by independent and unexpected authorities. Of this description are the Archbishop's positions,—that every separate church had, originally, its superintendent or bishop; that the church is one, in reference, not to any one government, but only to its Divine Head; that no such community ever existed on earth as the Catholic church in the Romish or Puseyite sense; and that no obedience can be due to such fictitious authority; also, that to blend tradition or “church interpretation,” whether as a co-ordinate or a subordinate authority, with the inspired rule of faith, comes to the same thing, to all practical purposes, as if tradition were set up independent of Scripture.

“If any man, or body of men, refer us to Scripture, as the sole authoritative standard—meaning, that we are not to be called upon to believe anything as a necessary point of faith, on their word, but only on our own conviction that it is scriptural, then they place our faith on the basis, not of human authority, but of Divine. But, if they call on us, as a point of conscience, to receive whatever is proved to *their* satisfaction from Scripture, even though it may appear to us unscriptural, then, instead of releasing us from the usurped authority of man taking the place of God, they are placing on us two burdens instead of one. You require us, we might reply, to believe—first, that whatever you teach is *true*; and, secondly, besides this, to believe also that it is a truth *contained in Scripture*—and we are to take your word for both!”—pp. 158, 159.

Human teaching in religion, remarks our Author, “is highly useful, as long as the instructors refer the people to Scripture, exhorting and assisting them to ‘prove all things, and hold fast that which is good.’”

“But when a church, or any of its pastors, ceases to make this payment on demand—if I may so speak—of Scripture proof, and requires implicit faith, on human authority, in human dogmas or interpretations, all *check* is removed to the introduction of any conceivable amount of falsehood and superstition, till human inventions may have overlaid and disfigured gospel truth, and man's usurped authority have gradually superseded Divine; as was the case with the rabbinical Jews, who continued to profess the most devout reverence for the Mosaic Law, even at the time when, we are told, that ‘in vain they worshipped God, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men.’”—pp. 165, 166.

In like manner, the suppression of gospel truths, or “the system of reserve” in instructing the great mass of Christians, for which our Oxford traditionists contend, may, it is remarked, amount to a falsification of Christianity. “Very different was

the Apostle Paul's gospel, which, he assures us, 'if it was hid, was hid from them that are lost.'"

Abp. Whately subsequently proceeds to point out the absurdity of thinking to repress schism by what are called "church principles;" for instance, by the fiction of an unbroken succession from the apostles, when "there is not a minister in all Christendom who is able to trace up, with any approach to certainty, his own spiritual pedigree." The theory of "a sacramental virtue," dependent upon the unbroken chain of ordination, is ridiculed with just severity. "It is no wonder," says the Archbishop, "that the advocates of this theory studiously disparage reasoning, deprecate all exercise of the mind in reflection, decry appeals to evidence, and lament that even the power of reading should be imparted to the people."

"There is something, to many minds, awfully and mystically sublime in the idea of 'the decisions of the Catholic church,' and of 'catholic councils convened in the name of Christ, and whose deliberations are overruled, and their decrees authoritative,'—in the idea of the 'sacramental character of ordination,' conferred by persons who have derived a mystical virtue from the successive imposition of hands up to the times of the apostles,—and of the 'priestly' character (that of Hieres) thus imparted, and the 'sacrifices' offered at an 'altar,'—of a 'primitive doctrine always to be found somewhere in the Catholic traditions,' &c.; especially when these matters are treated of in solemn and imposing language of that peculiar kind of dazzling mistiness whose effect is to convey at first, to ordinary readers, a striking impression, with an appearance of being perfectly intelligible at the first glance, but to become more obscure and doubtful at the second glance, and more and more so, the more attentively it is studied by a reader of clear understanding; so as to leave him utterly in doubt, at the last, which of several meanings it is meant to convey, or whether any at all. . . .

"And as men are, of course, less likely to exercise a clear and unbiassed judgment in respect of any theory which tends especially to exalt their own persons, and invest them with mysterious powers and awful dignity, the *clergy*, accordingly, are under a peculiar temptation to lean too favourably, and with too little of rigorous examination, towards a system which confers the more elevation and grandeur on *them*, in proportion as it detracts from the claims of the entire community."—pp. 210—212.

The essay closes with an impressive admonition not to give credence to pretensions to Divine authority put forth on behalf of uninspired men.

Successors in the apostolic office, Dr. Whately declares, the apostles have none: "As witnesses of the resurrection, as dispensers of miraculous gifts, or inspired oracles of divine revelation, they have no successors." The term "apostolical," he

observes, "is perpetually in the mouths of some who the most completely set at nought the principles which the apostles have laid down for our guidance in the inspired writings; and also virtually nullify these, by blending with them the traditions of uninspired men." Against these and other fallacies, both in the text and in an appendix of notes, the learned Prelate earnestly cautions his readers; but in a tone which indicates his painful conviction, that the very simplicity and truth of his reasonings will be "to some minds no recommendation, but the contrary." The volume must, nevertheless, do good. It is an emphatic protest against the new-fangled Anglicanism and Popish fanaticism of the day, and entitles the Author to the cordial thanks of all the lovers of truth and scriptural piety.

As dissenters, we might rest the justification of our nonconformity upon more than one principle laid down in this volume. Referring to the principles upon which the English Reformers proceeded, the Archbishop says: "If any one is deliberately convinced that those, their fundamental principles, are erroneous, and that they rested the doctrines and institutions of our church on a wrong basis, he deserves credit, at least, for honest consistency, in leaving its communion." This is addressed to the "Apostolicals" or Puseyites,—to those *within* the Establishment, whose duty, as honest men, would be to secede from it. But it applies, *à fortiori*, to nonconformists, who are deeply convinced that the principles upon which the church, as an establishment, is founded, are erroneous, and that the very doctrines which Abp. Whately denounces are countenanced by the formularies of the church. Again; if it be true that "the church, whatever it is, in which each man was originally enrolled as a member, has the first claim to his allegiance, supposing there is nothing in its doctrines or practice which he is convinced is unscriptural or wrong," though "bound, in deference to the higher authority of Christ, to renounce its communion, if he does feel such a conviction,"—if "all separation be either a duty or a sin,"—then those of us who never belonged to the episcopal church, and who have been enrolled members of presbyterian or congregational churches, do right in recognising the claim *they* have to our preference and attachment; nay, we should be schismatics, and commit a sin, by separating ourselves from those churches to join the communion of the established church. We think this is a fair and logical deduction from the Archbishop's premises; and whether or not he will allow us to press this use of his own argument, we wish that all our dissenting readers would seriously consider, whether, if nonconformity be in them a duty, a defection from it may not involve that very sin which has been commonly connected with separation from a secular establishment.

Art. II. 1. *Introductory Discourses delivered in Manchester New College, at the opening of the Session 1840, in the Literary and Scientific Department.*

2. *Introductory Discourses delivered in Manchester New College, at the opening of the Session of 1840, in the Theological Department.*

WE have much pleasure in calling the attention of our readers to certain changes which have been recently effected in the college in which these discourses were delivered. It is the same, and yet not the same, with the institution known by the name of York College, formerly located in the city of York, under the superintendence of the Rev. Mr. Wellbeloved. That college, as is well-known, was Unitarian, and was originally designed for the education of young men, destined for the ministry in that denomination. "It was thought desirable, however, for many reasons, not to confine it exclusively to this object; but to extend its benefits to those who were likely, in future life, to devote themselves to secular employments." Still there can be no doubt that the teachers, students, and supporters of the institution were almost exclusively Unitarians, if, indeed, we may not use the term without any qualification whatsoever. The college was first founded at Manchester, in the year 1786, and has now therefore come back to its birth-place. It was transferred to York in 1803, and after an interval of thirty seven years, has been brought back to Manchester.

We have said that Manchester New College is the same, and yet not the same, with that of York. It is so far the same that the tutors, students, and funds of the one institution have been transferred to the other. It is *not* the same, inasmuch as several most important changes have been made in its constitution. The course of *general* education has been greatly enlarged; while the literary and scientific department has been entirely separated from that of theology, and thrown open to individuals of all denominations. Further, the theological professors are paid out of an entirely separate fund—no part of the fees paid by the students in the general department being appropriated to their support; and lastly, by recent regulations, it is at the option of the orthodox denominations to exercise an equal influence with the Unitarians even in the "theological department;" there being nothing to prevent the appointment of a theological professor to teach the system of doctrine of any such denomination, provided that such denomination secure his support either by a separate fund, or by

the fees of the students it may consign to his instruction. These are, unquestionably, great improvements; and in consequence of them, Manchester New College can no longer, with propriety or justice, be represented as exclusively Unitarian, but is rather a SCHOOL OF GENERAL EDUCATION, freely thrown open to the public, with this peculiarity,—that it may stand connected with any particular systems of theological education which different denominations of religionists may prefer;—the professors in such departments being supported either by separate endowments or by the fees derived from their classes, and no student in the literary or scientific department being compelled to give any one of them the smallest fraction either of his time or his money. The character of “Manchester New College” is therefore, in its general constitution, closely assimilated to that of University College, London, with this remarkable difference—that whereas on the former, *any* system of theological education may be engrafted, (under the conditions aforesaid,) the latter excludes theology altogether. While the one is exclusively a school of literature and science, the other provides an education as exclusively scientific or literary for those who desire it, but with the understanding that theology may also be taught according to any system of doctrine whatsoever, provided those who teach it are supported by funds entirely distinct from the funds which support the department of general education. Looking at the scientific and literary department *alone*, “Manchester New College” differs not at all in its constitution from University College, London.

These, we again say, are great improvements. A college exclusively Unitarian must of course, according to our views of Christian doctrine, be a great evil, and we must rejoice therefore at any changes by which it ceases to be such. We shall still lament that Unitarianism is taught in any way or to any extent; and with our opinions we cannot do otherwise. But we must say again, that the improvements we have detailed are not only unquestionably great, but seem to have been dictated by a commendable spirit of liberality. Nor is there any reason (now that the exclusive character of the institution has been so completely abandoned) why the religious public, if it so pleases, may not make it a very important instrument of general education. It may be that the bulk of its supporters are at present Unitarians, but that is no reason why they should continue to be so—for any one may subscribe that will, and not one shilling need go, directly or indirectly, to the maintenance or propagation of Unitarian sentiments. In the same manner, though a majority of the present committee may be, for aught we know, Unitarians, the public can impress upon that com-

mittee whatsoever character it will—it being no self-elected body, but created by the votes of the whole body of subscribers. It is for the public, therefore, to decide whether the majority of the committee shall be orthodox or unitarian, for this must inevitably be determined by the general character of the constituents. Of the right of the Unitarians to maintain and propagate their peculiar opinions, there can be no doubt; other parties have an equal right to propagate theirs, and we trust that the rights of all, in this respect, will be ever considered inviolable. But so long as each of these various parties supports its own system of theological education at its own proper cost, and interferes not with the arrangements of the general school, that general school must be considered the property, not of a sect, but of the public, and may be supported by the public generally, like any other useful institution with which peculiarities of religious sentiment have nothing to do, and with the management of which such peculiarities are never allowed to interfere. In order, however, to insure such an institution a sufficiently broad basis of support, to give the public sufficient confidence in it, and to secure it against the predominant influence of any one party, it is necessary that its officers, committee, and subscribers, should not be confined to any one sect. Indeed, unless it be clearly seen that it is *not* under the influence of the Unitarian party, the public confidence will not be given to it, and by consequence, that extensive support will not be granted to it, which its change of constitution is designed to conciliate, and without which, indeed, the change will have been made in vain. That there seems at present no disposition to recede from the liberal declarations implied in the recent changes themselves, we may infer from the fact that three out of the five professors in the general department are orthodox. But it will be no more than fair to suffer the committee to make their own statement of the plan on which it is designed that the college shall be conducted. In the preface to the first of the little volumes, the titles of which are given at the head of this article, the committee thus explain their views:

“The theological department of the college is entirely separated from the literary and scientific. It was the condition of its establishment that no test of religious belief should be exacted from the students; and this condition has been observed, not only in letter, but in spirit, in all its regulations. As the students do not live within the college buildings, the religious exercises and instruction of those who are not preparing for the ministry will rest entirely with their own friends, or those to whom they delegate the office. The theological professors will open their classes to any who may desire instruction in Biblical criticism, in the evidences of natural and revealed religion, in

oriental languages, or in ecclesiastical history; but such attendance will be entirely voluntary. Should the case hereafter occur that any parties who support the college are desirous of the appointment of another theological teacher, who shall expound their own views to students of their denomination, there is nothing in its constitution to hinder the committee from acquiescing in such appointments, provided that adequate funds are furnished, and that attendance on the lectures is not made compulsory. It is also one of the regulations of the college, that no part of the remuneration of the theological professors shall be drawn from the fees paid by students who do not attend their lectures. In the case of students who may come from a distance to reside in Manchester, while prosecuting their studies at the college, the committee offer their services in pointing out suitable places for lodging and boarding. A plan has been adopted, by means of which their habits, in regard to the disposal of their time, may become known to the professors; and reports will be made at stated intervals to the friends of those who are under the discipline of the college, including, besides this point, their regularity of attendance on lectures, and proficiency in their studies. Having thus made known their course of study, and plan of discipline, the committee of Manchester New College earnestly call on the public for their support. They appeal not exclusively to any one denomination or party, but to all the friends of academical education, conducted upon the comprehensive principles which they have assumed as their basis. The removal to Manchester, and the increase of the number of professors, has rendered necessary a great additional expenditure; and the enlargement of the plan of study makes it expedient to provide a philosophical and chemical apparatus, far exceeding in extent and costliness what the college previously possessed. The increase of the library, especially in the scientific department, although not equally urgent, is highly desirable. The experiment which the committee are making cannot therefore be fully and fairly made, or continued for such a length of time as will afford an accurate test of its prospect of success, without liberal support, in the form of new subscriptions and benefactions. These will be appropriated exclusively to the literary and scientific department in all cases in which the subscribers and donors express such a wish."

The professors in the literary and scientific department are five. The classical chair is occupied by F. W. Newman, Esq., B.A., formerly of Bristol College; that of mathematics, by R. Finlay, Esq., B.A.; that of physical science and natural history, by M. L. Phillips, Esq.; that of mental and moral philosophy, by James Martineau, and that of history, by John Kenrick, M.A. The "introductory lectures" of these gentlemen, form the first of the two publications which stand at the commencement of the present article. It is not our intention to review these lectures, our principal object having been to call the attention of the public to the important modifications effected in the institution in which they were delivered. We may say

of them all, however, that they appear to be very creditable performances, while that of Mr. Newman, partly from the subject, partly from his manner of treating it, will be read with especial interest. We feel much pleasure in extracting the following passage on the claims of Greek and Roman Literature. It is a subject on which we have more than once entered, within the last two or three years, and many of Mr. Newman's arguments must be already familiar to our readers. Still some of the aspects under which he has viewed the subject are both novel and important; and as prejudices are still very general and very strong in many quarters, we shall make no apology for a somewhat lengthened citation. We think Mr. Newman has done excellently well in not *overstating* his argument, or indulging in that fanatical and pedantic admiration of the classics to the depreciation of all other studies, which has done more to provoke a prejudice against them than any other cause whatsoever.

“In manufacturing towns such as this, where men are daily witnesses to the vast importance of modern knowledge; where not merely mechanics, chemistry, and the other physical sciences, but modern history, physical and general geography, political economy, and politics, constantly vindicate their claims to attention, it is not to be wondered at if some are incredulous as to the utility of the ordinary school education. And this incredulity is perhaps increased by the injudicious zeal in favour of their own system often seen on the opposite side, as though no person ignorant of Latin and Greek could be a man of cultivated mind. Is it forgotten that those very ancients of the Greek nation who are set up as our intellectual models were, one and all, unacquainted with any foreign literature? The glory of Greek literature is, that it was entirely of home growth.

“This is no empty boast, but a great secret of its real excellence. The Latin, on the contrary, was in part deteriorated by too close a copying of the Greeks. The historian, Herodotus, must have possessed a conversational acquaintance with various languages; nor could the soldier, Xenophon, have been wholly ignorant of several; but we have no ground to imagine them versed in foreign literature. Moreover, so far were Æschylus and Thucydides from receiving a grammatical education, that the rules of grammar were not yet investigated, until all the most eminent pieces of Greek literature had been produced. But, again, some advocates of classical education are accustomed to lay stress on the cultivation of taste, which, they say, boys acquire from reading Greek and Latin poetry. But there is only too much reason to doubt whether boys at an early age have any perception and relish of the beauties and excellences of the ancient poetry which they read.

“Personal experience leads me to the same conviction, as might be inferred from the nature of the case, that it is long before the majority become intimate enough with the language, feeling, religion, of the ancients, to sympathize with their poetry; longer still before they can appreciate and distinguish its good or bad taste; for it is too much

to lay down the axiom that they are never in bad taste. In short, boys who might relish Thomson, Pope, Gray, Scott—nay, even Milton and Wordsworth, can often find nothing to admire in Virgil and Horace; and if they are interested in Homer, it is for the sake of his battles, and the prowess of his heroes—not for his poetical merits. Other grounds than these seem requisite to defend the received course of classical study.

“Perhaps from these remarks I may seem to have too little enthusiasm in behalf of the studies I am called to superintend. To be a zealous and successful teacher, a certain measure of romance may seem so necessary, as to make it not venial only, but becoming.

“That I do not really underrate the value of ancient literature, I will try to shew before I sit down; but as the practical good sense and experience of many present would detect any exaggerated statements, it is possible that a more enthusiastic lecturer, if more interesting at the moment, might not be ultimately convincing.

“The importance of an acquaintance with antiquity cannot easily be exaggerated, if it be not made exclusive. A man who so lives with Plato or Cicero as to neglect a commensurate study of that which is passing around him, will of course be incapacitated for judging of the modern world, and, at best, becomes a piece of machinery to be used by others. We do not advocate *any* thing exclusive. A one-sided cultivation may appear at first like carrying out the principle of division of labour; yet, in fact, it does not tend to the general benefit and progress of truth, much less to the advantage of the individual. Each of us has a heart and mind valuable for its own sake, and not to be looked on as a mere machine for producing. Now, if we ask wherein the civilized differs from the savage intellect, we find it is mainly in the disposition and power to look backwards and forwards; while in the most degraded barbarism, the mind is fixed solely on the present moment. But the future can only be known from the experience of the past; hence, no thoughtful person can disown the bond which unites us to the men of former days; he must admit the value of history in its largest sense, moral and social, as well as political, the history of literature, and of opinion, of prejudices, and of sentiments. The knowledge of antiquity, by reason of the strong contrasts in which it shews us human nature, is peculiarly valuable; and Latin, Greek, Hebrew, are the three languages which chiefly open to us this knowledge. Particularly important is it for a nation to enlarge its circle of information, when it is called to take an ample share in self-government; else its inexperience will plunge it into a thousand mischievous errors. There *are* sciences, like political economy, which, proceeding from a few very simple principles, admit of being reasoned out in a chain of propositions similar to those of geometry; but such is not the science of politics. The intimate relationship of the political and social state of every nation renders an extensive experience of the past eminently necessary to all sound judgment; and the only question can be, *how far back* we ought to go. Not to dwell on general topics longer than is necessary, it is enough to say, there are special reasons which make the study of Greek history peculiarly instructive, some of which it may be well here to set forth.

“Greece is to us a *microcosm*—a Christendom in miniature; and hereby offers us many advantages in the study of human nature. Most histories progress too slowly, if they progress at all, to be brought within convenient compass for elementary instruction. It demands the devotion of half a life to the history of Europe, complicated as it is, and various, slowly unfolding itself in the lapse of fourteen centuries, before it can be thoroughly understood. Abridgments are highly unsatisfactory and uninteresting, because too little biographical; they talk of Senates, national assemblies, armies, but do not exhibit to us the men who compose them, nor explain the working of the machinery.

“Now, Greece furnishes us with a singularly complete course of history, having striking analogies to that of Europe, but acted in narrower space and time. Her physical geography is remarkably varied, considering how small a corner of Europe she occupies. The Mediterranean is her ocean; the Gulf of Lepanto her Mediterranean; the deep bays with which she is indented give her a sea-coast of great length; and, with the numerous islands at small distances, fostered the spirit of navigation. Her lofty mountains, while they divided her into natural kingdoms, gave her, within a small compass, many climates, and tribes of various characters, as to genius, arts, arms, and government. Indeed, the races which peopled Greece, though talking dialects of one language, and seldom wholly unintelligible to one another, had decided peculiarities, and, doubtless, a primitive diversity of temperament.

“Provision was thus made for variety, as well as for a substantial unity. Greece felt herself to be Greek, by her common language and religion, just as Christendom, ever since the Crusades, has been conscious of union by a common faith. The oracle of Delphi, the Olympic games, were to her what papal Rome was to our ancestors. But the confined limits of space which Greece embraced, allowed her history to run its course in a very short period. From Solon to Alexander the Great is less than two centuries and a half; but it is wonderful how many different scenes were acted, how great a variety of political constitutions rose and fell in this short compass. Dr. Arnold has observed, that Grecian and Roman history, in their later periods, may, in their most important sense, be called “modern,” because they depict a state of society far nearer to that of modern Europe than can be found in our own past annals; and, therefore, though all application of their experience must be modified by considering the grand points of distinction between them and us, still there is peculiar instruction to us in their history. It may be said, with considerable truth, that for this it is not requisite to be acquainted with their languages. Happily it is not. The day appears to be fully arrived when an English course of instruction on all these points should be made accessible to those who are not able to give their time to the cultivation of the original tongues. We already see two of our most eminent scholars engaged in composing histories of Greece and Rome; and it is hoped that ere long the learned men of England, as of Germany, will not leave the difficult work of translation to inferior hands; and that we may at length have worthy English representations of the best ancient authors. It would be no honour to the venerable productions of antiquity to imagine that

all their excellences vanish with translation; and only a mean exclusiveness of spirit could grudge to impart as much as possible of their instruction to the unlearned. Still it remains certain that to understand a nation fully we must know their language. It is one great and characteristic difference of *literature* from *science*—that the former loses by translation, the latter does not. The propositions of Euclid or Archimedes, the works of Newton or Laplace, have no national hue; they can be represented with equal fidelity in the tongue of any civilized people. Science is strictly universal; and on that account, is adapted to bring about a certain union between all the nations of the earth: but literature is special, peculiar; it witnesses, and it tends to uphold, national diversity. Its delicate colouring is always injured or lost by translation; its shade of meaning, its graceful allusions, which flash rapidly before the mind of a native reader, become tedious and insipid when expanded enough to become intelligible to the foreigner. But, in fact, we have to confess at this moment, that few at all of the best classical writings have been so translated as to give the English reader any vivid and adequate comprehension of the author's mind; and we are hitherto very far from attaining the state in which the learned and unlearned are on an approach to an equality in this matter."

To the "Introductory Discourses" is appended a syllabus of the course of instruction in each of the classes, as also the regulations relating to the admission and classification of the students.

The Introductory Discourses delivered in the theological department are three; that on "Critical and Exegetical Theology," by the Rev. R. Wallace; that on "Pastoral Theology, and the Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac Languages," by the Rev. J. G. Robbards; and that on "Ecclesiastical History," by the Rev. J. J. Tayler, B.A. On these we shall content ourselves with making the single remark that the Unitarian element is by no means very prominent in them, that once and again in the lectures of Mr. Wallace, principles of interpretation and modes of instruction are contended for, which, if consistently acted upon, would leave little to be apprehended from Unitarianism; and that the syllabus of lectures seems framed purposely to exclude as far as possible the peculiar matters in dispute between the Unitarians and the orthodox. By far the greater part of the subjects of the lectures are such as is equally interesting and important to all biblical students. It is true that the peculiarities of Unitarian theology may be made prominent enough in various parts of the lectures themselves, but they seem carefully excluded from the syllabus. The principal subjects are, the Evidences of Christianity, Biblical Philology, the History of the Text and of the Canon, (both of the Old and New Testaments) and Ecclesiastical History.

Art. III. *The Natural History and Classification of Birds.* By William Swainson, Esq., F.R.S., &c. 2 vols. 8vo. (Lardner's "Cabinet Cyclopædia.") London: Longman and Co.

THAT classification is highly important, must be obvious to every one. Without it, the facts of natural history would form a chaotic mass, the study of which would be interminable. Classification, however, may be carried too far; and, defeating its object by the complexity of its details, may render the science almost as difficult as if arrangement had been entirely dispensed with. It is enough to damp the ardour of the student, to meet him, at the outset of his inquiries, with all the technicalities, countless synonyms, and divisions and subdivisions without number, which modern naturalists have devised. Almost every writer seeks to be the founder of a new system; and, casting down the structure of his predecessor, attempts to build upon its ruins an edifice of his own. Linnæus, Cuvier, Temminck, Illiger, Fabricius, Latreille, and a host of other authors of lesser note, have attempted to establish their own systems. Then we have "binary," "trinary," "quinary," and "septenary" modes of arrangement, each of which has its zealous promulgators. The best known of these is the "quinary" system, the first principles of which are in the highest degree improbable, if not absurd. Its founder was Mr. MacLeay, and its principal supporter is the author of the volumes before us, whose views we shall briefly lay before our readers.

The fundamental laws of the quinary system are given by Mr. Swainson, in his "Treatise on the Geography and Classification of Animals," pp. 224, 225, where he states, "that every natural series of beings, in its progress from a given point, either actually returns, or evinces a tendency to return again to that point, thereby forming a circle. The primary divisions of every group are three actually, or five apparently. The contents of such a circular group are symbolically (or analogically) represented by the contents of all other circles in the animal kingdom." And, "that these primary divisions of every group are characterized by definite peculiarities of form, structure, and economy; which, under diversified modifications, are uniform throughout the animal kingdom, and are therefore to be regarded as the primary types of nature."

It will be perceived, that Mr. Swainson allows himself considerable latitude; and he has need of it. He speaks of "evincing a tendency" "under diversified modifications," &c.; and, having thus prepared the way, proceeds boldly to the application of his "first principles." Let us examine the results of his labours. In the majority of instances, the "circles" are incomplete; one or more of the "primary divisions" being wanting; but Mr.

Swainson believes that they will be discovered ; and, because the group “evinces” a circular “tendency,” regards it as in accordance with his views. One family characterized by the definite peculiarity of form, long legs, is under a “diversified modification,” represented by a group with those organs quite the reverse. The dull colour of the wading birds is stated to be analogous to the brilliant plumage of the humming-bird. We were at a loss to conceive how this could, by any possibility, be the case, until we found that “the characteristic of all gallatorial [or wading] birds, and of other groups by which they are represented in ornithology, is to have mineral, or *earthy* colours; the humming-bird shewing us the *gems*, and the grey and brown of the waders the *surface colour* of the earth!” This is certainly very poetical, though scarcely the kind of argument we should expect to find in the annunciation of grave principles which the author dignifies by styling “the natural system.” In one group, we are told that the “rapacious type,” the characteristics of which are carnivorous habits and blood-thirsty dispositions, is represented by the genus *sylicola*, because the birds it contains have a slight notch or tooth on the upper mandible. (*Treatise*, p. 246.) Amongst insects, the rapacious type is “symbolized” by the *sphinx* moths, the caterpillars of which “assume a singular threatening aspect on being disturbed.” Mr. Swainson considers this “a remarkable modification of the terrific, or evil nature which is impressed under one form or other upon all subtypical [rapacious] groups.” (*Ibid.*, p. 247.) The caterpillars of certain butterflies (belonging to the family *Nymphalidæ*) produce a stinging sensation when held in the hand ; and, moreover, when in the chrysalis state, are suspended downwards. This is amply sufficient to induce Mr. Swainson to regard them as “types of evil,” and to express his opinion, that the chrysalises are “thus pointing to the world, as the only habitation where their innumerable types of evil are permitted to reside ; or to that dark and bottomless region where punishment awaits the wicked at *their* last great change”!!

All Mr. Swainson’s works abound with analogies as fanciful and as slight as those noticed above ; and we had marked for quotation other instances of “symbolical representation,” but we forbear, believing that enough has been said to enable our readers to judge of the value of “the natural system.” Strange to say, it received the support of several eminent naturalists, who appear to have been attracted by its novelty. Some have already withdrawn their adhesion, and there is reason to believe that ere long the “quinary” theory will fall into merited oblivion. Mr. Swainson himself, curiously enough, passes a sentence of condemnation on his own system ; for in his work on the “Classification of Quadrupeds,” at p. 200, speaking of the *edentata*, he says, “A

more convincing proof, indeed, cannot be adduced to shew the *utter impossibility of laying down rules beforehand for natural groups*, or for erecting a system upon any set of characters, when nature everywhere tells us, that her system is one of variation."

We much regret that the volumes in Lardner's "Cabinet Cyclopædia," so well calculated in every other respect to advance natural history, should be filled with the illustrations of a system which darkens the page of nature, and disheartens the student with the complexity of its details and the incomprehensibility of its fundamental principles.

The volumes before us, nevertheless, contain much that will repay perusal, and may be recommended as an excellent introduction to the natural history of the feathered tribe. The first volume is mainly devoted to the external anatomy of birds, considered in reference to their habits and economy, of which many interesting illustrations are given. We shall briefly pursue the inquiry.

The head of birds is generally covered with feathers, and, in some species, is ornamented by crests, wattles, &c. The use of ornamental crests is not always very apparent, unless they be considered as merely a mark of distinction given, almost exclusively, to the male. Mr. Swainson suggests, that in some cases these ornaments may act as a means of defence:—

"To explain this novel assertion," he remarks, "we can safely say that many are the beautiful crested woodpeckers of the Brazilian forests, which have scared us from a steady aim of our gun, by the sudden manner in which they threw up their crests the moment they discovered their danger, uttering, at the same time, a loud and discordant scream. The sensation, it is true, lasts but for a moment; but the whole is so sudden and unexpected, that the sportsman is involuntarily startled; and this momentary feeling gives time for the bird to dart among the thick foliage of the forest, and thus effect its escape. The crest of a bird is always erected under a sense of danger or of anger, as every body knows who has seen a cockatoo; so that it has obviously been intended by nature to perform the office of intimidating, however momentarily, the foes of its possessor."—Vol. i. pp. 30, 31.

This is ingenious; and that, under some circumstances, the sudden erection of a crest may act as a defence, is not very improbable; yet, it appears to us, the unsteadiness of Mr. Swainson's gun was far more likely to be produced by the "loud and discordant scream" suddenly uttered, than by the elevation of the crest of the woodpecker.

A very remarkable appendage to the head is found in the *palamedia*; consisting of a long spear-shaped horn, perfectly hard and compact in its substance, which must constitute an admirable weapon of defence.

Respecting the eyes of birds, a few facts may be noticed. They are the largest in species that feed by night, of which the owls are a familiar example. In the nightjars (*caprimulgus*), another group of nocturnal preyers, they are enormous. The reverse is the case in birds that feed by day; and the humming-birds, allowing for their diminutive size, have the smallest eyes in the whole class. Mr. Swainson suggests that this peculiarity may receive some explanation from the fact, that these birds are only in full activity during the most sultry hours of the day, a time when nearly all others have retired to the shade, to avoid the dazzling brightness of a vertical sun.

The power of sight in birds is known to be very great, and far exceeds that possessed by man, and probably by any class of animals. The importance of a ready and quick discernment of their food, in the economy of all kind of birds, is obvious, and is thus provided for. Indeed, the raptorial tribes would scarcely be able to exist, were they not provided with immense powers of vision. Our readers may have marked with interest the flight of the hawk as, hovering over some underwood or thicket, it has prepared for an instantaneous pounce upon its ill-fated victim, which may have been, at the moment, pouring forth a sweet melody, unconscious of the proximity of a destroyer, and the near approach of death. Let us, however, imagine the hawk only provided with ordinary powers of sight, and how different would be the result! Compelled to hunt its prey so near as to be immediately observed—ere the fatal swoop could be made, the little birds would set up a note of alarm, heard and understood by their companions, both as a signal of danger and for instant concealment. Buffon affirms that a hawk can distinguish a lark, coloured like the clod of earth on which it is sitting, at twenty times the distance at which it would be perceived by a dog or a man.

Another instance of great powers of vision is afforded by the swallow. Of this bird, Mr. Swainson remarks, that—

“While darting through the air at the rate of three miles a minute, it is looking on the right hand and on the left, sideways, upwards, and downwards, for its food. The insects it preys upon are often exceedingly minute—sometimes flying above or below the level of the swallow’s flight; and yet they are seen, captured, and swallowed, without any diminution of the prodigious rate at which the bird is flying.”—*Ib.* p. 46.

How useless would have been the eagle’s talons, or the swallow’s wing, without the addition of extraordinary sight! It is generally imagined, that the vulture owes its power of discovering food to a high development of the olfactory organs. This is, however, an error; as Audubon, the excellent successor of Alexander Wilson in the American wilds, has satisfactorily demonstrated that the vulture, like the other raptorial birds, is directed to its prey by a

great endowment of vision. We can only refer to the decisive experiments published by that zealous ornithologist, in "The Edinburgh Philosophical Journal." Another bird which has been supposed to discover its food by smell, is the toucan; and Mr. Swainson states, that its large-sized bill is "entirely filled with a cellular tissue of nerves, all of which communicate to the two lateral openings of the nostrils." There is reason to doubt the accuracy of the fact here stated; and as the eye of the toucan is rather larger than the whole brain, its power of vision must be excessive, and, most probably, furnishes the means of discovering the carrion, upon which the bird feeds.

The bill of birds is a very important organ in their economy; and its modifications in structure have been used by naturalists as the principal characteristics of the divisions into which the feathered tribe has been arranged. The bill consists of two mandibles, which are analogous to the jaws of animals, although very different in structure. In the majority of birds, the bill is used to seize or catch the food; amongst the *raptores*, it performs a different function, being adapted to destroying and tearing in pieces the prey which those ravenous masters of the air require. Let us take the powerful bill of the jer-falcon as an example. Its structure is admirably adapted to the most destructive purposes. Stronger, in proportion to its size, than, perhaps, the bill of any other bird, with a prominent tooth, the notch well defined, and the tomia curved in the greater part of its outline, this fearful weapon tears, with the greatest facility, the flesh of the animals killed by the powerful talons of the jer-falcon. The other falcons are similarly provided; and each in its sphere, sweeps the wild or the woodland, the brake or the thicket, carrying terror and destruction amongst the weaker denizens of the forests. Well has it been ordered by an unerring Providence, that, in comparison with the other races of birds, the number of the *raptores* is small; for, had it been otherwise, their rapacity would soon have depopulated the feathered world. For the same obvious reason, they propagate slowly. The domestic fowl—appointed for the food of man—rears with facility a brood of ten or twelve chickens, but the eagle seldom hatches more than two eggs, and this but once a year. The various classes of animals are all nicely balanced. Had the carnivorous tribes been more numerous, the other races would have gradually disappeared from the face of the earth, until, at length, their destroyers would famish, or devour each other. If the reverse had been the case, and there had been fewer or none of the raptorial tribes created, the swarming vegetable feeders would have overrun, and utterly consumed the products of the earth. On either supposition man would perish, and the world roll on in its orbit without a single inhabitant to worship its Creator or shew forth his power.

The bill of the vulture differs from that of the falcon, and.

as our readers are aware, is used for a different purpose. Although strong it is not notched, and in other respects is better adapted to gnawing of carrion than to dividing the flesh of prey recently killed. Hence, the tribe of vultures perform the office of scavengers of nature, and remove from the face of the earth the carrion which would otherwise prove highly offensive.

“They are sparingly scattered over the south of Europe : in Egypt they are more numerous ; but in tropical America, although the species are fewer, the individuals are much more plentiful. No sooner is an animal dead than its carcass is surrounded by a number of these birds, who suddenly appear, coming from all quarters, in situations where not one had just before been seen.”—Ib. p. 281.

Thus, in tropical countries, where their presence is most needed, an abundance of these “scavengers” have been provided, and their useful, however offensive, labours prevent pestilence and death. The two most remarkable vultures belong to the new world,—the condor, of fabulous renown, and the “king vulture,” whose general elegance furnishes a contrast to the appearance of his *subjects*, and his only claim to be considered their ruler.

The food of the nocturnal birds of prey consists chiefly of mice and other small animals, and their bill is consequently much weaker than that of the other *raptores*, being much hooked from the base, and without tooth or notch. Some of the larger species seize nobler prey, attacking and destroying birds ; some even catch fish. Alexander Wilson states, that the snowy owl hunts by day as well as night, and patiently sitting on a rock a little raised above the water, until his heedless prey approach, suddenly seizes them with an instantaneous stroke of the foot.

But we must briefly notice a few modifications of the bill in other groups. Amongst the *insessores*, or perching birds, an extensive family subsist upon seeds, nuts, &c. It was necessary, therefore, to provide them with a strong bill, which is consequently of the firmest texture, being not only short, but so thick as to become almost cylindrical ; both mandibles are equally strong, and when closed their height and breadth are nearly the same. An excellent illustration of this is furnished by the *loxia ostrina*, a rare and most extraordinary bird, whose bill is not much inferior to the size of the head. This family of birds has been aptly designated by the old writers “hard billed,” in contradistinction to the “soft billed,” or insect feeders. There is, however, considerable variation in the size and strength of the bills of birds in this family. In one species of the seed-eating tanagers of South America we find a very powerful bill, and in another a much weaker one, while between the two there exists almost every intermediate variation of size and strength. The cause of this difference of structure in species so closely allied in other

respects, is thus explained by Mr. Swainson in his own ingenious manner:—

“The seeds and hard berries found in our cold and temperate climates are very few indeed compared to the innumerable variety produced in the vast forests of the New World, whether we regard the variety of the species or the different degrees of hardness they possess. Now, as these small and hard fruits are the appointed food of the tanagers, it follows that an equal diversity of strength should be found in the bill; that organ, in fact, which is to turn these seeds into nourishment. If there was little variation in the size or strength of the bills of the tanagers, the inevitable consequence would follow, that they would only be able to feed upon seeds or nuts *varying but very slightly in their size and hardness*; and hence it would follow, that innumerable other sorts, which either did not come up to this standard, or much exceeded it, would be left untouched, and, as food to the animal world, perfectly useless—at least, so far as as we can conjecture.”—Vol. ii. pp. 115, 116.

Mr. Swainson states, that he is much strengthened in this hypothesis by observing something of the same principle in operation, though not so strongly marked, in the European birds. He refers, as examples, to the bills of our hawfinch, greenfinch, and linnet, which certainly display a considerable disparity of size.

The insectivorous birds, feeding upon soft substances, do not require so strong a bill as that with which the vegetable feeders are provided. The shrike, however, is furnished with a bill of considerable power, the upper mandible of which is strongly hooked. These birds appear to connect the raptorial tribe with the one under notice; and although their food consists principally of beetles and other insects, they are often known to seize weak birds, which they kill by pinching their necks between the mandibles. The thrushes have a strong bill, with sharp cutting edges to the tomia, as, in feeding upon snails, they have to break the shells by hewing them into pieces. The robin furnishes us with a slighter form of bill, which may be regarded as a type of that of many small birds of this family, and which is well adapted for feeding upon larvæ and other soft insects. The woodpecker has a very different task to perform, and its strong wedge-shaped bill, with a perpendicular edge at the end, like that of a hatchet, is an admirable tool, well calculated for the purpose it is intended to effect. By this structure, aided by great strength in the muscles of the neck, this bird can break through and demolish the hardest wood in its search for insects. Wilson states that, in the cypress swamps of America, after the ivory-billed woodpecker has been at work, there may be seen “enormous pine trees with cart-loads of bark lying around their roots, and chips of the trunk itself, in

such quantities, as to suggest the idea that half a dozen of axemen had been at work there for the whole morning. The body of the tree is also disfigured with such numerous and so large excavations, that one can hardly conceive it possible for the whole to be the work of a woodpecker." Thus, wherever insect food is to be obtained, nature, by a special organization, has placed it within the reach of the species destined to subsist upon it.

Our readers need not be informed that very different bills from those already described will be required by birds whose element is the water, and whose food consists of the fishes, &c. which that element contains. The bill of the shearwater (*rhyncops niger*) is exceedingly curious, and is thus described by Mr. Swainson:—

"Both mandibles are straight, and so much compressed as to resemble the blade of a knife, placed edge-wise, more than anything else; the upper mandible, indeed, is slightly thickened at its base, where the nostrils are situated; but one quarter of its length appears broken off, so that the under mandible protrudes beyond the upper nearly an inch."—Vol. i. p. 72.

This singular conformation has excited much surprise; and some writers have gone so far as to style it "a lame and defective weapon." Had they been acquainted with the habits of the shearwater they would have spoken very differently. This bird feeds upon shrimps, small fry, &c., which it obtains by skimming the surface of the sea. The knife-like lower mandible cuts the sea without impeding the progress of the bird, and the upper mandible, being at such times elevated above the water, is curtailed in its length, and tapers gradually to a point, so that when closed it offers the least possible opposition. Thus provided, and borne on wings of great expansion and power, the shearwater ploughs the surface of the sea with inconceivable rapidity, and procures its food "with as much apparent ease" (to use the words of Wilson) "as swallows glean up flies."

Robbers are not confined to the human species, and the *lestri* are robbers of the feathered tribes. Their bill is very strong and considerably hooked at the tip of the upper mandible, though, being without tooth or notch, it is not adapted to kill full-grown prey, or even catch fish. Thus left, apparently without any *honest* means of subsistence, the *lestri* rob the nests of other birds, and, what is more strange, rob the gulls of the contents of their stomachs. No sooner does the *lestri*s perceive one of its more feeble congeners carrying off a prize, than rapidly pursuing, it compels the gull to relinquish or disgorge the hard-earned game. A similar trait of character is manifested by the frigate pelicans, which do not, however, entirely subsist on such ill-gotten booty.

“We know not,” says Mr. Swainson, “a more imposing sight than half a dozen of these aerial birds soaring in mid air, and suddenly falling down into the sea upon a shoal of fish that have approached too near the surface. At other times, during a storm, they soar to such a height that, notwithstanding their size, they appear but as specks in the firmament; all their powers of motion, in fact, are concentrated in the wings, for the feet are so short and imbecile, that when upon the ground they may be approached with perfect ease.”—Vol. ii. p. 194.

Birds fly with such apparent ease that man has often thought he could imitate them, and, clothing himself with wings of the best construction, has attempted to mount the subtle element. The effort has always ended in disaster and disgrace. Wings are not the only requisites to make man a flyer,—he must have muscles equal to those of the bird, his spine must be very differently constructed, and he must have a breathing apparatus far more adapted to flight than that he now possesses. In all these respects birds differ very materially from man; and He who gave them wings gave them also an organization fitted for their use. It must be remembered, too, that the wings of the bird are *alive*,—each joint and each feather acts in unbidden harmony with the rest, and a buoyancy of motion is effected which it would be impossible for man to imitate.

That there are great diversities in the powers of flight of various birds, every one must have noticed. These diversities are dependent upon peculiar modifications in the structure of the wings. The structure best adapted to flight is that termed by Mr. Swainson “acuminated.” The frigate pelican, above noticed, and the swallow, may be cited as examples. In the acuminated wing, the first quill is generally the longest, the other primaries gradually diminishing until they reach the secondaries, which are unusually short, and terminate at the ends very abruptly. The tertials slightly exceed the secondaries in length. “It is thus obvious that nearly the whole power of the wing is thrown into the ten principal quills, which are those principally employed in all birds to cut the air, but which, in the present family (*hirundinidae*), are most particularly adapted for that purpose.” The power of flight which this structure of wings confers upon the swallow, is immense. Who is not familiar with this “faithful harbinger and companion of flowery spring,” and has not marked its sudden sweeps, accomplished with the speed of light? Wilson calculates, that in ten years, (many of our small birds being known to live longer,) the swallow, occupied each day for ten hours at an average rate of flight of a mile a minute, would pass over, in the course of its life, “two millions one hundred and ninety thousand miles, or upwards of eight times the circumference of the globe!” The migration of swallows cannot, therefore, be considered at all improbable; and yet we have

been told by some authors, that these birds hide in hollow trees, ruinous buildings, &c. ; or, with still greater absurdity, that they pass the winter in torpidity, at the bottom of rivers, or ice-bound lakes. Even that good old man, Gilbert White, whose memory is loved and venerated by all naturalists, was evidently not prepared to admit the migration of swallows, and in various passages of his inimitable "Natural History of Selborne," favoured the opinion of their passing the winter in torpidity. Fortunately, ideas such as these no longer sully the pages of our natural historical authors. The subject of migration is, nevertheless, a difficult one, and is by no means fully understood. It is not the physical power of flight, but the power which guides that flight to the far-distant home of the swallow, which is above our apprehension. The bird that leaves our shores in autumn will return in spring, after traversing hundreds of miles, to the same caves, and build on the same spot. We may call it "instinct;" but a word to which so many meanings are attached, is too indefinite to give any information. The same faculty which, with unerring precision, directs the swallow, is manifested, though in a less degree, by other animals. Numerous instances have been recorded of cats returning to a place to which they were attached, although they had been carried miles away in close, or in dark confinement. Kirby and Spence, in their "Introduction to Entomology," state, that an ass returned two hundred miles, by an inland route, to a place from whence it had been shipped. Dogs have accomplished the same feat. These were all evidently directed by the same mysterious faculty—a faculty which, though evidently given to most animals, has been denied to man, and cannot, therefore, be correctly appreciated by him.

The falcated, or sword-shaped form of wing, is only possessed by the humming-birds, and is thus described by Mr. Swainson:—

"It differs from that last described (the acuminate), by the two or three first primaries being curved towards their ends, which are rather suddenly rounded off, while all the others which succeed them are pointed. The primaries are certainly developed even more than in the swallow's,—a circumstance which is decidedly favourable to the idea that these birds are the swiftest. * * * Perhaps the most correct definition of the different powers of flight in these two groups would be this—that the swallows have the strongest, and the humming-birds, while their flight lasts, the most rapid."—Vol. i. pp. 86, 87.

The humming-bird is one of the most interesting objects in creation—the smallest of the feathered tribe, and the most beautiful. It is a living gem, whose metallic lustre, glancing in the sunbeams, is unequalled in loveliness. Wilson states, that on arriving at a thicket of blossoms, the humming-bird poises

itself for the space of two or three seconds so steadily that its wings become invisible, or only like a mist; then thrusting its long, slender, tubular tongue, into the flowers, it extracts the liquid sweets. When two males meet at the same flower, a battle instantly takes place, and the combatants ascend in the air, chirping, darting, and circling round each other, until the eye is no longer able to follow them. The conqueror generally returns to the place to reap the fruits of his victory.

The form of wing which is not adapted to flight, is termed by Mr. Swainson, "abortive." Of this we have examples in the ostrich, cassowary, *rhea*, &c. In the last-named species, the wings are much more developed than those of its congeners, being, according to Latham, no less than eight feet from tip to tip; but owing to the webs being disunited, they are, like the other abortive wings, useless in flight. In the *apteryx*, the wing is so very rudimentary as to be quite concealed by the surrounding feathers. This singular bird is indigenous to New Holland, a country apparently more than any other productive of the wonders of creation. We may hope for many additional novelties, both in the animal and vegetable kingdoms, from future investigations of a territory which has already furnished us with forms so interesting and wonderful as the *apteryx*, emu, *ornithorynchus*, kangaroo, *cereopsis*, and many others.

In the penguin, the wings, although useless as organs of flight, act nevertheless as powerful instruments of motion. They are in fact fins, and act as such. The feathers have the appearance of scales, and the wings, in form, much resemble the fins of a fish. Their use will be best explained in the words of Mr. Swainson:—

"It is asserted by voyagers that the penguins swim with such amazing rapidity that they will pursue and even overtake fishes, upon which, indeed, they chiefly live. This fact would be perfectly incredible, did it not explain indirectly the true use of the abortive wings of these singular birds, which, being used as fins, gives them this superiority of swimming over all other birds; and confers upon them the possession of four members for this express purpose, when all other birds have only two. That law of nature pervading every part of the animal creation, which preserves the balance of powers and of faculties, by giving additional power to one organ, if another is unusually weak, is nowhere more strikingly and wonderfully displayed than in the penguin and frigate pelican (*tachipetes*.) The one is perhaps the longest, and the other the shortest, winged bird in creation, and yet it is in these very members that the law in question is demonstrated. The feet of both birds upon land can do no more than barely support the body; but to compensate for this apparent deficiency, nature has thrown such additional powers into their wings, that all other birds must confess their inferiority."—*Ib.*, p. 162.

It is scarcely correct to describe the penguin as the "shortest winged bird in creation," although its wings are in appearance clumsy and useless. Nevertheless, by their admirable adaptation to the habits of the penguin, the speed of that bird in the water almost rivals the swift flight of the frigate pelican in the air.

The modifications in the structure of the feet are very intimately connected with, and adapted to, the habits of birds. Each order presents us with peculiar diversities in the structure of these organs. It is by their strong talons, that the *raptores* kill their prey, which they deplume, or tear asunder, by their mandibles. The hooked claws of these birds, being acutely pointed, and having beneath two sharp, cutting edges continued to the tip, are capable of inflicting very severe wounds. The foot, too, is exceedingly powerful; and, thus armed, the falcon destroys with great facility the prey which falls beneath its grasp.

In the majority of the *insessores*, the foot is adapted for walking and perching, having the three anterior toes and the posterior one on the same level. To this group belong most of the small birds which people our hedges and trees, and, by their notes, fill the woods with melody. The perching foot, in its typical conformation, has the lateral toes unequal, and the hinder one not lengthened. In those species of *insessores* whose habits are more terrestrial, the lateral toes are of the same length. The crow is a familiar example of this structure. Climbing birds require much support backwards, when in a semi-perpendicular attitude, and this is effected, either by the hallux, or hind toe, being excessively developed, as in the Australian *climacteris*, where this modification of structure is at its maximum; or by the bird having the toes placed in pairs, two before and two behind, a structure which is pre-eminently scansorial, and is most perfectly developed in the woodpeckers (*picidæ*.) "On flying from one tree to another, the woodpecker generally alights upon the upright stem, rather than upon an horizontal branch, and immediately begins, in a perpendicular attitude, to explore the bark, and detect the external signs that may appear of its insect food lurking within." Scansorial birds are also assisted, in their climbing habits, by the structure of the tail, which is in most species very strong, having the shafts of the feathers remarkably stiff, and, "in some instances, so hard and rigid, that they appear more like horn than of the ordinary substance." These horny shafts pressing against the bark of the tree, assist the hind claws in rendering the perpendicular position an easy one.

Some few species of insessorial birds have all the four toes placed forward. This structure is found in the swift (*cypselus*) and in the colies (*colinæ*.) Mr. Swainson is of opinion

that the swift rests in a perpendicular attitude, clinging, and supported alone by the feet, which are obviously not adapted for perching. This supposition, though highly probable, has not, we believe, been verified by the observations of any naturalist. The colies, unlike the swift, are able to walk, though the principal use of the feet is evidently as prehensile organs. Le Vaillant states that, when at rest, the colies, unlike all other birds, hang from the branches with their heads downwards, exactly in the same manner as bats.

Syndactyle feet have two of the anterior toes more or less united together. The most perfect instance of this structure is found in the kingfisher, whose feet are totally useless in walking, the exterior toe being united with the middle one throughout almost the entire length, and the inner toe being not half the length of the others, and not quite as long as the hallux. The kingfisher perches only on the smaller branches, its feet being too small to clasp the larger ones, but the union of the anterior toes, by producing considerable breadth of sole, gives great steadiness to the bird, as, sitting on a naked twig overhanging the water, it waits patiently until its finny prey approach within reach. "Like the love-lorn swains, of whom poets tell us, he delights in murmuring streams and falling waters; not, however, merely that they may sooth his ear, but for a gratification somewhat more substantial. Amidst the roar of the cataract, or over the foam of a torrent, he sits perched upon an overhanging bough, glancing his piercing eye in every direction below for his scaly prey, which, with a sudden circular plunge, he sweeps from their native element, and swallows in an instant." Thus wrote the devoted Wilson, in describing the belted kingfisher (*alcedo atcyon*), and his descriptions surpass in elegance and accuracy those of any other writer. They were copied fresh from the page of nature, by one whose life was mainly spent in the woods and wilds of America, and whose highest gratification was the study of nature's works.

The *rasores*, whose terrestrial habits required feet adapted for walking, have the lateral toes of equal length, connected at the base to the middle one by a small membrane; the hind toe being very short, and raised above the heel. The claws are protected from injury in walking by being slightly bent, and are robust and horizontally flattened to give facility in scratching the ground, that being the usual habit of the *rasores* when searching for food.

Spurs are peculiar to this order, and are used by the males as weapons of offence and defence in the battles which take place at the "season of courtship." In some species, these weapons are formidable, being very sharp, and capable of inflicting a severe wound.

The *rasores* appear to have been destined by Providence for the convenience of man, to whose appetite and comfort the fowl in the farm-yard, the game-birds in the park, and the grouse on the moor are alike specially devoted.

The *grallatores* form the connecting link between the land and water birds, and obtain their food on the shores of the sea, the margins of fresh waters, in marshes, &c. Their legs are consequently formed for wading, and are remarkably long. The feet vary considerably in structure. In the typical genera, *tringa*, *totanus*, &c., the three anterior toes are long, slender, and deeply cleft to their base; the middle slightly exceeds the others in length; the hind toe is rudimentary, and is placed rather higher up the leg than that of the *rasores*.

The jacanas (*parra*) have a very extraordinary structure of the foot, singularly adapted to the circumstances in which they are placed. In these birds the fore toes are not less than three inches in length, and the hind one two inches and a half; the claws are also very long and straight, that of the hinder toe measuring at least two inches. Mr. Swainson gives us an interesting description of the habits of the jacanas, which fully illustrates the use of their long feet:—

“These birds, whose geographic range appears restricted to the tropical latitudes of both hemispheres, are particularly common on the low and inundated grounds of Brazil; and we have frequently seen twenty of them at once, in different parts of a swamp, walking almost upon the water. Such, at least, is their appearance; and although startling to one who is a stranger to their habits, can be thus explained:—More than two-thirds of the surface of these swamps, where the water is generally shallow, is partially covered with the broad leaves of water-lilies and other aquatic plants: it is upon these that the jacana walks while seeking the aquatic insects upon which it feeds. It is clear, however, that, to accomplish this, it must have a very peculiar foot; for, otherwise, the bird would sink in the soft mud below, by its own weight. The toes and claws are, therefore, developed to a most extraordinary length, in order that the bird should be supported by the great extent of surface which its foot covers.”.....
 “It is upon this principle that the snow-shoes of the Canadians are constructed, by which they are enabled to walk with ease upon the snow, whatever may be its depth beneath.”—*Ib.*, pp. 158, 159; comp. vol. ii. pp. 178, 179.

The coots (*fulica*) and phalaropes having the anterior toes margined with a lateral membrane, which in most species is dilated in lobes, are able to swim and dive with great expertness, and thus form the connecting link between the wading and swimming birds.

The *natatores*, whose element is the water, have, in the typical genera, the three anterior toes connected together by a mem-

brane or web reaching to their extremities; the foot is thus specially adapted to swimming. The form of the foot best adapted for swimming, appears to be that possessed by the cormorants, (*carbo*), in which the four toes are all placed forward, and are connected with each other by a membranous web, which extends to the claws. The power which this structure gives in the water must be immense.

The voice of birds is interesting to every one. There are few who have not derived pleasure from the songsters of the grove. How delightful is the fine melody of the thrush, as, seated on the high branch of some lofty tree, he welcomes the orb of day with his powerful notes—and how exquisite are the strains of the lark, which, ascending towards the blue vault of heaven, seems to pour forth a full harmony of praise at the footstool of the Eternal! Nature is a temple of Deity, and the feathered creation its choir.

The powers of voice in birds are very great, and surpass those of any other animals; “the crowing of a cock may be heard at a far greater distance than the shout of a man, even had he the lungs of a Stentor.” Where the competitors are so numerous it would be difficult to determine the species whose melody is the sweetest. Of course much would depend upon taste, and not a little, perhaps, on early associations. Common consent, however, seems to have assigned the pre-eminent station amongst English birds to the nightingale, whose strains there can be no doubt owe something to their being produced at the “witching hour,” when all others are silent. But even the nightingale must give place to the mocking-bird of America, whose power of song, as described by Wilson, is almost incredible. “In his native groves, mounted on the top of a tall bush, in the dawn of dewy morning, while the woods are already vocal with a multitude of warblers, his admirable song rises pre-eminent over every competitor. The ear can listen to *his* music alone, to which that of all the others seems a mere accompaniment.” (*Am. Ornithology*.) But the most astonishing part of the mocking-bird’s endowments, is its power of imitating the voices of other species. The cackling of hens, the melody of the song-thrush or blue-bird, the shriek of the bald eagle, and the notes of many other birds, are all mocked with astonishing accuracy. “Even birds themselves are frequently imposed upon by this admirable mimic, and are decoyed by the fancied calls of their mates, or dive, with precipitation, into the depths of thickets, at the scream of what they suppose to be the sparrow-hawk.” (*Ibid.*)

Almost every portion of the globe furnishes us with peculiar modifications of the notes of birds. In Tobago a poor ignorant African, when prying into some dark and solitary grove, heard a sepulchral voice uttering “*Who, who—who are you?*” and, as

the story goes, took to his heels in affright, leaving the possession of the dreaded spot to the *prionites bahamensis*, which makes these startling interrogatories. The Englishman, wandering through the swamps of Demerara, may have listened with feelings of delight to the mellow tones of a distant church-bell, hallowed with associations of England and of his home; but the sounds were deceptive—no worshippers were there—from the summit of some lofty tree, the bell-bird was pouring forth his solemn knolls. The wilds of America resound throughout the night with the melancholy cry—“*Whip poor Will,—Whip poor Will!*” monotonously repeated by one of the night-jars; and the Indians believe these sounds to be the sighings of a departed spirit. Numerous superstitions attach to this bird, as well as to the ghostly owl, whose dismal hootings seem scarcely to belong to this world, but “making night hideous,” terrify the ignorant. The great-horned owl makes the American woods echo the live-long night with its “*Waugh, O!—Waugh, O!*” and, according to Wilson, “has other nocturnal solos, no less melodious, one of which strikingly resembles the half-suppressed screams of a person suffocating, and cannot fail of being exceedingly entertaining to a lonely benighted traveller, in the midst of an Indian wilderness.”

The parrots furnish us with another example of harshness of voice in birds. We can scarcely conceive a more disagreeable annoyance than to remain for a length of time in a room where a quantity of these discordant screamers are confined. The beauty of their gaudy plumage scarcely repays us for the infliction which our ears have to endure.

But it will be interesting to inquire *why* birds are gifted with powers of voice, so strong and so various. The primary reason seems to be, to enable them to recognise each other. Quadrupeds do not need this provision; their sight and smell are sufficient. But it is evident that birds are differently circumstanced: they wander far from each other, and the arboreal species, which are more especially endowed with vocal powers, are, even when near, so completely hid by surrounding herbage that, without the utterance of their peculiar notes, mutual recognition and companionship would be difficult.

“Hence it will be observed that the sexes of those species which habitually live together at all seasons, utter at intervals a peculiar sort of twitter whenever they quit one tree for another, as if to keep their mates constantly informed of every fresh movement.”...“The same little signal-notes are used by perching birds which feed in societies, as the goldfinch and long-tailed titmouse, no less than by the wren in the spring, when exploring with its mate the best spot for erecting their new nest, or gathering materials for its construction. In autumn, however, this latter bird is solitary, and it flits across our path, or

explores the tangled hedge, a silent and a solitary rambler."—*Ib.*, pp. 165, 166.

That the principal reason of the great development of voice in birds is to enable them to recognise each other, is, we think, very evident, and can scarcely be doubted. Mr. Swainson regards the habit of the *mycetes*, or Brazilian howling monkeys, as, in this respect, analogous to that of birds. "These animals, when in quest of their mates, ascend one of the lofty trees of the forest, and from thence send forth those hideous howls, which can be heard at the distance of nearly a mile."

The notes of birds are also used as a signal of danger, and seem to be, when so uttered, almost universally understood. Whatever may be the species that sounds the alarm, every little bird within hearing hurries off into instant concealment, or flies away to less dangerous quarters. But there may be many modifications of tone which we cannot appreciate, and a note, expressive of much to a kindred species, may appear to us merely a chance modulation.

Buffon, and other French writers, have erred in asserting that the song of birds is given alone as an accompaniment of their loves, though there can be no doubt that one of the objects of this faculty is to enable the male to charm his mate during the tiresome period of incubation; and often may these exemplary husbands be seen perched on a twig, near their secluded habitation, swelling their little throats with bursts of harmony to comfort and cheer the beloved inmate of the nest.

As a concluding reply to the query, "Why do birds sing?" we may remark that it is to them a pleasurable occupation, and at the same time a source of enjoyment to mankind. In this, as in innumerable other instances, our gratitude is due to the Creator for having so fashioned and ordered the objects by which we are surrounded, as to promote our well-being and happiness.

We regret that Mr. Swainson has not devoted a chapter to the consideration of the adaptation of the colour of birds to their habits. The subject is an interesting one, and would have afforded full scope to his ingenuity. In a few instances, only, he has incidentally referred to it; and we shall therefore attempt, in some measure, to supply the deficiency. The varied hues which adorn the plumage of birds, however pleasing to man's senses, were not given merely for his gratification. That, we have no inclination to deny, was one object; but there were other, and, to the birds themselves, more important purposes to be served. Some species required especial means of protection from the piercing ken of their stronger enemies, while others had to be provided with especial means of procuring their food. Both these objects have been effected by peculiarities of colour.

The best mode of protecting an animal from the attacks of the carnivorous or raptorial tribes, is obviously to render it as little conspicuous as possible. Imagine a lark, whose habit is to be much on the ground, coloured scarlet, and it would be an object to which the attention of every passing hawk would be immediately and fatally directed. Resembling, however, the clod of earth on which it sits, the lark rests in comparative security. For the same reason most species of animals resemble in colour their indigenous locality. "The wood-snipe," says Mr. Blyth, in his excellent edition of White's *Selborne*, "is of the exact tint of the dead leaves over which it runs; the snipe, that of the marsh; and the rail, that of coarse and decaying vegetation in the ditch." The colour of the ptarmigan in summer closely resembles the hue of the locality in which it is placed, but in winter, when the ground is covered with snow, the same colour, so far from being a protection, would render the bird a very conspicuous object. Nature has provided for the emergency, and in autumn the plumage of the ptarmigan gradually changes, so that, when winter clothes the fields in white, the bird may vie, in unsullied purity, with the snow on which it treads. It might be difficult, perhaps, for one, who had been admiring in a museum the brilliant plumage of a number of the tropical species, to believe that their variegated feathers could furnish means of concealment; yet such is undoubtedly the case. In our own inclement country, the vegetation is comparatively plain and unvariegated in its hues, and the same character marks the birds whose haunts are amongst our copses and trees. But the face of nature wears a very different aspect in warmer climes; there, the earth brings forth in abundance its richest treasures—the trees are laden with golden fruit,—flowers, whose loveliness surpasses our highest conceptions, strew every path—and the entire vegetable kingdom is decked in its brightest ornaments. If we can imagine a scene such as this, and the whole glistening beneath the rays of a vertical sun, we shall then understand how the ornaments which render tropical birds so remarkable in our museums act in the midst of surrounding splendour and brilliancy as means of concealment.

That certain peculiarities of colour are of great importance in enabling some species to obtain their food will, we think, be evident from a few examples. Professor Rymer Jones relates that a piscatorial friend of his, when dressed for his favourite amusement, always appeared in a sky-blue coat and white trowsers, which he termed "sky fashion," and was of opinion that this dress was the best adapted to conceal him from the fishes. The professor states that "shortly after this conversation, walking through a collection of aquatic birds, I was rather startled to find that they almost all wore blue coats and white waistcoats;

almost all of them were dressed "sky-fashion." If you look at the heron and sea-gulls you will find blue coats and white waistcoats upon them. What could induce the fish to come within reach of the heron? Were it visible, they would go in all directions; but, on account of its colour, they are not able to perceive its presence." The fishes look up to the heron, which having the sky for its back-ground, is best concealed from their observation by its plumage being "sky-fashion." The extract, which we have given from Professor Jones's observations, is taken from a report of an interesting course of lectures, which that gentleman has recently delivered in various parts of the country.

The bee-eaters (*meropidæ*) furnish us with some very curious adaptations of colour to their mode of capturing prey. A Brazilian species, which we had the pleasure of inspecting in the noble museum of Lord Derby, has the plumage entirely dark, with the exception of some white feathers on its breast, bearing a sufficient resemblance to the white petals of a flower, to decoy the bees in their search for honeyed blossoms. The bird, thus provided with admirable powers of attraction, rests quietly on some twig, until its winged prey, darting towards their supposed booty, are seized with sudden velocity. Another instance of a similar character is afforded by the blue-bellied bee-eater of Africa, whose bright crimson throat, surrounded by the herbage of the tree on which it is perched, presents an appearance of a most lovely flower. Some species are provided with beautiful crests, evidently for the same object. Thus in the royal tody, of Brazil, (*megalophus regius*), the feathers are so disposed that they radiate from the hinder part of the head, and form a semicircle, resembling the half of a full-blown syngenesious flower; the size of the crest being enormous in proportion to that of the bird, and having a very splendid appearance. The ground colour of the feathers is of the richest chestnut-red, and at the tip of each there is a spot of velvet-black, margined with steel-blue, which is separated from the red by a stripe of rich orange. That the effect of this flower-like appendage should not be impaired, the plumage of the body of the bird is exceedingly plain.

Some crests are termed by Mr. Swainson, "concealed," i.e., when at rest, the feathers of the crown, which are not conspicuously elongated, are laid perfectly smooth. "When the bird, however, is excited, the central feathers of the crown suddenly expand, radiate almost in a circle, and display what is often a most beautiful and striking ornament." "These crests are generally of a bright yellow, red, or golden; sometimes, though very rarely, white." Mr. Swainson suggests the use of "concealed" crests, in the following passage:—

"The bright colours of the crest are only at the roots of the feathers, which are all tipped with the ordinary colour of the plumage; so that

when these are expanded, they are no inapt representation of the opening petals of a marigold, or some beautiful little syngenesious flower; the predominant colour of that class, no less than of the crests which represent them, being different shades of yellow. Now it is a circumstance, no less singular than remarkable, in conjunction with what we shall presently state, that of between fifty and sixty birds possessing this sort of crest, every one is purely insectivorous—that is, living entirely upon insects, which are caught, not by hunting, but are seized only on their near approach.” The tyrant fly-catchers of Brazil “take their station on a particular branch, and there patiently wait for such insects as come within range of a sudden dart. It is to this family of birds that the crests we have been describing are almost entirely restricted. We have frequently seen the *bentivi* of Brazil—the most familiar, as well as common species, in that country—open and shut his fine yellow crest, when merely occupied in watching for insects. This fact, joined with the considerations already mentioned, has more than once suggested to us the idea, that these flower-like ornaments are occasionally used as snares, to attract the attention of insects, so as to bring them within reach of being captured by a sudden dart.”—*Ib.*, pp. 37, 38.

We can readily imagine that some of our readers will regard it as improbable that insects do thus mistake the colouring of birds for flowers. Observation, however, would remove the doubt. A small piece of white paper, laid on the grass, will attract the cabbage butterfly as it slowly flies over a garden, and a coloured object, by no means more resembling a blossom than the feathers of these birds, will in like manner draw aside bees, and other insects.

Our limits remind us that we must bring our discursive remarks to a close, or we had intended to have noticed the other subjects treated of in the volumes before us:—“Nests of Birds,” “Ornithological Bibliography,” “Laws of Nomenclature,” &c. We cannot, however, take leave of Mr. Swainson, without expressing our regret that in many cases he displays a bad spirit towards his coadjutors in the science, and assumes an intellectual superiority over those who have the misfortune to differ from him, which neither their talents nor acquirements can justify. Even Cuvier, to whose abilities and zeal naturalists are under the greatest obligations, is spoken of disparagingly, and his labours are termed “pre-eminently unsuccessful;” and the kind-hearted and indefatigable Waterton is sneered at as an “amateur.” Other opponents to the quinary hypothesis are told that they “have hitherto done nothing to place their names in the prominent ranks of science;” that they are “inadequate judges upon matters they have not sufficiently studied;” and that they are “mere assertors of their own opinions.” Mr. Swainson regards the “obloquy” which he has endured as the “usual portion of an original dis-

coverer," and expresses himself contented to "abide the decisions of another generation." This is all, to say the least of it, in exceedingly bad taste, and the *animus* displayed is not very creditable to an "original discoverer," who evidently anticipates that "another generation" will rank him with Newton, Davy, and the other immortals. Very different will be the spirit manifested by the humble inquirer into the mysteries of nature, each of whose steps must remind him that of much he is necessarily ignorant, and that no human mind can grasp, in all its fulness, the expanse of creation, or can correctly appreciate the wisdom and goodness displayed in even the most insignificant of the works of that Being, whose power is alike evidenced by the worlds that spangle the firmament, and by the "creeping things" that inhabit the earth.

Art. IV. *A Wreath for the Tomb; or, Extracts from Eminent Writers on Death and Eternity: with an Introductory Essay and a Sermon, on the Lessons taught by Sickness.* By the Rev. Edward Hitchcock, LL.D., Professor of Chemistry and Natural History in Amherst College, Massachusetts. Amherst: Adams. London: Jackson and Walford. 1839. 12mo, pp. 250.

It is in no small degree gratifying to us to have become acquainted with this volume from the United States, the work of "THE GEOLOGIST of the state of Massachusetts," whose merits as a practical philosopher are so highly prized. His "Reports" to the state government are universally acknowledged to be of the greatest scientific and economical value; particularly the last, recently published, in two splendid quarto volumes, with many engravings on a large scale. But here we meet the Professor in another, and infinitely higher walk of effort, as a member of a Christian college, and a tutor of young men for the gospel ministry. This small book derived its origin from a season of extraordinary illness among the students and other members of Amherst College. Professor Hitchcock sought to make the most profitable use of those afflictive events, by preaching the Sermon here published. The text is Psalm exix. 71—"It is good for me that I have been afflicted, that I might learn thy statutes;" and the subject is treated in a way remarkably original and interesting, as combining with the feelings of vital Christianity sentiments dictated by natural philosophy and the habits of thought thence derived. The Essay is upon the propensity of mankind to *alienate their minds from the contemplation and expectation of DEATH*. After discussing this subject upon its

general principles, and their reference to mankind universally, the author makes a *specific application* to the following classes of men:—Young persons: men in the meridian of activity, merchants, agriculturists, lawyers, medical men, ministers of the gospel, operative mechanics, retail tradesmen; cultivators of the fine arts, painting, sculpture, architecture, and music; statesmen and politicians, military men, literary men, including original authors, editors of periodical works, and poets; metaphysicians, mathematicians, experimental philosophers, physiologists, chemists, the votaries of natural history, geologists;—old men, habitual invalids. The author then enlarges upon the beneficial influence of cultivating *a holy familiarity with death, and a lively sense of the nearness of eternity*. In the enforcement of this object, he adduces many striking reflections which, while of an unusual character, are by no means strained or far-fetched, but marked with the charm of united originality and simplicity. We conclude this notice of so interesting a work with two citations, which will convey an idea of the manner in which the numerous topics are treated.

“Geological researches bring a man into almost constant intercourse with the most astonishing and sublime of nature’s productions. Now, he penetrates the deep and dark cavern, studded with sparry wonders, and perhaps the charnel-house of the antediluvian world. Now, he urges his way through the rugged mountain-gorge, where over his head hang the jutting rocks, just ready, apparently, to crush him. Anon, he climbs the lofty precipices, and, as he looks down into the yawning gulf beneath, what creeping of nerves—what thrilling emotions of wonder and sublimity, does he experience! Again, he gazes with awe upon the mighty cataract, whose deafening roar drowns his voice. Does he open the solid rocks? What amazing records of past existence, and of God’s vast plans, are brought to view! In short, he is everywhere in inevitable contact with the most unequivocal displays of God which creation can furnish. And yet, to the God of the Bible, to the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, he may be an utter stranger. Not that his mind never entertains a thought of God, nor that he is not sometimes filled with awe and amazement at the power of God: for who can see, as he sees, the arm of Omnipotence laid bare among the wild and sublime scenes of nature, without some intellectual realization of the Divine presence? But he may have no complacency in the *moral* character of God; and transforming grace may never have subdued his proud will and given him that new heart, without which he cannot see the kingdom of God. In short, he has never learned to live to the glory of God, and therefore has made no preparation to die. It may be that, when the thought of death comes over him, he has some indistinct apprehension that all is not right between his soul and God; and some faint resolutions of amendment are excited: but his pursuits are too engrossing to permit their immediate execution. Some new fossil must first be described, or some interesting district of country ex-

plored. Before these objects are accomplished, others equally attractive are brought before the mind, and the period of fancied reformation is crowded further and further onward, until it is pushed into ETERNITY, where the voice of inspiration declares there is no work, nor device, nor knowledge. Ah, deluded man! What an aggravation of your future misery will it be, to have seen so much of God in his works on earth!"—pp. 37, 38.

"The importance of attaining to *eminent holiness*. This alone can sustain a man, when sickness brings death near. As it is an easy matter to construct a vessel, or find a pilot that shall be safe and sufficient when the sea is open and calm, so mere philosophy, or morality, or a speculative adoption of Christianity, or self-righteousness, will seem abundantly sufficient while we are in health and prosperity, but, when the mountain-billows begin to roll over us, and the deep yawns beneath us, and the fatal breakers are before us, one only vessel can outride the storm—one only pilot can guide it through in safety. That holiness which makes Christ the Alpha and Omega, which is the fruit of God's Spirit, and which has become vigorous by long exercise, is alone sufficient for such an hour. And never yet has that holiness failed a man, in that dark passage where every other refuge fails. But this is not the acquisition of an hour, a week, or a month. It is the fruit alone of long discipline in the school of Christ; the reward of patient and persevering labour in his service. He who has neglected that service, or lingered in the Christian race, may cry in agony after this holiness, when he sees his perishing need of it. Oh! it is only in the season of health that so rich a boon can be acquired!"—pp. 105, 106.

"Sickness gives to the Christian an experimental proof of *the truth and power* of the doctrine of *gratuitous salvation by the blood of CHRIST*." [We omit much, regretting the necessity.] "Oh! to make his own righteousness a ground of trust, in such an hour, would resemble his conduct who should cling to the ship's anchor, as she was going down amid the waves! His own righteousness! If he has any just conception of the strictness of God's law, or of the sin that has been ever mixed with his best and holiest services, sin enough to bring just punishment upon every one of those services, he will search in vain for any righteousness that he will dare call such, as the pure light of eternity falls upon it." [The author warns against deception, from "gross ignorance of the Bible, or philosophic pride."] "He will rather be disposed to write *barrenness* upon all his life, and to loathe and abhor himself before a holy God. He will see that his case is a hopeless one, unless some other resting-place can be found for his sinking soul. Here, his eye is met by the cross, standing as the central pillar of truth, based immovably on the promise and mercy of God, rising high above all the storms of life and death, and bearing on its surface the inscription—'*Other foundation can no man lay than that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ.*' To that cross, faith turns her eager gaze, and throws around it her arms, as with a convulsive embrace. The soul feels at once that she has found at last a refuge, from which *neither life, nor death, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other*

creature, will be able to separate her. The man may have doubts whether his faith is genuine; but he no longer doubts that he has found the *true and only* way of a sinner's justification before God."—pp. 87, 88.

There are many, very many, other passages of great beauty and energy, which we would gladly copy, did our limits permit. Especially one train of argument has greatly impressed us, (pp. 57—68), on the salutary influence which an habitual regard to eternity will have upon all the faculties and capacities of our nature, by *quicken[ing] us to vigorous exertion* in the administration of our worldly affairs, in studies, scientific labours, the work of the ministry, efforts for the salvation of our fellow men, the enjoyment of prosperity, and the endurance of sorrows, especially those arising from a delicate and feeble bodily constitution. The references to biographical examples (Boyle, Pascal, Baxter, &c.) are happily introduced, and the whole volume is at once so useful and so affecting, that we feel it difficult to lay it down.

Its larger portion, one hundred and forty pages, consists of extracts from various authors, on the solemn subjects of the work, selected for their peculiar power and tenderness in thought and language. Among them, we find Drélincourt, Baxter, Jeremy Taylor, Saurin, Hannah More, Chalmers, Irving, and J. A. James.

Art. V.—*Memorials of the Great Civil War in England, from 1646 to 1652.* Edited from Original Letters in the Bodleian Library, by Henry Cary, M.A. London: Henry Colburn. 1842.

THESE volumes belong to a class of publications which we are always glad to see upon our table. Their recent multiplication is a happy omen of the future state of our historical literature, and we shall be gratified to find that they obtain such a circulation as will encourage Mr. Colburn and his industrious collectors to continue their researches. Vast materials for the elucidation of English history are known to be deposited in our public libraries, and it will be disgraceful to the national intelligence and patriotism, if, in these days of literary enterprise and drudgery, they are not drawn thence for the information of the people. The labour of writing history has hitherto been immense, and few of our popular writers have had either leisure or inclination fairly to encounter it. Such men as Hallam, Godwin, Tytler, and Lingard, are in this respect exceptions to their class, and their productions have, in consequence, a permanent value, which raises them far above the works of their contemporaries.

A similar admission is due on behalf of our friend Dr. Vaughan, whose admirable *History of England under the House of Stuart*, published by the Useful Knowledge Society, is distinguished by indefatigable research, sound judgment, and unblemished integrity.

It is not, however, on account of such men that we specially rejoice in the appearance of volumes like those before us. There is another class, more numerous and more immediately influential, whom they cannot fail greatly to benefit. We refer to the writers of our light and ephemeral literature—men whose productions are in every one's hands, and whose opinions are consequently circulated, by a thousand channels, through the length and breadth of the land. It is impossible to take up such publications without perceiving instantly that, with very few exceptions, their authors are miserably deficient in that species of knowledge which is necessary to an accurate portraiture of past times, and more especially to a faithful delineation of the nicer shades of character,—the blending of various and anomalous elements in the intellectual and moral constitution of the more prominent personages of our history. Everything is, for the most part, vague, general, and flimsy, exhibiting only the rude outline,—the representation of a class rather than of an individual. The most erroneous impressions are thus conveyed to the popular mind, and the progress of political ethics and the improvement of society are in consequence retarded. An extensive familiarity with the correspondence of past times, and especially with the familiar and confidential letters of our fathers, is the means best adapted to correct these evils, and to give at once an accuracy and a breadth to the descriptions of our writers, and the historical conceptions of our people in general.

Nothing can well be conceived more jejune and superficial than the views entertained by the majority of our countrymen on the disputed points of their own history. That certain kings reigned at certain periods, that Henry VIII. murdered his wives, and his daughter Mary burnt her protestant subjects; that the long parliament arrayed itself in arms against Charles I.; that the king was beheaded, and that Cromwell, under the title of Protector, was constituted ruler in his stead; that the Stuarts were restored, in the person of Charles II., and were finally expelled at the Revolution of 1688;—this constitutes about the sum total of the historical lore of the great mass of our countrymen. Nor is this the case with the lowest and most illiterate class only; the charge attaches with almost equal force to the more intelligent and better informed. Other things might have been expected from them, but he who calculates on finding such will be grievously disappointed. On these accounts, therefore, we rejoice

in the appearance of the present volumes, and shall proceed to introduce our readers to some acquaintance with their contents. The letters range over a period just anterior to that occupied by the correspondence recently edited by Dr. Vaughan, under the designation of the "*Protectorate of Cromwell.*"

The title of the present collection is somewhat of a misnomer, as the civil war was nearly closed when the letters contained in it commenced. The king erected his standard at Nottingham, on the 25th of August, 1642, and the first of the letters now before us bears date April 23rd, 1646. In the interval, the battles of Marston Moor and Naseby had demolished the forces of the king, and placed him at the mercy of his exasperated subjects. The latter of these engagements took place in 1645, and constituted in reality the close of the monarch's military operations. We mention these circumstances in proof of our remark respecting the title of the work, and pass on, without further comment, to notice its contents.

In the spring of 1646 the king was at Oxford, with the remnant of his scattered forces; his only hope being derived from the known differences of his opponents. On these differences he calculated with his usual infatuation, and so misjudged his position as to deem himself more secure than either of the two parties to which he had been opposed. "Let them never flatter themselves so with their good success," said the stolid monarch to the French agent, Montrevil; "without pretending to prophesy, I will foretel their ruin, except they agree with me."* Charles, however, could not await at Oxford the result of his intrigues. The forces of the parliament were enclosing him in the city, and the following letter from Ireton to Oliver Cromwell, announces a communication which he had received from the quarters of the monarch. The date of the letter is, April 23rd, 1646, only four days prior to Charles' flight to the Scottish army:—

"Last night late there came from Oxford to my quarter some officers, late of the king's party, with passes from the General to go beyond sea, (most of them being of the forty allowed, upon the treaty at Truro, first to go to the king.) Two of them did severally declare to me, (as by direction from the king and divers English about him,) to this effect: That the king had several offers made to him of considerable assistance to declare for him, upon some conditions, (not mentioning nor acknowledging to know the conditions, nor positively the parties;) that there were divers solicitors now pressing him to a present resolution, and his condition required the same; but that the king, and most of the English about him, were averse to such offers, (as ruinous or dangerous to the kingdom,) and inclined (before any other way) to cast himself upon the parliament and people of England,

* Clarendon, 5, 355.

and (for that purpose) was desirous (without further capitulation) to come in to the General, or whither else the parliament would have him, and at once to deliver up all his garrisons, and disband his forces, if only he might be assured to live and continue king still, without being deposed for aught past; that (to avoid all jealousy or opportunity of his making a further party or factions) he would either come to London or not (as the parliament pleased), or go to any place in the kingdom, whither the parliament would have him, stay where they would, have no officers about him, nor resort to him, but whom they would assign; save only the duke of Richmond, my lords of Hertford, Southampton, Lindsay, Mr. Ashburnham, and some few others, (whose names I remember not,) whom he desired for society only, and not to be in power or place about him.

“They pretended necessity for a speedy resolution herein, (otherwise the king would be precipitate upon desperate resolutions, to try for safety otherways;) that for prevention thereof, they were expected to return to Oxford this morning, with but my opinion, whether the king might rationally expect to be thus received; else (should they go on without any return) it would be conceived hopeless. I would not suffer either of them to go back or make return, nor admit the least further intercourse or communication about it; neither would I assume to give my sense of the thing, but instead thereof, gave them a copy of the parliament’s declaration, (as the clearest assurance of their intentions,) and told one of them I would (according to my duty) acquaint my General and superior officers with what was proposed, and leave them to impart it to those we serve. Wherein (wishing only a tenderness of the king’s honour in the carriage of it, and fearing some danger in long suspension and their utter silence) they did acquiesce.”—Vol. i. pp. 1—3.

Not succeeding in his attempt to open a communication with the parliamentary officer, the king resolved on the desperate step of throwing himself into the hands of the Scotch. Intelligence of his flight speedily reached the army. It was supposed that he had taken the direction of London, and serious apprehensions were entertained, lest he should be welcomed by the citizens, who were mostly in the Presbyterian interest. The fact of his departure from Oxford is thus communicated by Colonel Payne, to the commander of the garrison at Abingdon:—

“I have intelligence from others, that the king went this morning by two o’clock towards London; that the gates were kept close; and having demanded the reason of the extraordinary step they took, it was answered, It concerned a kingdom, and that there would be stormy doings at London; for if the lord-mayor proved an honest man, it would be very well for their side, and that we should see one half of the parliament sitting at Northampton, and the other half in London; and that if any did refuse to yield to the king, the rest would force them to it. These things being of so high concernment, I held it my

duty speedily to acquaint your honour therewith, well knowing your wisdom can discern how to make a true use hereof. I shall not at present be further tedious, only take leave, and rest,

“ Sir, your honour’s faithful servant, GEO. PAYNE.

“ Abingdon, April 27, 1646,
eleven at night.

“ The party that told me the intelligence above written, thinks he went disguised to London, and that he made use of Sir Tho. Fairfax’s seal, which they have gotten cut in Oxford.”—*Ib.* pp. 9, 10.

Clarendon and Rushworth state that the king left Oxford, attended only by Ashburnham and Hudson; but in a letter subsequent to the above, Colonel Payne states that he went out with three attendants, the Earl of Southampton, Doctor King, and Mr. Ashburnham; and that serious disturbances took place in the city immediately after his departure. “ Their hopes are,” he remarks, “ he will be entertained in the city; and talk much of the lord-mayor, that he is to keep the king private at his house, and that he hath made a party in the city for the king.” The hopes of the royalists were at this time most absurdly raised, as will appear from the following extract from a letter from William, afterwards Archbishop, Sancroft, to his father, dated May 4th:—

“ The news was strong upon the Exchange on Friday, that the king, having escaped out of Oxford in a disguise, was surprised, but within two hours it was cried down again. On Saturday, a post came hither with his mouth full of it; but upon search, he was found to have a blister on his tongue. Upon discourse with those that I think understand much in the present state of affairs, I think it probable that the king is still in Oxford; that his resolution is, upon Fairfax’s approach, without much disputing to give up himself into his hands and to go for London. The faction that hath the vogue at Westminster fear nothing more than that; they know not what to do with him if he comes to London; his presence will attract hearts, and animate many of the members to appear for him with open face, who now mask under a vizor, and sigh to see a party, they like not, carry all before them. To say nothing in the meantime, that the late breaches with the synod, Scots, and city, have much disposed men’s minds to look back from whence they are departed; and informs them sufficiently that the men are not impeccable and infallible, whom they have looked upon as such all this while.

“ The truth is, men begin to grow weary, and it is time; and I hope the fatal giddiness that hath possessed us all this while, will have at least this good in it, that it will bring us back at last to the point where we began, otherwise the round would not be perfected. Thus much is certain, ever since the voting down of the synod’s and city’s petition, the assembly-men have prayed very zealously for his majesty, and began to fumble and botch in their mention of the parliament, that God would shew them what a horrible sin it is to break covenant with him, &c.; this was Mr. Calamy’s phrase; and last Sunday, Mr.

Vines, new master of Pembroke Hall, preaching at St. Mary's, could afford them no more, but 'that God would direct them in the right way, and take them off from self ends.' And now I have mentioned him, I'll give you a touch or two of his sermon. The first shall be a glance at the commissioners. 'Certainly,' saith he, 'the church had a power of jurisdiction in it before the supreme magistrate was Christian; and why it should lose that under Constantine, which it had under Nero, I know not. Yet there is a generation who tell you, you must only meddle with the pot of manna, but the rod of Aaron doth not become your hands.'

"His next was concerning sects; (his text was 2 Cor. xi. 3.) 'The Apostle,' saith he, 'is for simplicity; but here is a multiplicity among us; the swarm is up; 'tis risen, and falls in so many parts, that I fear it will never be brought again within the compass of one hive, within the pale of one church.' But I shall make my repetition too long for the sermon. I am sure it was three quarters of an hour, and yet he read it all; two great faults in others, but in an assembly-man no more but peccadilloes. So much for him."—*Ib.* pp. 16—18.

The real direction of the king's journey was, however, speedily ascertained; and his arrival at the quarters of the Scotch army before Newark, was reported to the commons in a letter, dated May 5th, in which it is stated, "that the king, with three others, came with great speed this morning, about seven of the clock, to Southwell, and went to the house of Mons. Montrevil, the French agent." A subsequent letter (p. 56) from the English agent at Paris, throws considerable light on the part which the French court had taken in the intrigues preceding the king's flight to the North. The hopes and the fears which were now rife amongst his adherents are thus described by Saucroft, in a characteristic letter to his father, dated May 11th:—

"For the public news, I will tell you what is talked upon the Exchange. I knew you were amazed, as well as we, to hear of the king's last action. We had some fellows at the Leagner, at Newark, about the time; others that came from London last Saturday. What I hear amongst them is thus much: His majesty, upon his coming in and reception by the Scots, proffered them Newark if they would protect him; for, saith he, there is an Independent party that sways all above, who will cut your throat and mine too if they can prevail. The Scots replied, that of late they had lain under many misapprehensions; and they were loth to give any further ground of jealousy, and therefore refused to accept the town."

"Hereupon, say some, it was delivered to the English; say others, to neither, but the works slighted by the garrison itself, the king signing the warrant for the doing of it. On Wednesday last came the news to London that the king was come in. The vigilant, active, and Independent party, who stand always watching their advantage, were at the house, and presently fell a voting that the king should be carried as a prisoner of war to Warwick Castle. The next morning

this vote is carried up to the lords for concurrence. They storm; send down for a conference; have it; Essex manageth it, and makes a large harangue: that they were bound by their covenant to defend the king's just rights; that they had hitherto fought for that end to remove his evil counsellors; he had now deserted them, and freely offered himself; and therefore nothing now to be done but to disband the armies, and conclude a peace; and that rather than they would consent (he spoke in the name of the lords) to make the king a prisoner, they would all die in the place. Sir Philip Stapleton seconded him with another as resolute. And now the commons were a full house too, and vote counter to the last night's resolve, and confess themselves ashamed of the action. They are the words of a parliament-man to him that told me.

"All the expectation now is, what the Scots will do. Some say they are removed northward with the king as far as Doncaster. Not so far, say others, but only to get fresh quarters. All men's eyes are upon them, to see what course they will take; for that is the hinge upon which all turns. If they stand firm with the parliament, as is not doubted they will, we shall have peace and presbytery. The Independent is exceedingly crest-fallen, and, if the Scots continue their fair correspondence, is like to lose all; for then the parliament will concur with the presbyters; and though the other part desire much to fight the Scots, yet they will want the name of the parliament to give countenance to the action.

"If anything make the Scots and parliament break, it will be the business of the commissioners. The London ministers preach broadly against them. Mr. Calamy tells the story of the seven sons of Sceva the Jew, and applies it thus: 'Pastors we know, and elders we know; but commissioners, who are ye?' Jenkins of Christ Church (he that told the parliament, when he preached before them, that they had brought us out of Babylon, and left us in Babel) tells the passage of the Emperor H. VII., that was poisoned in the sacramental bread. 'So,' saith he, 'these men poison Christ's own disciples, the presbytery, that is good and holy; but, commissioners, here is the poison, take hold of it.' A third saith publicly, he hopes rather to see the streets run with blood, than the commissioners continue. The city, too, being set on by some of the house, are putting forth a remonstrance in defence of the synod, against some particular persons in the lower house, and some of their proceedings. There will be such passages as these: 'Mr. H. Martin, a man expelled the house for speaking treason, and shuffled in again we know not how; one that never speaks in the house but when he is drunk, and yet speaks every day; yet being an Independent, is thought the only fit man to present the queries about *Jus divinum* to the synod. Mr. K. Fiennes, one that forfeited his life to justice, at a council of war, for basely betraying Bristol,' &c.; and so of the rest."—*Ib.* pp. 29—32.

The part taken by the Scotch commissioners in inducing the king to repair to their quarters, has been matter of acrimonious dispute,—some denying that they were privy to his design, and

others maintaining that they tempted him to the desperate step by promises which were never intended to be fulfilled. The fact of their having been cognizant of his purpose, is clearly established by a letter in the present collection from Sir Thomas Hanmer. (p. 95.)

We have entered the more largely into this part of our history, as it is one of great importance, and is, at the same time, but little understood. Its influence on the subsequent fortunes of the king is matter of notoriety. Charles was speedily delivered up to the English parliament, from whom he was afterwards taken by the army. The unhappy monarch retained somewhat of the semblance of royalty, but the substance had passed for ever from his hands. Had he been wise and true-hearted he might yet have repaired his fortunes, but his inveterate duplicity misled his better judgment, and involved him in a series of intrigues as fatal to his reputation as to his life. Even Edward Hyde, now a fugitive in Jersey, exulted in the intelligence of the king's flight, and referred to it as "the good news of the king's safe arrival in the Scotch army, and of his honourable reception there; which truly," he adds, "I hope will quickly beget a true, and produce a happy peace."

Several letters printed by Mr. Cary throw much light on the relation subsisting between the parliament and the army, from which we should be glad to transcribe largely did our space permit. The character of this army was altogether peculiar. It never had been, and probably never will be paralleled in our history. The sagacity of Cromwell had early perceived the necessity of calling into operation some principle which should be a successful antagonist to the gallantry of the cavaliers. His clear-sightedness assured him that mere brute force could not be an adequate counterpoise to the high spirit and hereditary courage of the royalist gentry. Baxter tells us, that when but a captain of horse, Cromwell "had an especial care to get religious men into his troop." It was upon the strength of the religious principle that he grounded his confidence of ultimate success, and if this principle sometimes degenerated into fanaticism, it was not on that account less adapted to the immediate object of the future protector. The character of the soldiers is best shewn by the kind of appeal which their officers made to them on the eve of battle. A striking instance of this is furnished in the following address of old Major-General Skippon, when leading his troops to a charge: "Come, my boys, my brave boys!" said the veteran, "let us pray heartily and fight heartily; I will run the same fortunes and hazards with you. Remember the cause is for God and for the defence of yourselves, your wives, and children; come my honest, brave boys, pray heartily and fight heartily, and God

will bless us.”* These soldiers took a personal interest in the struggle, and fought under the full persuasion that they were discharging a solemn duty to God and their country. “The exercises of devotion were mingled with the tactics of war, and their camp alternately resounded with the voice of praise and the shout of battle. Their minds were braced by long and ardent meditation on things invisible and divine, and they were consequently nerved with a more than mortal resolution. While their spirits were repressed by the timidity or caution of their leaders, they failed to achieve the purpose which animated their breasts; but when their religious zeal was allowed to burn unchecked, they swept the troops of Charles before them with a rapidity which astonished and bewildered the beholder. The calm observer of modern times is wholly incompetent to estimate the intensity of the passion which impelled their course, and mingled in strange confusion the most touching appeals of religion with the fiercest denunciations, and the most martial bearing.”† The presbyterians at first predominated in the army, but were subsequently overborne by the independents and other sects who constituted the strength of the new model.

These men were deeply interested in the maintenance of religious liberty. They had fought for it at the peril of their lives, had practised it somewhat freely, and were not therefore disposed to relinquish it lightly at the bidding of the presbyterians. Such, however, was the evil which threatened them in the year 1647, when the parliamentary ascendancy of the presbyterian party was temporarily restored. To this apprehension, which in itself had been sufficient to determine their course, there were added many just grounds of complaint against the parliament for leaving the troops without pay, exposed to civil suits for actions performed in the war, and for attempting to separate them from the officers, under whose conduct they had saved the sinking fortunes of the parliament from ruin. These circumstances led to frequent correspondence between the soldiers and their general, which was conducted in a style by no means discreditable to the former. From this correspondence, we can find room only for the following, addressed by the agents of several regiments to Major-General Skippon, which, according to White-lock, was presented to the House, on the 30th April, 1647:—

“MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONOUR,—We, who have (for these two years past and more) been by your honour conducted through many dangers, and by Providence have been hitherto protected, who have often seen the devouring sword of a raging enemy drawn forth against

* Forster's Hampden, 353.

† Price's Hist. of Noncon. ii. 313.

us, threatening destruction to us, and now see them vanquished, and ourselves seemingly settled in peace and safety, are yet sensible of a more dangerous storm hanging over our heads than ever the malice of our open enemies could have contrived. or their fury caused to fall upon us; which, unless diverted, strikes not only at our liberty, but also at our lives.

“To whom (next to our Maker) shall we fly for shelter, but to your honour, our patron and protector? From what secondary means shall we expect our deliverance, but from that hand that hath so often been engaged with us, and from that heart that hath as often been so tender over us, and careful for our securities? Can we suffer, and you not sympathize?—can we be proclaimed traitors, and your honour remain secure? Ah! dear sir, let your wonted care for us be further demonstrated! Cease not to speak for us, who, (together with yourself,) in obedience to your commands, have adventured all that is dear to us for the kingdom's safety.

“Hath anything been desired by us that hath not been promised us, or than we have just cause to expect? If there hath, then let it, and the authors thereof, perish. But can the parliament, upon misinformation, pass us for enemies, and we not therein perceive the designs of our enemies? Can we be satisfied with a compliment, when our fellow-soldiers suffer at every assize for acts merely relating to the war? Is it not our lives we seek? Where shall we be secure, when the mere envy of a malicious person is sufficient to destroy us?

“Were our enemies in the fields with their swords in their hands, we should expect no more than a bare command and a divine protection in our endeavours to free ourselves. But it is another, and a far worse enemy, we have to deal with; who, like foxes, lurk in their dens, and cannot be dealt with, though discovered; being protected by those who are entrusted with the government of the kingdom. It is the grief of our hearts that we cannot desire our own securities without the hazard of your honour, if but in speaking in our behalf. When shall we see justice dispensed without partiality?—or when shall the weal public be singly sought after and endeavoured? Can this Irish expedition be anything else but a design to ruin, and break this army in pieces? Certainly, reason tells us, it can be nothing else; otherwise, why are not those who have been made instruments in our country's deliverance again thought worthy to be employed?—or why are such (who for their miscarriages have been cast out of the army) thought fit to be entrusted, and those members of the army encouraged and preferred to that service, when they are, for the most part, such as (had they considered their just demerits) might rather have expected an ejection than employment?

“We are sensible, yea, far more sensible, of the bleeding condition of Ireland, crying aloud for a brotherly assistance, than those forward undertakers in this present design manifest themselves to be; and shall willingly contribute the utmost of our abilities towards their relief, when we shall see this to be the only thing sought after and endeavoured.

“But we are confident that your honour cannot but perceive that this plot is but a mere cloak for some who have lately tasted of sovereignty, and, being lifted beyond the ordinary sphere of servants, seek to become masters, and degenerate into tyrants. We are earnest, therefore, with your honour to use your utmost endeavours, that before any other or further proposal be sent to us, our expectations may be satisfied; and if they are not, we conceive ourselves and our friends as bad as destroyed, being exposed to the mercilessness of our malicious enemies; and shall your honour, or any other faithful servant to the state, be appointed for the service of Ireland, and accept of that employment, we must of necessity (contrary to our desires) shew ourselves averse to that service, until our just desires be granted, the rights and liberties of the subjects of England vindicated and maintained, and, then, as God and our own consciences bear us witness, shall we testify to the kingdom the integrity of our hearts to the service of Ireland, and our forward actions shall demonstrate the sincerity of our expressions in reference to that employment.” —Ib. pp. 201—4.

The sequel of this dispute is well known to every reader of English history. On the 1st of the following June, Cornet Joyce arrived at Holmby, where the king was retained in the custody of parliament, and demanded his person. The soldiers on duty refused to act against their comrades, and Charles, apparently without reluctance, was conveyed on the following day towards Newmarket. His condition during the period of his being in the custody of the army was far preferable to what it had previously been. Disappointed, however, in his expectations, and perhaps alarmed for his personal safety, the king effected his escape on the 10th of November, to the astonishment both of the presbyterians and the cavaliers. “The little spark of hope that seemed to appear,” says Dr. Holesworth to Mr. San-croft, Nov. 13th, “is in some danger of being extinguished by the king’s withdrawing himself on Thursday night, by reason, he had advice that his person was not safe where he was. It hath put all into amazement, not knowing what to think, and being ignorant whither he is gone, very unaccommodated, but that he walks still under the shade of the Almighty.” (p. 359.)

During the king’s imprisonment various discussions took place amongst his clerical advisers, respecting the lawfulness of his complying with the ecclesiastical measures of the parliament. Various considerations rendered the king exceedingly unwilling to give even a temporary sanction to the measures of the presbyterians. Reasons of state policy concurred, on this point, with his earliest and most cherished convictions, and it was only at the eleventh hour that he was brought to yield a reluctant assent. The following letter, from the Bishops of London and Salis-

bury to the king, refers to the subject, and will be read with interest :—

“MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,—In obedience to your majesty's commands, we have advised upon that proposition, and your majesty's doubt arising thereon; and, according to our duty, and your majesty's strict charge laid upon us, we shall deliver our opinions, and the sense we have of it, plainly and freely, to the best of our understandings; nor shall we fail in point of fidelity, however we may in judgment.

“The doubt is touching the lawfulness of a temporary compliance in matters of religion, in the state they now here stand; that is, (as we apprehend it,) whether your majesty may, without breach of your oath, and with a safe conscience, permit for some time the exercise of the directory, for worship and practice of discipline, as they are now used, and stand enjoined by ordinance.

“For resolution whereof, we shall take the boldness to make use of those grounds which we find laid to our hands in your majesty's directions. For your majesty's constancy, and fixedness of resolution not to recede from what you have by oath undertaken in that matter, as it gives us a great latitude to walk in, with safety of conscience, in your endeavours to that end, (the rectitude of intention abating much of the obliquity in all actions,) so the full expression you have been now pleased to make of it, and that what your purpose at present is in order thereunto, doth much facilitate the work, and fit us for a resolution.

“Taking, therefore, your majesty's settled determination touching the church for a foundation immovable, and this proposition (in your majesty's design) as a means subservient thereunto; considering also the condition your majesty's affairs now stand in, being destitute of all means compulsory, or of regaining what is lost by force; we cannot conceive in this your majesty's condescension any violation of that oath, whereof your majesty is so justly tender, but that your majesty doth thereby still continue to preserve and protect the church by the best ways and means you have left you, (which is all the oath can be supposed to require;) and that the permission intended, (whereby in some men's apprehension, your majesty may seem to throw down what you desire to build up,) is not only by your majesty allowed to that end, but, as your majesty stands persuaded, probably fitted for the effecting it in some measure.

“And as your majesty will stand clear (in our judgments, at least) in respect of your oath, which is principally to be regarded, so neither do we think your majesty will herein trespass in point of conscience; because your majesty, finding them already settled, and (as it were) in possession, do only (what in other cases is usual) not disturb that possession while the differences are in bearing; or (which is more justifiable) permit that which you cannot hinder if you would; not commanding it, (for that may vary the case,) but, which possibly may be better liked, leaving it upon that footing it now stands, enjoined by authority of the houses, which is found strong enough to

enforce obedience: which intendment of your majesty would stand more clear, if this point of a temporary toleration were not laid as the principal of the proposition, (as now it may seem to be standing in the front,) but as an accessory and necessary concession for the more peaceable proceeding in the business.

“The first part, therefore, in the proposition might be for the accommodation of differences by a debate between parties, (as it lies in the proposition;) and then that during the debate all things remain *statu quo nunc*, without any interruption or disturbance from your majesty, provided that the debate determine, and a settlement be made within such a time, &c.; and that your majesty and your household in the interim be not hindered, &c.; which, notwithstanding, we humbly submit to your majesty’s better judgment to alter or not.”—*Ib.* pp. 169—172.

Brief letters on the same subject from other bishops are also printed in this collection, in which the reluctance of the writers to admit the claim to toleration preferred by other religionists is clearly indicated, whilst their solicitude for the king’s safety led them to veil their reluctance beneath much ambiguity of expression. But we must pass on to other matters.

Several of Cromwell’s letters are printed, some of which are strikingly characteristic. One thing is apparent throughout them, that however the General could mystify his meaning when he sought to do so, no man could speak or write in clearer or more forcible language when he was desirous of being understood. Several of his letters relate to his Irish campaign, and strangely mix religious sentiments with a cool detail of the wholesale slaughter that was perpetrated under his command. The following extract, illustrative of this statement, is taken from a letter addressed to the Speaker:—

“Sir, What can be said to these things? Is it an arm of flesh that doth these things? Is it the wisdom and counsel or strength of men? It is the Lord only. God will curse that man and his house that dares to think otherwise. Sir, you see the work is done by a divine leading: God gets into the hearts of men, and persuades them to come under you. I tell you, a considerable part of your army is fitter for an hospital than the field. If the enemy did not know it, I should have held it impolitic to have writ it. They know it, yet they know not what to do.

“I humbly beg leave to offer a word or two. I beg of those that are faithful, that they give glory to God. I wish it may have influence upon the hearts and spirits of all those that are now in place of government in the greatest trust, that they may all in heart draw near to God, giving him glory by holiness of life and conversation, that these unspeakable mercies may teach dissenting brethren on all sides to agree, at least, in praising God. And if the Father of the family be so kind, why should there be such jarrings and heart-burnings amongst

the children? And if it will not be received, that these are seals of God's approbation of your great change of government, which indeed was no more yours than these victories and successes are ours; yet let them, with us, say, even the most dissatisfied heart amongst them, that both are the righteous judgments and mighty works of God; that he hath 'pulled down the mighty from his seat'; that he calls to an account innocent blood; that he thus breaks the enemies of his church in pieces. And let them not be sullen, but praise the Lord, and think of us as they please, and we shall be satisfied, and pray for them, and wait upon our God, and we hope we shall seek the welfare and peace of our native country; and the Lord give them hearts to do so too."—Vol. ii. p. 202—203.

A very characteristic letter of Jeremy Taylor, every way worthy of the subtle genius of the author of "*Ductor Dubitantium*," is printed in the second volume, but is too long for quotation, and must therefore be passed over.

The following, from Mr. Sancroft to his father, under date of Feb. 10th, 1649, announces the death of the king, and expresses the views which were entertained of that event by a large portion of the community. We may differ from the writer in his estimate of the deceased monarch, but we cannot but admire the genuine out-pourings of a heart, whose sincerity was beyond doubt:—

"Sir,—What all men sadly presaged when I wrote my last, all good men now inconsolably lament. The black act is done, which all the world wonders at, and which an age cannot expiate. The waters of the ocean we swim in cannot wash out the spots of that blood, than which never any was shed with greater guilt since the Son of God poured out his. And now we have nothing left, but to importune the God to whom vengeance belongs, that he would shew forth himself, and speedily account with these prodigious monsters, or else hasten his coming to judgment; and so put an end to these enormous crimes, which no words yet in use can read, or thought conceive, without horror and amazement.

"I send you no papers, nor can I delight to take in any, since I read the saddest that ever England saw; those, I mean, that related the martyrdom of the best Protestant in these kingdoms, and incomparably the best king upon earth, Charles, the pious and the glorious; with whom fell the church and the kingdom, religion and learning, and the rewards of both, and all that the piety and honesty of the nation could hope for in this world.

"And now, the breath of our nostrils being taken away, we only draw in so much as we render again in sighs, and wish apace for the time when God shall call for it all. When we meet, it is but to consult to what foreign plantation we shall fly, where we may enjoy any liberty of our conscience, or lay down a weary head with the least repose; for the church here will never rise again, though the kingdom

should. The universities we give up for lost ; and the story you have in the country, of Cromwell's coming amongst us, will not long be a fable. And now it is grown treason (which in St. Paul's time was duty) to pray for kings, and all that are in authority : the doors of that church we frequented will be shut up, and conscientious men will refuse to preach, where they cannot (without danger of a pistol) do, what is more necessary, pray according to their duty.

“For my part, I have given over all thoughts of that exercise in public, till I may with safety pour out my vows for Charles the Second, the heir, I hope, of his father's virtues, as well as kingdoms.

“In the meantime, there are caves and dens of the earth, and upper rooms and secret chambers, for a church in persecution to flee to ; and there is all our refuge. I long exceedingly, sir, to wait upon you, that I may more safely communicate my thoughts to you ; nor shall I adventure any more of this nature till I see you. In the meantime, with my humble duty to yourself and my good mother, with my hearty love to all my brothers, sisters, and friends, beseeching God to comfort you all, in all your public and private sorrows, I humbly take leave ; and subscribe myself, sir, your obedient son,
W. S.”

—Ib. 117—119.

We must venture only on another short extract, taken from a letter from Mr. Dillingham to Sancroft, dated July 30th, 1650, which we quote as illustrative of the style in which many royalists were accustomed to refer to the great Protector. Such letters, though inducing little respect for their authors, are interesting, from the light which they throw on the feelings then rife throughout a powerful party :—

“I hear such things of Cromwell, as my Modern Intelligencer gives me little reason to believe : (if my desires were observed, you had the sight of him last week, happily not the reading.) One in discourse about the Lord's Anointed, stuck not to say, he thought Cromwell the very same. And shall that oily nose at last go for the Lord's anointed ? No, we have better terms to express so much desert by. It is the saints' *minimum quoddam naturale* ; a Nol with the wisp, the least spark of life that ever man saw : or to take him in a more thundering way, it is error carbonadoed, the red dragon, the third great luminary, the commonwealth's *Noli me tangere*, the original sin of all new lights. If some lusty fly durst venture upon it, and blow it to purpose, you would soon see it spawn the maggots of a thousand young heresies yet. The new commonwealth is a mere excrement blown from it : it is the golden calf which the people were about setting up when Essex was upon Edgehill ; Pandora's box with a cover ; that which people rather gaze at than delight in, and wherewith they are mastered, like a company of jackdaws in the night at sight of a torch : were that quenched, they would be at their nest again. It is Samson's foxes' firebrands, and all beaten together into an intolerable nose ; the state's hot-house, since the new act ; the elephant of reformation, that can easily catch all plots against the state in his snout ; the devil's breeches turned

wrong side upwards, and clapped by a mischance to the General's face. But flies must not be too bold with the candle for scalding their wings. It is God knows what ; and, do what I can, I must leave it the same I found it."—Ib. pp. 226, 227.

We should have been glad to have extracted two letters commencing on pp. 235 and 244 of this volume, but must desist. Those who are desirous of knowing what was done by the parliamentary commissioners at Oxford and Cambridge, may refer to the letters themselves.

On dismissing these volumes, we feel no hesitation in strongly recommending them to our readers, as a valuable contribution to the history of a most important epoch in our annals. A vast number of the letters which they contain are of little value, and might have been omitted without loss, but the collection as a whole is more sterling and valuable than most similar publications. The wheat bears a larger proportion to the chaff, and will amply repay the labour of selection. We take leave, however, to repeat a suggestion which we have made on former occasions, and which we are growingly convinced is deserving of the serious consideration of the editors of such works. A mere collection of unconnected letters must of necessity be uninteresting to the general reader. This is a serious defect, which editors and publishers would do well to avoid. The remedy is in their own hands, and may be easily applied. Let the more valuable of such letters be worked into something like a continuous narrative, illustrative of the chief points of our history, and the volumes then produced will be as interesting as they are valuable—as attractive to the general reader as they will be instructive to the more diligent student. As an instance of what we mean we may refer to Mr. Tytler's *England under the Reigns of Edward VI. and Mary*, than which there is not of its kind a better book in the English language.

Art. VI. *Translation of Select Speeches of Demosthenes, with Notes.*

By Charles Rann Kennedy, Esq., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Deighton, Cambridge; and J. W. Parker, London. 1841.

From two to three centuries ago, the English language was well furnished with translations of the principal Greek and Latin classics, executed in a style creditable to the scholarship of that age, and capable of bearing comparison with the contemporary European translations. Copies of most of these are now very rare; and the antique style, equally with the types and print, would repel common readers. Since the Stuart Restoration,

(the era of decline in all national genius,) we have also had various translations; but nearly all of them below mediocrity. Take those which, as English compositions, may be regarded as among the best; Pope's Homer, Melmoth's Letters of Cicero, and Murphy's Tacitus. We do not ask how much learning has been spent in producing them; but, what sort of insight do they give us into the style and spirit of their originals? As if to shut out the possibility of publishing new translations in the present day, which should fairly represent the capacities of the age; ill-judging booksellers from time to time swamp the market with republications of tame, paraphrastic, and inaccurate versions of writers remarkable for simplicity and energy. We are satisfied that the whole blame rests with our universities, especially with Oxford; which ought to guide the printing press of this country by the indirect yet efficient influence of superior knowledge. We now look to the University of London and its metropolitan colleges with some hope, that the eminent scholars who are gathered about it as a nucleus, may supply to us this deficiency: on which subject we may venture a few more remarks before closing this article.

We trust we may hail the appearance of the work before us, as the birth of a new era in English translation: but before commenting on its execution, some words may not be misplaced, as to the translator's choice of an author. The name of Demosthenes, as that of Cicero, is familiar to tens of thousands who have never read a line of either; and even to men certainly well educated, it may not be superfluous to hear distinctly what are the circumstances which make the works of the Greek and Roman orators so peculiarly instructive. We must, however, confine ourselves to the *Greek* orators, not to get too far from our immediate subject. Professed historians, such as Herodotus, Thucydides, and others of far less name, occupy their own field of utility, and are indeed indispensable to us. We would not breathe a thought to bring them into any comparative contempt. Yet they cannot do that for us which the works, partly of poets, but yet more of orators, do;—let us into the busy heart of society, and shew us the inward springs by which the machine then moved on. There were also peculiarities in Athenian institutions, which made the proceedings of their law courts cover a far greater surface of society than can be the case with us, and which elevated the Athenian pleader to a station of scientific eminence. Both these points need some explanation.

In consequence of the proverbial expensiveness of English justice, and the unintelligible confusion of English law, a vast number of suits is withheld from our courts, which, in a commercial and eminently busy country, would else naturally come into

them. Litigiousness is repressed by a denial of justice. Moderate men submit to great hardships before they can reconcile themselves to a law-suit; and as for criminal prosecutions, respectable persons think few annoyances so great as that of being anyhow implicated in them. In short, we may fairly say that the records of *our* courts would by no means furnish an average sample of English life. Posterity would read in them much of the grasping and the gross, the fraudulent and the criminal; but we might justly protest against the idea that such were the staple commodities of our day. In these points the Athenians differed widely from us. Their lawgivers, from Solon downward, had brought into the market *cheap justice* in wonderful abundance; we mean, as far as the legislative wisdom of that day could possibly furnish justice. Nor can it be doubted that the Athenian laws, as a whole, were excellent; and that the prosperity of Athens largely depended on this excellency. But a natural result of cheap and prompt law, is, that people consume it in large quantities. Minor differences, which are with us made up in silence, —the weaker party submitting from necessity or prudence,—were by the Athenians at once laid before the judge or the legal umpire. (For a highly organized system of *arbitration* was instituted at Athens, beside the system of *judge and jury*.) Hence it was, that all their neighbours regarded the Athenians as incurably litigious; an opprobrium which the English will assuredly earn, if ever cheap justice is placed within their reach. Moreover, the intimately close relation between each citizen and the state; since in those ancient commonwealths every citizen bore a *public* character; subjected even the most retired and inoffensive to be dragged into the public courts. The very fact of being retired and inoffensive, might be looked on as a culpable indolence, in a state which needed the active services of all its wealthier and well-educated citizens. Such characters therefore were, for more reasons than one, *butts* of attack for false or malicious prosecution; and most prudent men in those days became members of clubs constituted for mutual defence in the criminal courts. When thus the most moderate and respectable of the citizens were continually coming within the judicial sphere, either with or without their own will; it appears a just inference, that the characters and dealings which we meet with in the fragmentary remains of the Attic forum, are no very unfair sample of all that was to be found in Athenian life.

But again, the great defect in the administration of Athenian law, (on which Mr. Kennedy comments with much zeal, while complacently contrasting the superiority of our English courts,) lay in their not having a bench of professional judges. Not only were the juries, like our juries, taken at random from the com-

munity; but the judge also was selected for moral qualities alone. The laws were short and clear, and habitually kept in consistency with one another by constant and vigilant superintendence—(so, at least, it was enacted that they should be, special magistrates being appointed for this duty); and thus, it was imagined, professional learning was little needed in the judge. Then, as a natural consequence, neither was the principle admitted, on which so much in our judicial proceedings turns, that the judge determines *the law*, the jury *the fact*. With them, the judge was little more than the president or chairman, to decide on the *order* and *forms* of proceeding. Mr. Kennedy lays great stress on this, (and we believe, with much truth,) as being a principal and very serious error in the Attic law courts; not that we believe a bench of professional judges to be an *unmixed* benefit. However this may be, the effect of the Athenian regulations was to elevate the professional advocate into a *lecturer on Athenian jurisprudence*. It was his business to persuade the jury by instructing them in the law, as well as by enforcing his proofs of the fact; and though unfortunately many of the laws, which, at the bidding of the speaker, the clerk had to read aloud, have not come down to us, (or the copies, which we have, are suspected to be of later manufacture)—still the reasonings of the orator, founded on the law, generally enable the critic to ascertain pretty exactly what the law said. Now this is the only real method of understanding or of remembering the laws of any country: to learn them in their practical application to individual cases. Moreover, in the nature of the arguments employed, in the appeals to feeling, in the details of narrative, we gain an insight, otherwise unattainable, into the public and domestic morality, and into the ordinary routine of business and life, in a nation whose history is rich in instruction, and whose mind has deeply influenced the intellectual being of civilized Europe. Select addresses and decisions of our English judges must be, we have no doubt, eminently instructive; but they would probably want the interest and spirit which pervades the speeches of an Attic orator, who unites within himself the earnestness of the pleader and the teaching spirit of the judge.

What we have hitherto said refers chiefly to private causes, or at least to judicial oratory. But the same want of education on the part of the legislative assembly of a democratic state, placed the statesman too in the position of teacher, or rather preacher; aiming at once to instruct, convince, and persuade; while by reason of the scarcity of written records, as compared with our printed vehicles of information, the public harangue dealt largely in historical recapitulations. Without therefore undervaluing the efforts of modern English eloquence in the senate; in an

historical view it is less important that they should survive than the political speeches of Attic orators; less indeed, than those of our parliamentary statesmen one or two centuries back.

Having been thus led to expatiate on the great value and interest of the extant works of Attic eloquence, we cannot forbear to digress on the infatuated neglect of both Greek and Roman oratory in the University of Oxford. What a mine of solid knowledge the orations of Cicero contain, we have no room to set forth, much less to insist on the value of his voluminous extant correspondence—indeed it is superfluous. Yet in our oldest and richest University, the works of Cicero and Demosthenes* are unrecognised, unheard of, and unknown, except so much of them as may have been picked up at school. Generation after generation of students passes through their academic career, without a single opportunity of hearing a lecture on these great classics; or if in particular colleges, a lecturer may now and then venture on ground so unusual, (for to prove *a universal negative* is always difficult,) obviously no high amount of excellence in the lecture can, under circumstances so inauspicious, be expected. A few of the *philosophical* works of Cicero do, no doubt, make their appearance occasionally in the public examinations, as adjuncts to those of Aristotle; nor can we undertake to prove that the zeal of individual students does not prompt them now and then to add to their list a *speech* or two of Demosthenes, though it is at least exceedingly rare. But undoubtedly the orations alike of Cicero and of the great Athenian speakers are systematically suppressed in college lecturing; less, perhaps, from any personal fault in the tutors, than because the time is so unduly occupied by *Aristotle*—a writer whom we are not about to depreciate, but one, whom to appreciate and understand, requires an amount of effort, which we believe might be much better spent, and a maturity of years greater than that which Oxford students have attained. Besides, the ablest of the Oxford tutors will (by the restriction on the marriage of Fellows) generally be young men. Few of them have had *time*, by energetic efforts of their own, to learn by themselves that which the University neglected to teach them; and yet fewer can have the *motive* for this, considering that their post of tutor is but a temporary one (*viz.*, until they marry); that, meanwhile, any eccentricity on their part might cause their pupils to fail in the public examinations; that all innovation is sure to arouse opposition; and that in all probability they will leave their occupation, before they will be able to bring about any such change in the public schools as will back up and justify their alterations in the college lectures. For such

* The University of London is wise enough to pursue a very opposite course.

reasons, and others, we excuse or apologize for individuals; but so much the more do we look on the system as radically bad, and absolutely requiring radical changes, before Oxford can become, what it thinks itself, a leading organ of classical knowledge.

As for Cambridge, while it is very hard (we think impossible) to defend her *University* regulations, her separate *colleges* possess an energy and a power of isolated action, which elevates her remarkably above her rival. It is not now and then, but steadily and uniformly, that her Fellows of Trinity vindicate for themselves an eminent place among English scholars. We must not trust ourselves to name individuals, further than to call the reader to remark, that Mr. Charles Rann Kennedy, the translator of the *Select Orations of Demosthenes* now before us, is a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.

Mr. Kennedy entitles his small volume, "Translation of *Select Speeches of Demosthenes*," and in his preliminary statement he merely calls them "*certain* speeches hitherto untranslated, and not so well known as they deserve to be." In his preface, also, he opens by the words—"I lay before the public, *speeches delivered in civil causes* in Athenian courts of justice." We are surprised that he always avoids to inform his readers, that the speeches thus selected by him constitute a whole in themselves, all belonging to the same year, B.C. 364, (probably the 21st of Demosthenes' life,) and to the same series of events. In short, these five speeches are alone extant, of those spoken by Demosthenes against his fraudulent guardians. The ancients named them "Épitropic," which may be translated rather obscurely by the word *Tutorial*. The two last of these have been condemned as spurious by the ablest modern critics of Demosthenes; but Mr. Kennedy retains them without appearing to question their genuineness. We are not blaming him for this; for, without affecting to compete in learning with the great critics alluded to, reasons suggest themselves for overruling any practical consequences of their decision. Ancient commentators had long since remarked the similarity of the style (especially in the two last, *against Onetor*) to that of Isæus, the oratorical preceptor of Demosthenes; and had thought it probable that Isæus either actually wrote, or at least corrected and polished them. Now to us this is quite unimportant. Whether Demosthenes had much or little help from his master in composing them; whether he *imitated* the style of Isæus, or recited by memory compositions of Isæus, we care not. It is enough if he did speak them at the trial, and if they are not inventions of a later age. His oratorical fame does not rest on them; and a young man of twenty-one, when his whole fortunes were at stake, would naturally get all the help he could from experienced friends.

But to us, the instruction concerning Athenian laws and customs, and the acquaintance gained with the situation and circumstances of the speaker is not thereby lessened.

The volume before us contains two hundred and eighty-two pages, of which only eighty are occupied by the translation itself; the rest are filled with matter illustrative of the author. While it would be too much to say that Mr. Kennedy has *severely* tied himself to the rule of making the end of all that he writes to throw light on the original; yet it must not be supposed that his author is a mere peg to hang his own speculations on. We think it beyond a doubt that he, at least, errs on the safe side, in entering so amply into the discussions which *rise out* of the orations themselves. The principle has been long admitted, that nearly every translation is imperfect without notes; since that which is perspicuous in Greek to a Greek, is often unintelligible to an Englishman when rendered into perfect English. In these legal matters, moreover, it is of great importance to obtain clear ideas of the processes, and of the distinctions of technical terms; all of which not only is difficult when stated too concisely, but takes no hold of the memory. The method which Mr. Kennedy has chosen, of writing *Excursions* (as German editors might call them) on each question as it occurs, seems to us very judicious; and they are made far more interesting by the contrasts which he calls us to remark between Athenian and English law. His own legal studies here give him a great advantage; but we are thankful to him for adopting and abiding by the following maxim:—"I bear in mind, that I address myself to those who are little versed in legal phraseology. If, therefore, I am compelled to use technical phrases, I shall explain them, or the practice or usage with which they are connected." When shall we see jurisprudence, as *a science*, and not as a mere heap of details concerning the law of *one* country, studied at our Universities? Not till then, can we expect our legislation or our administration of the law to be rid of its mediæval barbarism. It is indeed a comfort to feel, that these historical researches cannot be prosecuted without giving an impulse to the study of law as law, and helping to break the fetters by which English lawyers are enslaved to precedents and to the letter of formulas.

This leads us, however, to add, that Mr. Kennedy has systematically expressed, by genuine English terms, the technical words which occur in the Greek;—names of *office*, as well as names of legal *processes*. In many instances this could not be done without making a rather free translation; but we are satisfied that he has done wisely in the choice he has made. In a book of *reference* (as the Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, now publishing) it may be, and probably is, advisable to retain the

original technical names; but in a book intended to be *read* as a Translation or a History, the opposite method is assuredly to be preferred. In fact, if a historian fills his pages with foreign words, he converts his book into an antiquarian discussion, and a great loss of vividness and freshness is incurred—a fault with which some able modern productions are seriously chargeable. Nevertheless, as it is decidedly important, that, where possible, all classical scholars should use the *same* English phrases for the *same* Greek (or Latin) terms, we think Mr. Kennedy would have done a service by annexing a short vocabulary to exhibit the nomenclature which he has adopted. We should be disposed to carry the principle of *translation* into words which scholars seem, almost by general agreement, to *transfer* unchanged. Thus, by way of example:—

ἄρχοντες, Magistrates.
 ἄρχων ἐπόνημος, Chief Magistrate.
 ἐπιστάτης, Warden [*custos urbis*].
 πρόεδροι, Presidents.
 πρύτανις, Privy Councillors (?)
 πρυτανεῖον, Council Hall. &c. &c.

It is however a very delicate question, what degree of *freedom* should ordinarily be used in translating; and some will think that Mr. Kennedy has occasionally carried his freedom too far. We confess that we do not like a translation to be so thoroughly English in its air, that we lose all trace of antiquity. A little homeliness and quaintness, reminding us that the speaker is an Athenian, is rather pleasing to us; for example, if Mr. Kennedy had always translated ὦ ἄνδρες, “Oh men!” we should have liked it better than “Gentlemen.” Yet this is a question of taste; and he would probably reply, that the Greek phrase expresses respect, which “Oh men!” does not; since our language does not distinguish ἄνθρωπος (a human creature) from ἀνὴρ (a manly person, a brave freeman, &c.) Assuredly, to preserve the more spiritual and vital qualities pervading a composition, is far more to be desired, than any obscure diligence in details. Yet it is with much jealousy that we make this avowal; for nearly all English translators of the past century, under cover of presenting the soul of the author, give us neither body nor soul, loosely shuffling-in upon us a thing of their own; while a few (witness Gordon's Tacitus and Dryden's Translation of the first book of the Iliad) become extravagantly coxcombical, affecting to write, as the author *would have* written, had he been an Englishman! That the reader, however, may judge what measure of liberty Mr. Kennedy has allowed himself, we will present two passages—first, translated literally by ourselves; and next, as they are found in his version.

I. Opening of the first speech. [*Literally.*]

“If Aphobus had chosen, O men of the jury! to act honestly, or to commit what we dispute about to friends, there would have been no need of lawsuits or trouble. I should then have been contented to abide by their decisions, so as to have no difference with him. But since he shunned to have those who well knew our affairs, decide concerning them, and is come before you who do not know any of them accurately, it is necessary for me to try by your help to get my rights from him.”

Translated by Mr. K.

“Gentlemen of the jury,—If Aphobus had been willing to act like an honest man, or to submit the matters in dispute between us to the arbitration of friends, there would have been no need of law-suits or hostilities. I should then have been contented to abide by their decree, which would have put an end to all our differences. Since, however, the defendant has declined the umpirage of persons well acquainted with our affairs, and has chosen to come before you, who have but a very slight knowledge of them, I am compelled to seek for redress at your hands.”

II. From the third speech, § 10. [*Literally.*]

“For I, O men of the jury! established my right to prosecute him for his guardianship, not by making up a total valuation, as one might do who was trying to slander, but by setting down every item, both whence he got it, and how much, and from whom; and I nowhere inserted the name of Milyas as knowing any of these things. Now this is the opening of the bill of plaint:—‘Demosthenes has the following complaint against Aphobus: Aphobus is in possession of my money, held by him as my guardian; first, sixty minas, which he received as the dowry of my mother, according to my father’s testament.’ This is the first sum of money of which I say that I am defrauded. But what do the witnesses depose? They ‘depose that they were present with the umpire Notharchus, when Aphobus confessed that Milyas was a freeman, having been set free by the father of Demosthenes.’ Consider now with yourselves, whether any orator, sophist, or magician, seems to you capable of becoming so marvellous and so clever in speaking, as, out of this testimony, to convince any human being that Aphobus had got his mother’s dowry? and by saying what—oh, by Jupiter? *He confessed Milyas to be a freeman. And why the more have I the dowry?* Not at all, I presume, at least on that account, would it appear.”

From Mr. K.’s translation.

“For when I brought my action, gentlemen, against Aphobus, for the fraudulent account which he had rendered me, I did not lay the damages in one general sum, as a man would do who made a vexatious demand, but specified the several items which I charged him with, stating the sources from which, and the persons from whom, he received them, and also the amount of each. I make no mention, how-

ever, of Milyas, as being acquainted with any of these particulars. The bill commences thus:—‘Demosthenes makes this complaint against Aphobus : Aphobus is indebted to me for money had and received by him as guardian ; (that is to say,) eighty minas which he received as the marriage portion of my mother, in pursuance of my father’s will.’ This is the first item of which I aver myself to be defrauded. Now what is the evidence of the witnesses ? ‘That they were present before the arbitrator Notharchus, when Aphobus admitted Milyas to have had his freedom given him by the father of Demosthenes.’ Consider for a moment. Do you think you could find any orator, sophist, or conjuror, with such wonderful powers of eloquence, as to be able, from this deposition, to convince a single human being, that his mother’s fortune is in the hands of Aphobus ? What, in the name of heaven, could he say ? *You confess Milyas to be a freeman. Well,* (the other would say) *but how does this shew the fund to be in my possession ? You must see it would be no proof at all.*”

These two specimens, taken at random, may shew that Mr. Kennedy has deviated from the original, only so far as he thought it necessary for producing fluent and business-like English ; (and the Greek of Demosthenes is quite in a *business-like* style ;) and though petty phrases may be marked, in which he has deviated a little more than was strictly needed for this, it appears to us that no candid critic would complain of them. However, to execute the translation, needs but moderate knowledge, diligence, and judgment, joined with sound scholarship ; qualities not rare among us, though rarely found accompanied with a willingness to undertake the work of translation. A harder task was to produce the illustrative excursions to which we have referred ; many of which contain details, calculated to give the reader fixed and definite ideas of the Greek courts, and to clear up numerous difficulties. Mr. Kennedy’s discussion, concerning the mode of settling the amount of damages, was new to us, and seems to deserve attention. He follows Meier (he tells us) against Schömann, in holding that an Attic jury could not fix *any* amount at their own will, as they were too numerous for consultation ; but they were obliged to choose either the plaintiff’s or the defendant’s estimate. It may be well here to exhibit the titles of his notes:—

1. Athenian Money ;
2. Registration of Citizens ;
3. Property Tax ;
4. The Water Glass ;
5. Outline of the Process in an Action ;
6. Guardian and Ward ;
7. Clubs ;
8. Questioning of the Parties ;
9. Arbitration ;
10. Challenges ;
11. Costs ;
12. Damages ;
13. Disfranchisement ;
14. State Debtors ;
15. Burdensome Offices ;
16. Witnesses ;
17. Oaths ;
18. Marriage ;
19. Execution ;
20. Mortgages ;

besides a Preface on the Administration of the law at Athens.

These topics might be dry enough, if treated in a book of antiquities. Their interest, and their power to fix themselves in the memory, are derived chiefly from their connexion with an actual case.

Not that we mean to assert these five speeches to have any *extraordinary* interest; they have, however, enough to keep up the attention, and to impress the imagination. Some, indeed, of the particulars are curious enough, others painful and striking to a novice in the classics. That the father of Demosthenes should do the part of a good husband, by *bequeathing his wife with a dowry* to an intimate friend, is a thought that would not easily occur even to a comedy writer. The language of the young orator, (so *naïve*!) concerning the torture of slaves, gives an affecting view of the limited sphere within which Greek philanthropy acted. He says, p. 83, of Mr. K. :—

“I offered to deliver to him, to be examined by torture, a young slave who had learned to read and write, who was present when Aphobus made the admission in question. Now I ask, Could there be a fairer opportunity of convicting us of falsehood, than putting my slave to the rack? Aphobus declined this test,” &c., &c.

We are glad to gather, from a hint which Mr. Kennedy drops, that he may possibly continue his labours, and present us with other orations similarly illustrated. Standing by itself, this small volume could not claim any great importance; but if all the genuine remains of the great orator were worked out on the same plan, and with equal ability, the translation (at the present crisis of classical literature in England) might become a standard model, after which others would be executed. Cambridge, at least, sends forth her scholars, if not in great number, yet steadily; and London, we rejoice to think, is becoming the nucleus of a learned body, which may, before long, force Oxford to acknowledge its superiority and to learn of it. Would that some method of combination could be devised, (such as, in the more exciting departments of *Physical Science*, the British Association finds so useful,) by which those who are at the head of classical learning, might promote communication between students, and plan out,—delegate,—superintend—the works which are needed! Before long, we trust, this band of scholars, the conductors of the Dictionary of Greek and Latin Antiquities, will have established for themselves a name, which would enable all books that have received their stamp to command the literary market. It will then be their place to consider whether they cannot employ this as an important engine for elevating true knowledge in this land, and doing much that our universities have left undone.

We do not mean to utter a premature panegyric, and must

therefore check ourselves; yet our hopes are high, that before long a more profound and extensive study of antiquity will be diffused among educated men, and that this nation will at length begin to learn from the vast stores of experience, new and old, which the gracious providence of God has put within its reach.

Art. VII. *Visits to Remarkable Places: Old Halls, Battle Fields, and Scenes illustrative of striking passages in History and Poetry: chiefly in the Counties of Durham and Northumberland.* By William Howitt. Second Series. London: Longman & Co. 1842.

WE are not surprised to learn that the former series of this work has been eminently successful. The character of the volume predicted this, and the author has done well to take encouragement from the fact, to cater still further for the instruction and amusement of the public. Mr. Howitt has acted wisely in restricting himself, in the present volume, to a particular portion of the kingdom,—one “rich in scenery and legend, in poetry and manners, in history and historic sites.” Rich as is our native country in beautiful scenery and historical associations, it would have been impossible to select a portion of it more affluent in the elements of deep and permanent interest, than that which he has selected. “Northumberland and Durham—with all their border fame, with their battles and their ballads—are the very strongholds and native ground of English popular poetry and romance. The Douglas and the Percy—Chevy-Chace and Otterburne—are names, which not only stirred the heart of Sir Philip Sidney, but are charmed sounds in the souls of us all, in our youngest and most imaginative years.” Such are the materials with which our author had to work, and the readers of his former volume need not to be assured that he has used them well and skilfully. There is a fresh and healthy tone in Mr. Howitt’s mind which admirably fits him for such an undertaking. He is a hearty lover of natural scenery, inhales its inspiration with all the buoyancy and delight of youth, and sees in its secluded rambles, its softened shades, its luxuriance and its wildness, its valleys and its hills, the materials of his most exquisite enjoyment. It is perfectly refreshing, in these days of city life and artificial manners, to ramble with him amongst some of the many scenes which he here describes, and then to witness the more than boyish pleasure with which he sits down to record, for the amusement of others, what he has seen and felt.

But Mr. Howitt is possessed not only of a keen susceptibility for the beauties of external nature, but is competently versed in the traditionary history of his country, and has withal a sound judgment. These qualities taken together, form just the man best fitted for the production of such a volume as that before us. We anticipate much good from the appearance of such works. They will serve to correct the taste of our countrymen,—to infuse a healthy tone into the drudgery of our daily life,—to bring the freshness and vigour and animation of rural England, into the streets and squares of our crowded and smoky cities. We shall be glad, moreover, to find that they detain many of our summer tourists at home. There is scenery in England which, to say the least, should be visited and known before the fatigue and expense of foreign travel are incurred. Much more good would result, both to the intellect and the heart of our people, from an inspection of the beauties with which their own country is rife, than from the hurried glances at foreign scenery, which they obtain during their brief sojourn on the Continent. In the latter case, little more is done than to pick up and retail the common-place phrases of our travelling gentry, which serve only to strengthen national prejudices, and thus retard the development of that wide philanthropy which regards mankind as brethren. In the former case, a healthful and vigorous tone would be infused into our patriotism, which would render it both more enlightened and more beneficial.

The present volume opens with Durham, than which, as Mr. Howitt correctly remarks, “There are few cities in our noble island which are qualified to command a deeper interest in the English heart. It is at once striking to the eye and to the mind. It is boldly and beautifully situated. A cloud of historical associations hovers over it, like a perpetual canopy. Legend, ballad, song, and faithful story of mighty events, surround it. A twilight of antiquity, as it were, seems to linger there.” Of all these sources our author has diligently availed himself, with a minuteness which sometimes borders on the tedious, and still more frequently is open to the charge of something like book-making. This is to be regretted, as his materials were sufficiently ample without calling in such questionable aid. The great charm of Durham is found in its historical associations.

“But if Durham be interesting in itself, how much more so is it when we call to mind its wealth of history. The whole place and neighbourhood are thickly sown with the most lively reminiscences. From the days of the Saxons to those of the Revolution, Durham felt no trifling portion of the military tempests that from age to age have swept over this island. Scarcely one of those great transactions that

have agitated the North, but brought Durham into its range. In and around it has, in fact, concentrated itself nearly the whole history of the country ; and we cannot give a true impression of the thoughts and sentiments which necessarily spring up in a visit to Durham, unless we take a sympathizing though a rapid glance at its most prominent events. Its civil and ecclesiastical history are inseparably united ; and in tracing that of its principal prelates, we are thrown upon every great occurrence which has marked its chronicle.”—p. 7.

The importance of the city may be traced back to the time of St. Cuthbert, who flourished in the seventh century. The history of this remarkable man is full of the deepest romance ; and though encrusted with many fables, yet sheds a ray of serene light upon one of the darkest and most barbarous periods of our annals. Deeply imbued with the superstition of his times, he possessed redeeming qualities, which yet render his memory illustrious, as it formerly engaged the eulogistic pen of Bede. The following account will interest many of our readers :—

“ He began his life, like King David of old, by keeping sheep ; and if the influence of solitary watching and wandering in the moorlands after his flock, while a boy, did not make a poet of him, it so far excited his imagination as to make him a saint. Oswald, the pious King of Northumberland, had embraced Christianity, and in order to convert his people, had invited the holy monk Aidan, from Iona, to plant the cross in his kingdom. Oswald had given Aidan choice of his whole realm in which to erect a monastery ; and Aidan, led possibly by the similarity of wildness and desolation in the scene, and partly by its vicinity to Bamborough, the then capital city, had made choice of the island of Lindisfarne. Aidan had wrought wonders of peace and refinement amongst the turbulent nobles of the north, and had acquired a high fame as a saint. This holy man, the boy-shepherd, Cuthbert, as he tended his sheep on the banks of the Leder, saw in a vision ascending into heaven,—

‘ Hæc inter teneros lectis dum collibus agnos
 Pasceret, ecce vigil nocturnis cernit in hymnis
 Ignea sidereis fulgescere castra manipulis,
 Atque polis sanctam rutilæ per gaudia pompæ
 Ferre animam.’

Bede.

The heavenly spectacle seized on his mind with inextinguishable power. He resolved to devote his life to that holiness which brought such glory in its train. He became a brother of the house of Melrose, where for fourteen years he led a life of the most exemplary sanctity. In the meantime various holy men had lived in the stormy solitude of Lindisfarne, and laboured amongst the rude natives of Northumberland. But the domineering spirit of Rome had now reached it ; and raised fierce contentions for dominion over it. The holy men of Iona, scorning to submit to the Italian hierarchy, had withdrawn to their

ancient sojourn, and after various changes, Cuthbert followed his friend Eata from Melrose to Lindisfarne, where Eata had been appointed abbot. This wild spot, in the midst of a tempestuous sea, was after the very heart of Cuthbert. Here he strengthened himself by continual prayer and meditation ; and from time to time issuing forth on long and arduous rambles through the moorlands and wild mountains of the Northumbrian kingdom, he preached to the more than half-savage population, in glens and fortresses where the sound of the gospel had yet never reached, or where it had been planted, but from the distractions of the church and the barbarous condition of the country, had fallen again into neglect. For these great services, and for his general sanctity, Cuthbert was made prior, and his friend Eata advanced to the dignity of bishop, Lindisfarne being erected into a see. But increase of dignity relaxed not Cuthbert's labours ; on the contrary, he still, at home and abroad, toiled incessantly in the work of reformation. Discipline was maintained in his house ; and the fierce hunters and warriors of the northern woods and dales were taught to lower their spears before the Cross, and become less ferocious in their manners. After fourteen years of these labours, which were crowned with amazing success, St. Cuthbert felt himself drawn to the exercise of a more severe self-discipline, and a more uninterrupted communication with heaven. At a few miles distance, and farther out in the ocean than Holy Isle, lay the desolate islands of Farne. These melancholy islands are rather a group of stern basaltic rocks, for the most part bare of herbage, black, and hard as iron, with a dangerous sea roaring round them, which even now, in stormy weather, renders them inaccessible for days and weeks together. To the largest of these, which is about twelve acres in extent, St. Cuthbert retired. The greater part of this islet was, like the rest, a naked and iron-like rock, with no other inhabitant than thousands of screaming sea-fowls. Here, swept by wild winds, amid the hoarse roar of the waves and the clangour of gulls and puffins, St. Cuthbert prepared to raise himself a habitation. This was only to be done by scraping from the more sheltered hollows of the island, its patches of scanty turf, and with that and such loose stones as lay about, erecting his uncouth walls. Imagine the solitary man from day to day labouring on this alone, with the dreary scene and the hoarse cries we have mentioned around him, and with the feeling that with these were mingled the laughter and howls of demons, with which the savageness of the spot, and the superstition of the period, had plentifully peopled the place. His hut consisted only of two very small rooms ; the windows, or rather inlets for light, and the door also, placed so high that he could see nothing but the heaven above him. This was purposely constructed to check the wandering of his thoughts and desires, and to direct his whole attention to the world on high. There was, however, a larger building erected at the landing-place north of the island, opposite to Bamborough, for the reception of his religious brethren who came to visit him, especially as the weather, changing in a moment, might confine them there for days. While the saint thus cast all his thoughts into eternity, he

compelled himself to feel the constant necessities of time. He drew—his historian tells us—his food from this most adamant and inhospitable crag. At his command a spring of pure water appeared, gushing from the rock, and which flows still; at every stroke of his hoe vegetables appeared; and herbage of the richest kind followed his footsteps. Certain it is, that if the holy man contrived to live there without the aid of Bamborough bakers and butchers, he must have possessed powers of the most miraculous kind. At the present day, the winds would snatch away any seed or corn more effectually than the harpies cleared the table of Æneas; potatoes were not then *invented*; and even a little cabbage-bed would require a good high wall round it to prevent every unlucky pot-herb from being blown into the sea. Be this as it may, here St. Cuthbert spent nine years of his life. After that, through the pressing solicitations of king, nobles, and clergy, he was drawn back for a time to assume the bishopric of Lindisfarne, but soon again withdrew to his beloved oratory in Farne, where, two months afterwards, he died. Great as had been his fame in life, it became twofold after his death. His body was carried to Lindisfarne, and enshrined near the high altar. It was in time discovered to be perfectly incorruptible: wonderful miracles were wrought at his tomb; but when the Danes began to visit the coast, and to ravage the kingdom, it was found that the relics of St. Cuthbert were not potent enough to restrain *them*; and in obedience to his commands, delivered on his death-bed, the monks fled for ever from Lindisfarne, bearing his corpse in a stone coffin along with them. Seven stout brethren bore this sacred weight, which, however, needed no carrying where there was water, but floated merrily away, leaving the saintly fugitives nothing to do but to trudge after it and wonder. All the world has been made familiar with the story of St. Cuthbert's floating coffin."—p. 9—13.

We had marked for extract Mr. Howitt's notice of the venerable Bede, a still more illustrious name in English history; but we must pass on to other matters, simply remarking that the manner of the death of this estimable man was strikingly significant of his character. He was at the time dictating to an amanuensis a translation of the gospel by John. "There is now," said his attendant, "but one sentence wanting," upon which Bede bade him write quickly; and on being informed that it was completed, feebly ejaculated, "It is now done!" and expired a few minutes afterwards on the floor of his cell.

Mr. Howitt's description of Houghton-le-Spring would have been culpably incomplete, had it not comprised a notice of the life and labours of Bernard Gilpin, the apostle of the North. This excellent man, whose religion was formed on the purest models of inspired history, devoted himself with all the simplicity and ardour of an apostle to the instruction of his benighted and neglected countrymen. His labours were eminently successful,

and his memory has been fondly cherished by many generations. The piety of such a man contrasts most favourably with that of the middle ages. It was at once active and unselfish, clear-sighted and deep-toned, intent on benefiting others, yet earnestly concerned for the advancement of religion in his own heart.

“ He was born in Westmoreland, and educated in Catholicism. At Oxford, at an early age, he publicly disputed against Hooper and the celebrated Peter Martyr, who were not only struck with his learning and ability, but much more with his obvious conscientious honesty ; and they prayed earnestly for his conversion. This, from further inquiries, became the case. He was advised by his uncle Tunstal, Bishop of Durham, to go abroad for a year or two, to converse with the most eminent professors of both faiths. But here a difficulty presented itself—the expense. The bishop told him that his living would, in part, supply that ; but Gilpin’s conscience could not tolerate the idea of it ; his notions of the pastoral care were so strict, that he thought no excuse could justify non-residence for so considerable a time as he intended to be abroad ; he therefore resigned his living to a suitable person, and set out. ‘ *Father’s soule!* ’ exclaimed the good bishop—‘ Gilpin, thou wilt die a beggar.’ But Gilpin respectfully persisted, and Tunstal, with his accustomed mildness, made no further opposition. He spent three years in Holland, Germany, and France ; and returned during the period of the Marian persecution. His uncle presented him with the rectory of Easington, and made him archdeacon of Durham ; but his conscience would not let him hold them ; he resigned them, and accepted the rectory of Houghton, a pastoral charge more consonant to his notions of ministerial duty. This rectory was worth about 400*l.* per annum—a large sum for that day ; but it was proportionably laborious, being so extensive as to contain no less than fourteen villages, overcast with the darkness of popish ignorance and superstition. He preached and laboured with the zeal and affection of a primitive apostle ; the people flocked about him with enthusiasm ; and received from him at once temporal and spiritual blessings ; and his enemies were as much exasperated. He was pointed out as a proper victim to that monster of all priestly butchery, the ‘ *Bloody Bonner :* ’ and was speedily apprehended by the emissaries of that detestable wretch. His friends had not failed in time to warn him of his danger, but he refused to fly. He had even a garment made in which he might go decently to the stake, and used daily to put it on till he was taken into custody. Fortunately the queen died before he reached London ; and he returned to his parish amid the joyful acclamations of his delighted people. Here he continued to live and labour in all good works. He established schools, obtaining his masters from Oxford, and when he met a boy upon the road he would make a trial of his capacity by a few questions ; and, if he found him to his mind, he sent him to school, and if he there kept up his first promise, afterwards to the university. Many of his scholars became ornaments to the church and nation,—amongst

them Henry Ayrey, provost of Queen's College; George Carlton, Bishop of Chichester; and Hugh Broughton.

“His hospitable manner of living was the admiration of the whole country; and strangers and travellers met with a cheerful reception. Even their beasts had so much care taken of them, that it was humorously said, if a horse was turned loose in any part of the country, it would immediately make its way to the rectory of Houghton. Every Sunday, from Michaelmas to Easter, was a sort of public day with him; that is, through the worst part of the year, when such comforts were the most needed. During this season he expected to see his parishioners and their families, whom he seated, according to their ranks, at three tables; and when absent from home, the same establishment was kept up. Lord Burleigh, when Lord Treasurer, unexpectedly visited him on his way into Scotland, but the economy of Mr. Gilpin's house was not easily disconcerted; and he entertained the statesman and his retinue in such a manner, as made him acknowledge he could hardly have expected more at Lambeth. Lord Burleigh made him great offers of advancement, which he respectfully but firmly declined, feeling persuaded that he was in a far more useful sphere than a bishopric. On looking back from an eminence, after he left Houghton, Burleigh could not help exclaiming—‘There is the enjoyment of life, indeed! Who can blame that man for not accepting a bishopric? What doth he want to make him greater, happier, or more useful to mankind!’—p. 81—83.

“In one of his journeys near the borders of Wales, a ragged lad running by his horse's side and begging, Gilpin, who was struck with the lad's intelligent look, fell into conversation with him, and being as much pleased with his clear, sharp answers, sought out his parents, and with their consent took him home with him, educated him in his school, and afterwards sent him to Queen's College, Oxford. In time, this Hugh Broughton became a very learned man, maintained a theological controversy with the celebrated Beza, and was acknowledged to be the best Hebrew scholar of his time, and skilled in all the learning and traditions of the Rabins. Great, however, as was his erudition, his heart was base and ungrateful. He joined himself to the enemies and enviers of the good man who had raised him from rags to honour and comfort. The worthy uncle of Barnard Gilpin, Tunstal, had now long been banished by the Reformation, from the see of Durham; James Pilkington, a Protestant bishop, had succeeded him, and had been a kind and steady friend of Gilpin; but now came Richard Barnes, the companion of Broughton, and chancellor of Durham, whose mind was speedily poisoned against him by his relative and the ungrateful Broughton. Barnes suspended him from all his ecclesiastical offices, and summoned him to meet him and the rest of the clergy in the church at Chester-le-Street. This is the relation of what followed by George Carleton:—

“‘Master Gilpin,’ said Bishop Barnes, ‘I must have you preach to-day!’ Gilpin pleaded that he was not provided with a sermon,—and his suspension. ‘But I can free you,’ saith the bishop, ‘from

that suspension, and now do free you ; and well know that you are never unprovided, for you have now gotten such a habite of preaching, that you are able to performe it even upon the sodaine.' Master Gilpin remained immovable, answering, 'that God was not so to be tempted ; and that it was well with him if he were able to performe anything in this kinde upon mature deliberation.' 'Well, then,' replied the bishop, 'I commande you, upon your canonically obedience, to goe up into the pulpit.' Master Gilpin, delaying the time yet a little while, answered—'Well, sir, seeing it can be no otherwise, your lordshipe's will be done ;' and, after a little pause, began his sermon. He observed his enemies taking notes of all he spoke ; yet he proceeded without fear or hesitation ; and when his discourse gradually led him to the reprehension of vice, he boldly and openly reprov'd the enormities which the bishop permitted in the diocese. 'To you, Reverend Father, my speech must be directed. God hath exalted you to bee bishop of this diocese, and God requireth an account of your government thereof. Beholde, I bring these things to your knowledge this day. Say not those crimes have been committed without your knowledge ; for whatever either yourself shall doe in person, or suffer to be done by others, is wholly your owne. Therefore, in the presence of God, of angels, and of men, I pronounce you to be the author of all these evils ; yea, and in that strict day of general account, I shall be a witness against you, that all these things have come to your knowledge by my meanes ; and all these men shall bear witness thereof, who have heard mee speaking unto you this day.' A murmur ran through the assembly. Gilpin's enemies trusted that his ruin was sealed ; his friends trembled ; and when he descended from the pulpit, crowded about him in tears. 'You have put a sword into your enemies' hands to slay you with ! If the bishop were before offended without a cause, what may you expect now ?' 'God,' answered Gilpin, 'overruleth all. So that the truth may be propagated, and God glorified, God's will be done concerning me.'

"The clergy dined with the bishop, and Gilpin's friends and enemies silently waited the event. Gilpin came to take his leave of the bishop, and to return homewards. 'It shall not be so,' answered the bishop, 'for I will bring you to your house.' And when they were now come to Master Gilpin's parsonage, and walked within into the parlour, the bishop, on a sudden, caught Mr. Gilpin by the hand. 'Father Gilpin,' said he, 'I do acknowledge you are fitter to be Bishop of Durham than myself to be parson of this church of yours. I ask forgiveness for errors past ; forgive me, father. I knowe you have hatched some chickens that now seeke to pecke out your eyes, but so long as I shall live Bishop of Durham, be secure—no one shall hurt you.' All good men rejoiced, and Gilpin reaped in peace and security the fruit of a pious life in all plentifull manner."—pp. 95—97.

Passing by other places, we come to Newcastle-on-Tyne, where a strange mixture of ancient and modern objects strikes the eye. The history of the town is equally anomalous. At present it is the centre of a great coal district, and sends forth its inexhaus-

tible supplies to every quarter of the globe. In 1837, there were shipped from this port no less than 2,856,342 tons, besides which, upwards of one million was shipped from Sunderland, and a similar quantity from Stockton. The ancient glory of Newcastle was of a far different order, as the following extract from our author will shew :—

“ Newcastle, as might be expected from its situation, has stood in the centre of many of the martial tempests that for ages ravaged this noble island; and especially those to which it was exposed from the hostility between England and Scotland. To say nothing of the various contests of the Romans, Britons, Danes, and Normans, many a fierce tempest of wars has raged round its walls,—from the Scotch against the English, or the English against one another; from one claimant of the crown against another; and even from the subjects against their monarch. Amongst these events, some of the most curious are those which occurred in the time of the Edwards. Besides warlike transactions, Newcastle witnessed in those earlier ages many a festive scene, when monarchs and their queens here

‘ In weeds of peace bright triumphs held.’

“ Here David I. of Scotland, in the reign of Stephen, made himself master—obliged the people to swear allegiance to the Empress Maude, and kept his head-quarters in the town, till a truce was entered into with Stephen. Here John of England and William the Lion of Scotland had a conference in the year 1209. Here again Alexander of Scotland and his queen came in 1235-6, and had a conference with the King of England, on a demand made by the Scotch, for the restitution of Northumberland, Westmoreland, and Cumberland. Here Baliol, having sworn fealty to Edward I. at Norham, on Christmas-day, did homage to Edward in the hall of the castle; and in four years after, the king had to march back through Newcastle on his way to Scotland, to chastise the Scots for endeavouring to cast off their humiliating yoke. In 1299, William Wallace made one of his inroads into England, and wasted Northumberland as far as the walls of Newcastle, on which he made many vehement attacks, but was as often repulsed by the valour of the inhabitants. Here, in 1312, the weak Edward II. was nearly surprised with his favourite Gavestone, who was afterwards seized and beheaded. Edward's unhappy queen was meantime staying at Tyne-mouth, whither the Earl of Lancaster, the prisoner of the favourite, sent her a message of condolence. Five years afterwards, Edward here suffered a worse disgrace, in having to conclude a truce with the Scots, who had wrested from him all that his father had won in their country with much iron tyranny and bloodshed. The year after, a vain attempt at a permanent peace was made here—two nuncios of the Pope, and two envoys from Philip of France, besides the English and Scotch commissioners, being present. In 1322, Edward was again here, on his way to perpetrate one more disastrous campaign in an attempt to wrest Norham Castle from Robert Bruce. Various similar affairs took place here during the contests with the Edwards for Scotland; amongst which

Edward Baliol once more did homage for the crown to Edward III., who kept his Whitsuntide here, as his father John Baliol had done to Edward I. Two circumstances more particularly worthy of notice occurred in the wars of these times here. In 1342, David Bruce, King of Scotland, having committed horrid ravages on his march through Northumberland, came before Newcastle with a powerful army, amounting in numbers, according to some authors, to 60,000 foot and 3000 horse. John Lord Neville, who commanded the castle, made a sally with 200 chosen lancemen, and entering the Scotch camp, surprised the Earl of Murray, one of the chiefs in command, in bed, and dragging him forth, returned to the castle with their prisoner, and much booty, without the loss of a man. The Scots enraged, made a fierce attack on the town, but were repulsed with great slaughter. David raised the siege, and marched to Durham, committing great atrocities by the way, but was, at the battle of Neville's Cross, defeated and taken prisoner, with the loss of from 15,000 to 20,000 men and many of his nobles.

“Froissart mentions a gallant and characteristic contest which took place here in Richard II.'s time, between the Douglas and Hotspur. The Scots having invaded England, and being come into the bishopric of Durham, the Earl of Northumberland sent his two sons, Sir Henry and Sir Ralph, to Newcastle, to which place the county were appointed to assemble; whereupon ensued several light skirmishes betwixt the English and Scots, and many proper feats of arms done. Among others, there fought, hand to hand, the Earl Douglas and Sir Henry Percy; and by force of arms, the Earl won Sir Henry's pennon. Whereupon Sir Henry and all the English were sore displeased; the Earl saying to him, ‘Sir, I shall bear this token of your prowess into Scotland, and shall set it on high on my castle of Alquest, that it may be seen afar off;’ which so provoked the Percys, that after divers bold adventures against the Scotch forces, at length they obtained the victory, and slew the Earl James Douglas. But Sir Ralph Percy was therein wounded and taken prisoner by a Scotch knight. And after this, in another encounter, this Sir Henry Percy, fighting valiantly with the *Lord Mountcumber*, a stout knight of Scotland, was by him taken prisoner. These latter events occurred at the celebrated battle of Otterburn, whither Hotspur had pursued the Scots. Froissart's Lord Mountcumber was Sir John Montgomery.

“But in no period of our history did Newcastle play a more conspicuous part, than in the wars of King Charles and the Parliament. In 1642 it was beleaguered by the Scotch army, under old Lesley, who dividing his forces, assailed it on all sides with the utmost fury. The Marquess of Newcastle, who was governor for the king, however, stoutly and successfully maintained it against him; though he broke down and gained some of the outworks. But in the next year, the Scots, under General Leven, took it by storm. Sir John Marley, then mayor, retired to the castle with about five hundred men, which he held till terms of capitulation were obtained. On the 6th of May, 1646, the unfortunate monarch having thrown himself under the protection of the

Scotch army, was conducted hither, where, perceiving the base treachery of his countrymen, he attempted to escape out of their hands. There is a popular tradition, says Brand, that the king attempted his escape from the house where he was lodged, by the passage of Latburn, and that he had got down as far as where the grate at present is, in the middle of the Side, when he was apprehended. A ship was to have been in readiness to carry him abroad, but false friends are said to have been in the secret, and the plot was divulged. He was in disguise when taken. The sequel is well known. The greedy Scots, lest so rich a prize *should* escape out of their hands, sold him to the English for 200,000*l.*; he was handed over to commissioners appointed to receive him, and conducted from Newcastle to Holmby House, in Northamptonshire. In the succeeding struggles, Newcastle was garrisoned for the Parliament; and Cromwell, Sir Arthur Haslewood, Colonel Fenwick, Lord Fairfax, and such names, are those that flourished in Newcastle, as guests or governors."—pp. 281—286.

We must not fail to introduce our readers to the coal-pits of the district. These constitute its distinctive feature, and are naturally objects of great curiosity to every stranger. Having obtained permission from a Viewer, the visitor has to substitute a flannel dress, with strong boots and an old hat, for his more respectable attire. Thus apparelled, he places his leg into the hoop, and then descends the circular shaft with amazing rapidity. Mr. Howitt shall describe what follows:—

“If you descend by the shaft, you come to the first seam, or stratum, where the coal has been got, perhaps at the depth of two hundred yards. Here you find the stables for the horses, the steam-engine for raising the coals from the lower seam, and the ventilating furnace by which the impure vapours are drawn off. Here the process has to be repeated. You must be let down the second shaft, which, as it is in those regions of subterraneous darkness, and itself as dark as death, is tenfold terrific. You will probably have yet to descend to a third depth before you reach the scene of action, where, perhaps, three hundred yards from the surface, you will find a multitude of human beings busy hewing out the coals, and conveying them on little wagons to the shaft up which they have to ascend. Here you may have to traverse a great region of darkness, till you reach the face of the coal where the men are at work. There, with a candle fixed by a bit of clay to the face of the coal, each man is pursuing his labour. He is seated cross-legged on the floor, undermining, with his sharp pick, a certain portion of the coal as far as he can. He then cuts this portion off from the rest down the front, and, driving in wedges at the top, brings it to his feet. It is then filled into the corves, or baskets, and conveyed away on little railways, by ponies, or by men, or even by women, on their backs, to the shaft.

“In this process, the collier always takes care to leave behind him, in the excavated space, strong pillars of coal, or the roof would fall in and crush him on the spot. These pillars are removed only when the main

coal is all got, and the owner does not care if the upper mass then fall in. There is an overman, whose office it is to go through the pit to examine the places which the men have worked, to measure their work, and to see that the pit is free from inflammable vapour. There is also a deputy-overman, to superintend the pillars of coal that are left, and to set up props, or build walls, where the roof is loose and threatens to fall. The business of the person called an onsetter, is to hang the corves, usually baskets made of hazel rods, upon the rope to be drawn up the shaft.

“ Thus, engaged in these mouldewarp operations deep in the earth, you will find men, boys, horses, and engines, all busy as bees, and the human creatures merry, as if daylight did not make any part of their rejoicings. They have, notwithstanding, tremendous enemies to contend with here in the bowels of the earth. There is a thing called a *creep*, or a sit, because it is of an insidious and creeping nature, and sits down in such a manner that it lets nobody that it catches ever get up again. That is, when the pillars of coal are left too small, so that they fail and yield under the pressure of the superior strata ; or when the pavement of the coal is so soft as to permit the pillars to sink into it, which sometimes happens from the great weight that lies upon them ; in either case the solid stratum above the coal falls and crushes the pillars to pieces, and closes up a great extent of the working, or probably the whole colliery—making prisoners of all within, and crushing all that happen to be beneath.

“ Besides these, are the *choke-damp*, as they call the carbonic acid gas, which renders those who breathe it insensible, and soon destroys them; and the *fire-damp*, or carburetted hydrogen gas, which, on a light being introduced, explodes, and scorches up scores of the wretched workmen at a time, like so many singed flies. The explosions of this gas, which is gradually generated and accumulated in the old workings, have been too frequent and too fatal to need any particular mention of them. They have sometimes destroyed upwards of a hundred persons at once, and produced all the effects of a volcano and an earthquake. Such was one that occurred in 1812, at the Felling Colliery, near Jarrow, at two pits at once, called the William Pit and the John Pit. It took place about half-past eleven on a morning in May, and the neighbouring villages were startled with the explosion. The subterranean fire broke out with two heavy discharges from the John pit, which were almost instantly followed by one from the William pit. A slight shock as from an earthquake was felt for half a mile round the workings ; and the noise of the explosion, though dull, was heard for three or four miles distance, somewhat resembling an unsteady fire of infantry. Immense quantities of dust and small coal rose with these blasts into the air, in the form of an inverted cone. The heaviest part of the matter fell near the pit ; but the dust, borne away by a strong west wind, fell in a continual shower from the pit to the distance of a mile and a half. In the village of Heworth, it caused a darkness like early twilight, and covered the roads so thickly that footsteps were strongly imprinted in it. Pieces of burning coal, driven off the solid stratum of the mine, were also blown up one of the shafts. Out of one

hundred and twenty-one persons at work in the pit, only twenty-nine were saved.

“Near Walls-End, there has for years been a pit on fire, probably ignited by similar means. A pipe is now inserted into the shaft, and the gas keeps burning night and day, within view of the railroad between Newcastle and North Shields.”—pp. 297—300.

We must close our extracts with a brief passage from our author's *Stroll along the Borders*. It relates to a personage and a region whose image is deeply impressed on the hearts of many readers:—

“By the directions of the men at the Carter-gate, I steered my way over the wide moorlands to the left, in order to make a shorter cut to the toll-bar at the head of Liddesdale, which has the singular name of the Note-of-the-Gate. The country people being at work on the moors, cutting and piling their peats for fuel, I was enabled pretty well to proceed in the right direction. I followed a stream which I learned was the Ravenburn, and kept in view a hill called the Dodhead. Yet I soon found it one of the most solitary and trackless regions I ever was in. The curlews and pewits rose and soared round me in numbers, accompanying me the whole way with their melancholy cries; and I did not wonder at the dislike which the Covenanters had to these birds, whose plaintive clamours often revealed their places of meeting to the soldiers, and for which reason the southern shepherds, descendants of the Covenanters, are said still to break their eggs wherever they find them. A long wade through deep heather,—a single shepherd going his round barefoot, and a woman or two looking out from a lonely hut, as I passed, where, perhaps, no stranger is seen twice in a life,—and I found myself on—Dandie Dinmont's farm!

“Yes! I was now at the head of Liddesdale, once the grand retreat of Border thieves—the land of the Armstrongs and Elliotts—and on the very ground which supplied Scott with the prototype of one of the most genuine rough diamonds of humanity which his own or any works have presented to public admiration. The farm-house lies on the Jedburgh road, not far from the Note-of-the-Gate. It is called Hendley Farm. James Davison was the hearty fellow's name, whose character was so well known, and so exactly touched off by Scott, that everybody immediately recognised it, and he bore the name as if it were really his own. He afterwards went to live at Lenderne, in Ettrick Forest, where he died. His son, a weakly young man and a cripple, was educated for the medical profession, but went to Australia, and died there. It was believed or asserted that another person was originally intended for Dandie Dinmont by Scott; but the character so exactly fitted James Davison, that it was at once and by everybody applied, and much to the annoyance of his family, who it seems had not the discernment to perceive at once the high honour of this distinction. There could be no mistake about the matter; for the honest, generous heart—the rough and ready hospitality—the broad racy humour—the otter-hunting and fishing—and the pepper and mustard dogs, were not likely to be all found together in the possession of many men at once.

But Daudie and his family, his Peppers and his Mustards, are all vanished, not only from this farm, now occupied by a Mr. Pringle, but from the North; and as we are not likely to meet with such men every day in our rambles, it was a satisfaction to me even to see the spot where such a noble specimen of rustic nature had lived; to walk over his farm, and follow for some distance the windings of his rocky and rapid stream, where his little Peppers and Mustards had kept a sharp look out for the lurking otter.

“But strongly-marked and original characters are by no means extinct in the ancient precincts of Liddesdale, as we shall see. At the Note-of-the-Gate, where I stopped some time for a rest, the old man and woman were a right hearty old couple. When they heard over what a moorland I had steered my course, they were astonished that I had ever found the way; and said that I must be dreadfully tired and hungry. They would, therefore, cook me a rasher of bacon, and soon produced good white bread, and equally good beer. But it was their conversation that was the most refreshing. They were so keenly curious of news, and so humorous in their observations on it. When I said I came from London—‘Eh! London, that’s a gran’ place! Ye’re wise folk at London,’ said the old man. ‘How so?’ I asked. ‘Why, ye ha’ just noo fetched a callant out o’ a furrin country to be the queen’s husband, and gein him thritty thousand pounds a-year for it; and there’s many a braw chiel here would ha’ takken the job for noo-thing, and done it weel too. It was a great shame,’ he added, ‘that a woman should rule all the men in England, and find none of them good enough for her into the bargain.’

“The old man was much more enthusiastic in his praises of Sir Walter Scott, and other literary men of that quarter, than he appeared to be of royalty. He said, Sir Walter and Jamie Hogg, too, were ‘rare hawns’—rare hands,—and that some young men of that neighbourhood, being in places which they could not leave without a substitute, lately paid others to do their work for them while they went to see Abbotsford.”—pp. 544—547.

The wood-cuts with which the volume is illustrated, are executed with great spirit and accuracy, and the general getting-up of the work is highly creditable to all parties. The exception at which we have hinted is well worthy of Mr. Howitt’s notice, and we shall be glad to find that he avoids the fault in the continuation of his labours. If he will look more at nature and less at books, his volumes may be less bulky, but their value will not be diminished. We are not to be understood as objecting to all the antiquarian and historical lore which he has introduced. Much of it is not only interesting, but pertinent to his design, and could not be omitted without loss; but the pruning-knife may be advantageously employed, and we commend its use to Mr. Howitt, from whom we part with unfeigned respect, and with hearty thanks for the pleasure and information which his volume has imparted.

- Art. VIII.* 1. *Picture of Slavery, as it is in the French Colonies.* By an Old Planter. Paris. 8vo. 1835.
2. *Haiti; or, Exact Accounts of the Abolition of Slavery, and its results in St. Domingo and Guadeloupe, with details upon the present condition of Haiti and its Inhabitants.* Paris. 8vo. 1835.
3. *Report of the Examination of Delegates from the French Colonies, before a Committee of the Chamber of Deputies, 10th July, 1839.* Paris.
4. *Report of a Committee upon M. de Tracy's Plan respecting the Slaves in the Colonies, made by M. de Tocqueville to the Chamber of Deputies, on the 23rd July, 1839.*
5. *Prize-Essay on Means to Destroy the Prejudices of the Whites against the Colour of Africans and People of Mixed Races.* By S. Linstant, of Haiti. Paris. 8vo. 1842.

THE exertions of the anti-slavery party in France, during the last ten years, have not only failed to correspond with the general improvement of public feeling in Europe, on the claims of the coloured races, but have also fallen far short of what was accomplished in the early days of the first revolution in favour of those races. The Convention in 1792, as M. Linstant, the author of one of the works before us, says, liberated at once all the slaves in the French colonies, in one of those moments of just enthusiasm which did so much honour to the men of that day. That so noble an act should have miscarried, and its failure have drawn after it the great calamities which long afflicted St. Domingo, and ultimately deprived France of that fine colony, arose from causes not difficult to be enumerated, and which are still in considerable operation. Those causes utterly defeated all the great enterprises which Frenchmen carried on, with wonderful perseverance, for more than a century, in the fine

* *Tableau de l'Esclavage tel qu'il existe dans les Colonies Françaises.* Par un Ancien Colon. Paris. 8vo. 1835.

Haiti, ou Renseignements Authentiques au l'Abolition de l'Esclavage, et ses resultats à Saint Domingue et à la Guadeloupe, avec des details sur l'état actuel d'Haiti, et des Noirs emancipés qui forment sa Population. Traduit de l'Anglais. Paris. 8vo. 1835.

Procès Verbal de la Séance du 10 Juillet, 1839, de la Commission chargée de examiner la Proposition du M. de Tracy, relatif à l'Abolition de l'Esclavage. Déclarations de M.M. les Délégués des Colonies. Paris. 8vo. 1839.

Rapport fait au nom de la Commission chargée d'examiner la Proposition de M. de Tracy, relatif aux Esclaves des Colonies, par M. A. de Tocqueville, Député de la Manche, Chambre des Deputés. Séance du 23 Juillet, 1839.

Essai sur les moyens d'extirper les Préjugés des Blancs contre la Couleur des Africains et des Sang-mêles. Ouvrage couronné par la Société Française pour l'Abolition de l'Esclavage, 1 Juillet, 1840. Paris. 8vo. 1842.

island of Madagascar; and since 1830, they have also led to enormous sacrifices of life and treasure, and to the grossest violations of humanity in Algiers. They consist of principles of policy, and of feelings on the part of the French towards people of colour, well worth analyzing at a moment when better prospects on this head seem to be opening to that powerful nation. It is of much importance, not only that the relief of the 300,000 slaves in the French colonies should be speedily settled; but still more that sound opinions, upon all that concerns the whole coloured race, should prevail in a country which possesses so vast an influence as France.

Of the works whose titles are prefixed to this article, that of M. Linstant furnishes the best explanation of the case; we therefore draw largely from it, adding a few corroboratory statements from the official documents, and from the first two works, which, although published in the French language, were the productions of a distinguished English advocate of the cause, the late *Zachary Macauley*.

M. Linstant is a young Haitian, not long called to the French bar; and favourably known here, during a continued residence in England and Ireland, since the anti-slavery convention, of which he was a member, was held. His essay obtained a prize given by the good Abbé Gregoire, on the question how to abolish the prejudices of white men against black men.

Of this subject he takes the largest view, and vindicates his race from every imputation to which our prejudices expose them, detecting those prejudices, in modern French legislations, with singular success.

After contending that Ethiopia enjoyed a high degree of civilization at a remote period—a topic into which we cannot now enter—M. Linstant traces the negro slave-trade from early times to its *total extinction* in the fourteenth century—a point upon which his authorities would have been acceptable. The condition of the negro slave of antiquity he maintains to have been rather superior than otherwise to that of the white slave—all quarters of the globe contributing, equally with Africa, to supply the general market with whites as well as blacks, and the prejudice of colour being entirely unknown. A century later (in 1442) a new trade in negroes arose in Spain and Portugal; but millions of *white* men were still slaves also in Europe; and the contumely to which these negro slaves were exposed, was only that which the white serfs shared. The swarthy hue of the skin so little affected the blacks of this period, that they ordinarily filled judicial and other offices even in Spain. Whites were also often reduced to slavery in the colonies, as well as blacks; and blacks there long enjoyed all the advantages of social life and equal in-

tercourse with the whites. This extended to the important condition of marriage; and M. Linstant fixes the continuance of this state of things from the beginning of the fifteenth century until towards the end of the seventeenth. He cites a law of Martinique, of 1666, inflicting the same severe penalties on the *white* servants as on black slaves; and he justly remarks that this was merely carrying to the West Indies the contempt in which *vilains* and *serfs* were held in France. One of the first laws by which it was sought to depress the blacks, was the code of 1685. This condemned the child of a female slave by a free man to slavery. Good old custom, however, prevailed for some time against the bad new law, and all natural coloured children of white fathers continued to be free. They also easily acquired settlements on the wild lands of the colonies. The females among them frequently married European emigrants, and their coloured children often went to France for education. There they stood on an equality with other French subjects; and negro slaves were also emancipated, by force of law, on landing upon the soil of France, nor did their return to the colonies compromise their freedom. The *code noir* of 1685, already quoted, confirmed some of the advantages then enjoyed by the coloured classes, although by this law some most atrocious disabilities were, for the first time, inflicted upon them. For instance, by its special provisions no slaves could be witnesses or parties in a court of justice, and the acquiring of any small private property was absolutely forbidden. But this code prohibited also the separate sale of husbands, wives, and children; and it provided expressly for the marriage and support of slaves, and contained provisions to encourage their emancipation. Subsequently, however, these humane enactments were either repealed, or became obsolete, and the severe parts of the law were gradually carried to the extreme of cruelty. *But, until the year 1700, no trace whatever can be found of the white man's prejudice against the people of COLOUR.*

This is the most remarkable point established by M. Linstant, and, connected with his powerful argument in defence of the capacity of the negro race, it opens most important views in their favour. His statements, therefore, on both heads, deserve close attention, and we think they will be admitted to be satisfactory.

He bases his statements upon the character of the original French colonists of St. Domingo, and upon that of the subsequent additions of that population. Up to 1665, four hundred French settled in that island, and it increased to fifteen hundred in 1669. These were, for the most part, the buccaners and other adventurers who played so remarkable a part in all the European settlements in the West Indies during the seventeenth

century. Their moral habits were not such as to lead them to make nice distinctions on any social question; and whilst they *intermarried*, without scruple, with women of colour, the white females who then emigrated from France were not calculated to supplant the daughters of the more wealthy negroes in the estimation of the white men. At this period, the French noblesse had no connexion with the colonies; and they who did emigrate, having escaped from the feudal tyranny of Europe, had not yet a motive for transferring it to the colonies in their own favour. Speedily, however, the French government saw, in their rising prosperity, a source of national profit, and large numbers of the poorer nobility sought to improve their fortunes in the West Indies. These men usually contemplated returning to France rich; and, unwilling to contract alliances with the French women of the colonies, who would embarrass them by claiming their husbands at home, they unscrupulously married the coloured women of fortune, from whom they could afterwards more easily escape. The old white colonists soon obtained a compensation, in buying patents of nobility for their own families, and ultimately excluded their formidable *rivals*, the coloured women, by setting the stamp of social inferiority upon the whole coloured class. They were enabled to effect this by a new fact. As feudalism waned in Europe, the transportation of *servile* emigrants diminished also, and at last the *only slaves* were the blacks and their offspring, more or less coloured. Hence it became easier to attach to the *free* coloured people the degradation once shared by white slaves, but now confined to blacks. From this degradation proceeded the prejudice of colour of modern times.

M. Linstant has not adduced the names and facts which it would be satisfactory to have before us in support of these views, and which we trust he will have an opportunity of presenting to the world in a larger work; but his proofs are abundant and clear as to the consequences of the separation which now arose between the whites and the free blacks. The former completely succeeded in establishing their pretensions by the influence of their friends in France; and the ministers of the crown lent themselves remorselessly to as cruel a series of oppressions, supported by positive laws, as can perhaps be found in any code. At the same time, some of these laws are so obviously absurd, that it is difficult to conceive the thorough perversion of intellect that must have prevailed before such legislation could be admitted in any country.

The first document of this disgraceful character, produced by M. Linstant, is dated the 26th December, 1703. It expressly forbids the approval of the petition of certain planters to be made nobles, *because they have married women of colour*; and the king's

letter adds, that these petitions shall not even be heard. An edict of 1724, prohibited all marriages between whites and blacks of either sex; a prohibition which was long resisted by the feelings of nature previously sanctioned by old custom. Another series of laws, from 1690 to 1758, changed the small *fine* imposed on *all* free people who should harbour runaway slaves, into the cruel penalty of such harbourers being themselves reduced to slavery, if they were people of colour. Still they preserved some consideration, and continued to enjoy, among other things, the right to be officers of the colonial militia, of which, however, they were deprived by an order sent from Paris, on the 7th December, 1733. It was in these words: "The king directs that no colonist of mixed blood shall hold any post in the courts of justice, or be an officer of militia; nor shall any white who marries a woman of colour be capable of any public employment, civil or military." In 1761, a law enjoined that the precise degree of colour should be specified in all legal deeds executed by people of colour—a distinction carefully kept up till 1830. So far was this insane legislation pushed, says M. Linstant, that an ordinance of 17th April, 1762, actually prohibited bakers selling bread to people of colour in a famine. Slaves were of course in a worse condition, of which a sufficiently absurd example was a law which imposed flogging on one who should presume to sell coffee even by his owner's orders; whilst for breach of the orders, he was liable to be flogged by his master; and the ordinary punishments were most arbitrary and most severe.

A system was speedily set up to justify these atrocities. "Nature," says an ordinance of the 30th of June, 1762, "having established *three* classes—viz., whites, blacks, and the mixed race—these distinctions must be preserved in the militia, in the enrolment of the regiments, which shall always be composed of the whites alone, the blacks alone, and of the mixed race alone;" and white officers only served in the last two. Again, in 1763, measures were ordered by the minister to be taken to expel all free negroes *from France*; their return to the colonies, instructed and enlightened, being held to be dangerous. So in 1764, people of colour were forbidden to practise any branch of medicine. In 1767, when some people of colour asked for patents to declare them of the Indian origin, in order to be entitled to certain privileges enjoyed by Indians, the minister refused, declaring—"that this would tend to destroy the distinction nature had set between blacks and whites; and that the political prejudice ought to be kept up, to let the blacks and their descendants know their proper places. Good order," it was added, "requires that nothing be done to raise the blacks from their

low condition; and the king will have no favour shewn to marriages of whites with coloured women, his majesty being resolved to maintain the prejudice which prevents the coloured race ever sharing the privileges of the whites." Thus in 1778, an order in council prohibited the marriage of Frenchmen with women of colour, under the penalty of transportation to the colonies. The spirit of these laws extended to the minutest matters; and coloured people could only give their children names derived from an African origin, or from some trade, or from an equally degrading circumstance; and whilst they were forbidden to follow the most profitable trades, the criminal laws were most severe towards them, and most indulgent to the whites. We refer to M. Linstant, and to other writers for details of unquestionable authenticity, to establish the truth of these statements.

At length the cup was full to overflowing; and the Convention abolished slavery throughout the French colonies; introducing everywhere equality, as well as freedom. We pass by the frightful scenes which followed in St. Domingo, ending with the present independence of Haiti; observing only, that under Napoleon, and down to a late period under the Bourbons, the French never ceased to aim at recovering the island by force of arms, and by the sacrifice of every principle of justice.

In the meantime, in the other colonies, all the French governments pursued the old course. In 1809, when, says M. Linstant, men of colour were serving with the highest distinction, in the armies of France, throughout the Continent, an ordinance was issued by Napoleon, with this preamble—"The free people of colour should know that they are emancipated men, or the descendants of emancipated men; and however long ago their African origin may be dated, nothing can render them equal to the whites—nothing excuse them for forgetting the respect they owe the whites." At this time, too, a singular mode was employed to impoverish and degrade the people of colour. They were disqualified by law from taking bequests from the whites; but they were allowed to leave the latter legacies. "This restoration of riches to their source," says the law, almost in derision, "is but a means considerably furnished to these people of discharging a debt of gratitude to their benefactors!"

In 1827, another colonial law comprised in principle the most aggravated enactments of the preceding century, declaring, that—"Nature's distinctions cannot be abolished; and that fatal experience proved how indispensable it was to the prosperity of the colonies to keep up the separation of the *three* classes of men from each other. To attempt a change was to countenance theories springing from *revolutionary* errors."

The Bourbons, accordingly, introduced no material improve-

ment in the condition of the slaves; and the new dynasty of the last eleven years has left things in the West Indies as they were found in 1830. Excessively severe punishments compel them to perform severe tasks exclusively for the gain of their owners; and no suitable efforts are made by education to fit them for future freedom, which, nevertheless, all confess they must one day gain either by positive law, or through revolutionary explosions.

But the spirit of the age is somewhat more favourable to the free blacks and free people of colour. In spite of every injustice, they are increasing in number, and improving in wealth, character, and intelligence. In spite, too, of great efforts by the worst disposed of the whites, to sow dissensions between the free blacks and the free people of colour, these two classes happily persevere in maintaining the most cordial union. Another most hopeful circumstance for them all is the strongly improved disposition of the *young* white colonists towards the free blacks and the slaves, and to all people of colour. The intercourse of these young colonists with Europe is more frequent than ever; and they generally return to their estates well imbued with the more humane principles of the age.

So far we have closely followed M. Linstant's able narrative. The four other works before us strongly confirm his statements, but they all fall short of the originality of his historical views. Mr. Zachary Macaulay's two pamphlets, published during his last residence in Paris, do much honour to the zeal and sagacity of that eminent friend of the negro, and they cannot fail to have contributed materially to advance the good feeling understood to prevail at present among a few influential individuals in France. The two parliamentary documents, of which the titles are also prefixed, proceeded from those individuals; and they shew at once the way in which the abolition of slavery will probably be effected in the French colonies, and the state of opinion among the French colonists as to the coloured races. The Report of the Committee of 1839 was from the pen of M. de Tocqueville. It settles the question of early abolition as a measure of which *all* parties admit the necessity; and it abandons the English system of apprenticeship as a preliminary step, but proposes a new point of extreme importance. Agreeing to the principles of *indemnifying* the owners, and to the burden of the indemnity being partially borne by France herself, this Report quietly recommends, that whilst the state is to advance the money meant to be paid to the masters, the whole must be repaid out of *the wages of the emancipated slaves*. This unjust proposal of an enormous tax is indeed softened by an excellent scheme of preparation of the slaves for their new character of free men, by

education, and a wise plan of rural police; but it seems to be calculated to meet with great difficulties in the working, as well as to be exceedingly oppressive.

Hopes of an early abolition of slavery in the French colonies must be faint, when the best of the advocates of the measure have so little confidence in the public sympathy that they will not venture to propose the advance of money by the state to indemnify the owners, without securing the repayment of the *loan* out of the free labour of the emancipated slaves. The fact must be acknowledged. France has still to learn the lesson of justice towards coloured people; and the fearful wrongs inflicted by her armies in Algiers, under our own eyes and with our shameful acquiescence, during the last ten years, are only another form of the oppression practised in her slave colonies. The love of domination is the master passion which, after extinguishing the excellent spirit of the first revolution on this head, prevails throughout France, and with great ignorance of the subject, it will ensure the failure of what is now so needful to prevent violences in the French colonies.

A proof, however, of the progress of opinion on this subject, is afforded by one of the official writers before us. In France, there is established a sort of colonial representation in the persons of white planters. Five gentlemen of this body were examined, in 1839, by a royal commission, on some special points directly occurring upon the question of abolishing slavery; they differ widely in opinion, but among their testimonies we find the following, which, coming from French slave-owners, will be seen to be of great weight: "The West Indian blacks are highly intelligent; they have made great progress in civilization; they are easily governed; and they readily form family ties." Some of these good characteristics were admitted to be shared by the African-born negroes; and the deputy from Martinique, speaking of the people whom he knew personally—namely, the natives of West Africa, declared them to be capable of a relative degree of civilization, although he made the discovery as to tribes of which he himself knew nothing—namely, the natives of the South, that they can hardly speak an articulate language. "Le negre de la côte occidentale, élément principal de la population noire des Antilles, est susceptible d'une civilisation relative; mais *on sait* qu'il y a des populations dans le midi du continent Africain, qui ont à peine *une langue articulée*."—Procès verbal de la Séance du 10 Juillet, 1839, p. 71.

It wanted but a grave reference to the same judgment by Pliny the elder, upon some African tribes, to complete the absurdity of this statement. The witness spoke well of the Africans whom he knew personally; and we are all enough acquainted

with the Southern tribes, of whom he repeated this report, to smile at its utter want of foundation.

M. Linstant holds the soundest views on the whole question. Obviously despairing of an early abolition, he directs all his efforts towards elevating the blacks, whether slaves or free, and he wisely insists on the new *system*, for that end, being applied on the widest basis. His concluding remark, that individual good measures may be adopted with some advantage, but that the great benefits which they would produce, if vigorously executed, as a *system*, must be neutralized by their being put in force separately, are most important.

“Chacune des mesures que nous avons indiquées comme propres à amener l’extinction des préjugés de couleur dans les colonies, peut être, il est vrai, employée séparément ; mais le bon résultat qu’elles doivent produire, si elles sont pratiquées collectivement, sera neutralisé par leur dissémination et leur emploi partiel. Le sort matériel de l’esclave sera adouci sans doute, mais le préjugé que nous cherchons à détruire subsistera toujours. Je erois donc qu’il importerait d’adopter un système complet sur cette matière, et d’en poursuivre la réalisation avec persévérance. Le gouvernement qui possède tant de moyens d’exécution, en s’occupant activement de ce sujet, pourra, mieux que personne, en amener la solution la plus complète et la plus satisfaisante ; car laisser aux seuls blancs des colonies le soin de détruire les préjugés, c’est vouloir que l’état actuel des choses y subsiste éternellement.”

This is an observation which deserves the deep attention of the friends of the slaves, the coloured people, and the aborigines among ourselves. Every day we are permitting the greatest mischief, because we are satisfied with isolated measures for the advancement of this cause ; the consequence of which is that progress in one quarter is overbalanced by grievous checks in another ; and often in the same spot, neglect of obviously useful proceedings destroys the better, but not sufficiently powerful, influence of what is exclusively the object of our care. M. Linstant is right in his view of the necessity of *combined* action, and of the propriety of the government taking the lead in it. The details of his plan are too long for our space, but he does justice to his principle by preparing the way for the better guidance of EVERY RELATION in which the different races stand towards each other.

It does honour to France, that an independent people, sprung from one of her colonies, has produced a man capable of conceiving this plan. It will do her more honour if she shall prove herself capable of profiting by the views thus ably propounded to her, by one in whom the genius of Africa and Europe is happily blended.

Art. IX. *Elementary Geology*. By Edward Hitchcock, LL.D., Professor of Chemistry and Natural History in Amherst College, &c. Second Edition. With an Introductory Notice, by John Pye Smith, D.D., F.R.S., F.G.S. Amherst, Massachusetts. London: Jackson and Walford. 1841.

ON both scientific and religious accounts, we have been eminently gratified by the sight of this volume. Its author has been made known to the British public by Dr. Buckland, who, in different parts of his universally admired *Bridgewater Treatise*, has made honourable mention of Professor Hitchcock's discoveries as "of the highest interest." His services have been great, not only as a philosophical professor, but as a working man in the field of geological labour, truly hard bodily as well as mental toil;* but before us he stands with the peculiar recommendation of being a faithful disciple of Christ, and a minister of the holy gospel, in (we believe) the Congregational Denomination.

This work possesses a character of *completeness*, in relation to extent and comprehension, which we know not where else to look for in a single book, or even any approach to it. For the

* We refer to his *Geology of the State of Massachusetts*, of which we have seen two editions in large octavo; and lately has come to this country, the third edition, or more properly a new work incorporating the former, in two splendid quartos, with a rich store of maps, sections, landscapes, and organic remains, excellently engraved. Of this final work we hope shortly to lay a further account before our readers; but, in the mean time, we borrow from Dr. Buckland two passages which will give some idea of the author's moral principles.

"If I understand geology aright," (says Professor Hitchcock,) so far from teaching the eternity of the world, it proves *more directly* than any other science can, that its revolutions and races of inhabitants had a commencement; and that it contains within itself the chemical energies which need only to be set at liberty by the will of their Creator, to accomplish its destruction. Because this science teaches that the revolutions of nature have occupied immense periods of time, it does not, therefore, teach that they form an eternal series. It only enlarges our conceptions of the Deity; and when men shall cease to regard geology with jealousy and narrow-minded prejudices, they will find that it opens fields of research and contemplation as wide and as grand as astronomy itself.—"Why should we hesitate to admit the existence of our globe through periods as long as geological researches require, since the sacred word does not declare the time of its original creation; and since such a view of its antiquity enlarges our ideas of the operations of the Deity in respect to *duration*, as much as astronomy does in regard to *space*? Instead of bringing us into collision with Moses, it seems to me that geology furnishes us with some of the grandest conceptions of the Divine attributes and plans, to be found in the whole circle of human knowledge."—Citations in the *Bridgewater Treatise*, vol. i. pp. 587.

different parts of the subject, the contents of many volumes would require to be studied. Of those different parts, especially such as are branches of knowledge preliminary or subsidiary, the views here given are necessarily concise, and require to be followed out by the diligent student in other ways of investigation; but the author has manifestly laboured to combine and condense the most abundant information on every topic; his arrangement and manner of expression are easy and perspicuous: he has constantly referred to the portions and pages of other books, both as authorities and for elucidation; and the work is printed very closely upon a large page. The plan may be understood by the following abstract of its contents:—

I. The Constitution and *Structure* of the Earth, and the Principles on which Rocks are classified.—Here we have a clear account, both descriptive and tabular, of different arrangements, not such as are founded on erroneous or arbitrary principles, but what have been deemed the most lucid disposition of the body of known facts.*

II. An enumeration of the *Minerals*, separately considered, into which all the combinations of earthy materials are resolved.—This, of course, requires of the reader some acquaintance with the principles of chemistry; yet not more than forms, in our day, a necessary part of a respectable education; and Dr. Hitchcock has made every article very plain, and has illustrated by familiar examples.

III. The Lithological characters of the *Stratified* Rocks; that is, their mineral composition.—Many local facts are here mentioned. Thus hints are afforded which will be of much service to young practical inquirers; and those hints, both in this and in other parts of the volume, may lead to valuable results in agriculture, mining, selecting and working stone, &c.

IV. A correspondent body of information on the *Unstratified*, or Igneous, better called Pyrogenous, rocks, ascending from granite to the newest lava.—The artificial nomenclature of the French, for species and varieties, is detailed; conferring a great advantage upon the student. A complaint of Professor Sedgwick, made several years ago, was not without reason; that we are

* We perceive that, both in this part and in his tabular view of the classifications of strata, the author has given the thicknesses of the systems of strata from Dr. Pye Smith's table in the second edition of his *Scripture and Geology*. We are authorized by that gentleman to say, that while he took all the pains in his power to obtain the best evidence and most probable estimations, an error had occurred in two places: the seventy thousand for the Silurian group, should have been *fifteen*; and the fifty, for the Cambrian, should have been *ten*. It grieves him much that those oversights were committed. *Incuria fudit*.

oppressed by the inundation of words "with Greek heads and Gallic tails." Instruction is here introduced upon the use of geological maps and sections.

V. PALÆONTOLOGY; the knowledge of Organic Remains, vegetable and animal.—This deeply interesting branch of geological science is treated at great length, with a particularity of description and elucidation which deserves our warmest thanks. It is the department of which the able discussion and rich illustrations have given the extraordinary attraction to Dr. Buckland's celebrated work. In the volume before us, we are furnished with the most important results of Palæozoic memoirs and descriptions, by British, French, German, and American geologists, down to its publication, in August, 1841. This information is given under the heads of general characters of organic remains; nature and process of petrification; means of ascertaining; classification; amount, or estimate of the thickness of the strata which are fossiliferous, from the most recent down to the Cambrian slates, the earliest stratum in which any vestiges of once living creatures have been detected; distribution into provinces, or appropriate limits of place on the surface of the globe. Tabular view of the number of species in each great system of strata, and a comparison with those existing in the present condition of the earth; periods of commencement and extinction, in their vertical, which must be the chronological order, with tables of the numbers of species in the systems, and an ingenious Palæontological Chart, exhibiting at one view the orders, families, and many genera of the plants and animals, known only by their preserved and mineralized remains; comparison of fossil and living species; particular descriptions of the most interesting species in every family or order, including the microzoaria and microphyta (whether infusoria or not), disclosed by the indefatigable Dr. Ehrenberg, and the zealous microscopists who are following him. This is succeeded by a comprehensive view of ichnolithology, (footsteps of animals and marks of ripple and rain-drops,) in which the Professor seems to aim at concealing his own title to distinction in this field of investigation. This large portion of the work is closed by a body of general inferences, concerning the successive periods of change in the structure of the earth's crust, the elevations and subsidences of the former ocean beds, and consequently the periods of existence for organic remains.

VI. On the operation of *Aqueous and Atmospheric Agencies* in producing geological change.—Here we have an ample account of Professor Agassiz's indefatigable and long-continued, yet recently published labours and arguments on the glaciers of Switzerland. Action of frost, rain, running water, lakes, seas,

beaches; chemical deposits from water, mineral waters, bituminous springs; drift, blocks, moraines, grooved rocks.

VII. Operation of *Organic Agencies* in producing geological changes:—Man; other animals; plants; peat; drift wood; agents of consolidation.

VIII. *Igneous Agencies*:—Volcanoes and earthquakes; slow elevation and depression; submarine forests; extinct volcanoes; destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah; the Plutonic, or older unstratified rocks; temperature of the globe; surface; interior; celestial space; metamorphic theory; hypotheses on the earliest condition of the globe; metallic veins.

Upon the remaining sections we must content ourselves with more briefly indicating the subjects.

IX. Connexion between Geology and Natural and Revealed *Religion*.

X. The *History* of Geology.—The last paragraph of this section we will transcribe:—

“Those whose recollection enables them to compare the state of geological science thirty years ago, with its present condition, and the almost universal interest *now* taken in it, with the almost entire absence of all interest or knowledge on the subject *then*, will hardly venture to predict what will be its condition thirty years hence.”—p. 305.

XI. *Geographical Geology*.—This is a section of peculiar originality and interest. It is, indeed, brief and necessarily incomplete; but the author has shewn sound judgment and tact in sketching the general views, and in selecting those particular objects which are of the greatest importance for economical purposes. He passes under review all the principal countries of the globe.

The following are the “general inferences” which the author draws:—

“1. That the axes of all the principal chains of mountains on the globe, are composed of primary rocks, stratified and unstratified, while the secondary series lie upon their flanks at a still lower level, and the tertiary strata at a lower level still.

“2. A similar process of the elevation of continents, at successive epochs, has been going on in all parts of the world.

“3. There is every reason to believe that continents, once above the waters, have sunk beneath them, as those now above the waters, were gradually raised; for, since the quantity of matter in the globe has always remained the same, its diameter cannot be enlarged permanently; and, therefore, as one part rose, other parts must sink.

“4. The geology of any district, that embraces all the principal groups of rocks, affords us a type of the geology of the globe. This is

what we should expect from the uniformity and constancy of nature's operations; and facts shew that such is the case.

"5. We have no reason to expect that new discoveries, in unexplored parts of the earth, will essentially change the important principles of geology. Slight modifications of those principles are all that can reasonably be expected from future researches."—p. 336.

We must express some regret, that this valuable and most seasonable work is not brought forth with that external beauty of printing which it would have received if published in London. Yet the execution is far from being discreditable to the provincial press of New England, and we believe that Amherst is but a small town. The wood-cuts are very numerous; and, though not equally splendid with many productions of wood-engraving in our country, they are clear and accurate, and, with the exception of very few, they may be called handsome.

We shall conclude our notice by citing a few sentences from Dr. Pye Smith's Introduction:—

"In a manner unexpected and remarkable, the opportunity has been presented to me of bearing a public testimony to the value of Dr. Hitchcock's volume, *ELEMENTARY GEOLOGY*. This is gratifying, not only because I feel it an honour to myself, but much more as it excites the hope that, by this recommendation, theological students, many of my younger brethren in the evangelical ministry, and serious Christians in general, who feel the duty of seeking the cultivation of their own minds, may be induced to study this book. For them it is peculiarly adapted, as it presents a comprehensive digest of geological facts and the theoretical truths deduced from them, disposed in a method admirably perspicuous; so that inquiring persons may, without any discouraging labour, and by employing the diligence which will bring its own reward, acquire such a knowledge of this science as cannot fail of being eminently beneficial."—p. ix.

"The spirit of these reflections bears a peculiar application to ministers of the gospel. To the pastors of rural congregations, no means of recreating and preserving health are comparable to these and their allied pursuits; and thus, also, in many temporal respects, they may become benefactors to their neighbours. In large towns, the establishment of libraries, lyceums, botanic gardens, and scientific associations, is rapidly diffusing a taste for these kinds of knowledge. It would be a perilous state for the interests of religion, that precious jewel whose essential characters are wisdom, knowledge, and joy, if its professional teachers should be, in this respect, inferior to the young and inquiring members of their congregations. For those excellent men who give their lives to the noblest of labours, a work which would honour angels, 'preaching among the heathen the unsearchable riches of Christ;' a competent acquaintance with natural objects is of signal importance, for both safety and usefulness. They should be able to distinguish mineral and vegetable products, so as to guard

against the pernicious, and determine the salubrious; and very often geological knowledge will be found of the first utility in fixing upon the best localities for missionary stations; nor can they be insensible to the benefits of which they may be the agents, by communicating discoveries to Europe or the United States of America.”—p. x.

Art. X. *Letter to the Editor of the Eclectic Review.* By ΑΛΗΘΕΙΑ.

It is always with regret that we pronounce an unfavourable judgment on the works which come before us, more especially when they are the productions of men whom we respect, and the excellency of whose motives we have no disposition to impugn. This reluctance is greatly increased in the case of authors who are known to be of a somewhat sensitive temperament, and to look with more than ordinary complacency on their literary offspring. Such was our feeling in the case of Dr. Conquest's volume, noticed in our Journal for December last. As we could not speak well of it, our respect for the author would have led us to pass it by without notice, had we not deemed such a course inconsistent with the faithful discharge of our duty as journalists. Had the volume related to any department of general literature or science, or been devoted to the discussion of some branch of theology or of practical religion, we might have felt at liberty to follow the dictate of feeling by abstaining from any expression of our views. But the case was far otherwise with a work issued under the imposing title of “The Holy Bible, containing the authorized version of the Old and New Testament, with nearly 20,000 emendations.” These emendations are represented as drawn from “ancient and modern versions, from original and scarce manuscripts, and from the works of more than three hundred of the most learned and pious men of the last two centuries.” Such a work, proceeding from such a quarter, and heralded into public notice with more than the usual appliances of modern advertising, imperatively called for some notice at our hands. To have passed it by would have been a culpable failure in the discharge of our duty; and to have done otherwise, in noticing it, than honestly to express, with due courtesy to the Editor, our estimate of its character, would have been to betray the interests of truth, and deservedly to forfeit the confidence of the public. With such views we undertook to place on record our critical judgment, and have yet to learn—notwithstanding the letter now before us—that we have failed either in the verdict given, or in the demeanour observed towards Dr. Conquest. On an attentive reconsideration of the case, we are fully prepared to

abide by what we have done, and shall shew, before we close, that we might have said much stronger things than our regard for Dr. Conquest's feelings permitted us to pen on the former occasion.

Before proceeding to examine the exceptions taken to our criticisms by Aletheia, there are two or three matters to which we must briefly refer. A few days after the publication of our December number, we received a note from Dr. Conquest, stating that he had "great cause to complain of the *spirit* of the review in the last number of the Eclectic; but yet greater cause, *on the ground of truth* (the italics are the Doctor's), to complain of the illustrations given by the reviewer in support of his assertions," and requesting to know whether we would insert in our next number a communication from him. To this note we instantly replied, that while assured neither the spirit nor the fairness of our critique was open to objection, yet if in anything we had misrepresented him, our pages were open for any correction which he might wish to insert, stating, however, that we could not exceed these limits, and must not therefore pledge ourselves to the insertion of any particular communication, until we had an opportunity of seeing it. To this reply Dr. Conquest rejoined in the following terms:—"I am obliged by your communication of last Monday; but on further consideration, I feel I should be forgetful of what is due to myself, were I to notice such an article as appeared in the Eclectic of this month." Such was the state of matters on the appearance of the letter now before us, from which letter we gather that the Doctor had seen reason to alter his views subsequently to the transmission of the foregoing Note.

Of Aletheia we know nothing, neither are we concerned to inquire. If his letter were written at the solicitation of private friendship, it was a mean sacrifice of high-mindedness and truth at the shrine of personal regard; if penned for hire, no terms which we are accustomed to employ would accurately describe its character. Dr. Conquest has adopted the letter by printing 100,000 copies of it, and by paying for its insertion in most of the religious periodicals of the day. The responsibility of it, therefore, rests with him; he has made it his own, and we shall treat it accordingly.

In respect to the mention of Dr. Conquest's name in our former article, which is represented as a "violation of the graceful and tacit agreement in the republic of literature," we have merely to remark that there is something amusing, and not a little inconsistent, in the sensitive modesty which thus shrinks from the mention of a name, when more than ordinary pains had been taken by the Editor to notify the fact of his forthcoming

volume. Its publication was preceded by a circular, well known to proceed from Dr. Conquest, who moreover appeared solicitous to lose no opportunity which social intercourse supplied, of detailing to his friends the extent and value of his labours, the time he had devoted to the work, and the important service it was to render to the church. Moreover, in doing as we did, we only followed the example of others, in proof of which we refer to the *Congregational Magazine* for August, page 576.

Such a complaint comes with singular infelicity from a writer who is himself guilty of violating all the courtesies of literature. He well knew that the responsibility of every article inserted in our *Journal* rests with the Editor, yet he also knew—and this probably determined the course taken—that the disreputable insinuations thrown out would instantly have been laughed at had they been directed against him. It was probably thought they would obtain more credit, and be more widely circulated, if directed against a gentleman designated as “a young Baptist Minister,” than if pointed at one who is well known to possess but little of the denominational spirit unhappily too rife in the present day. To those who are acquainted with Mr. Gotch, the reckless charges of “captiousness, unfairness, and singular unacquaintance with, or concealment of, the truth,” will appear ridiculously inappropriate and splenetic—the mere hissing of the serpent when it cannot sting. To others who have not the pleasure of that gentleman’s acquaintance, we may be permitted to say, that throughout the somewhat extensive circle of our acquaintance we know no one more richly endowed with the amenity and candour which give such grace and loveliness to scholarship, rendering it as productive of happiness to its possessor as it is subservient to the instruction and enlargement of other minds. Less than this we could not say in justice either to Mr. Gotch or to ourselves. To add more would be to wound a modesty as healthful as it is sensitive, and to shew more respect to an assailant than the bitterness of his spirit—partaking rather of personal enmity than of literary contest—merits. A far higher judge, both of scholarship and temper, and one, too, who stood to Mr. Gotch in the relation of a controversialist, has spoken of him in very different and much more appropriate terms. “To the learning, industrious research, and candour of the author,” remarks Dr. Henderson, in his review of Mr. Gotch’s pamphlet, “I most cheerfully award the highest commendation; and it is devoutly to be wished that all who treat on the subject would discuss it in the temperate, dignified, gentlemanly, and Christian-like spirit which pervades his pages.”*

* *Congregational Magazine*, May, 1841, p. 356.

It is always somewhat difficult to deal with general charges, which are easily made, but require in many cases, for their refutation, an extended and perhaps minute reply. Happily, however, our assailant has committed himself by one of the meanest and most pitiful insinuations ever directed against a public journalist, and one, too, which is so clearly opposed to all the facts of the case as to furnish a pretty good indication of the bad *animus* with which he wrote. It is not often that the means of defence are at once so direct and triumphant. The insinuation is, that the tone of our former article was derived from the non-substitution of the word *immersion* for *baptism*. "To some such supposition," remarks *Aletheia*, "we are driven, by a spirit in the writer, directly opposed to that Christian courtesy and reverence for truth, &c." How Dr. Conquest could permit these words to pass, we are at a loss to imagine. He must have known—he did know—that if there were any truth in them—the slightest particle—then we had broken faith with the public, and were utterly unworthy of the confidence we enjoyed. To neutrality—absolute, universal neutrality—on the baptismal question, Dr. Conquest knows, as well as we do, that we are pledged by reiterated declarations; and we confidently appeal to every page and sentence of the ten volumes of the *New Series* in proof of our having fulfilled, both in letter and spirit, our engagements. Whatever faults we have committed, unfaithfulness on this point does not rank amongst them; and we can only despise the meanness of a writer who thus seeks to avail himself of the lowest prejudices of his reader, in order to give a colouring of truth to his unworthy imputations. Nor will it avail him to allege that his remarks were directed against Mr. Gotch, and not against the *Review*. Whoever may have been the writer of the article in question, the responsibility of it is ours; and we must either have been treacherous or ignorant—disqualified in heart or intellect for our post—to have admitted a paper prepared under such a dishonest bias. But how stands the matter? The insinuation is equally pointless, both in relation to Mr. Gotch and to ourselves.

And first, in relation to Mr. Gotch. So far from being likely to condemn Dr. Conquest's labours on the ground alleged, it is well known that he is opposed—directly and unequivocally opposed—to the translation of the Greek terms relating to baptism, and has placed on record his protest against such translation. "These remarks, it will be perceived," observes Mr. Gotch, in the pamphlet reviewed by Dr. Henderson, "invalidate an argument frequently put forward by baptists for an alteration of the version of the *New Testament*, in respect to the word βαπτίζω, on the ground that *baptize* is not an English word, but

merely a transferred Greek term. It is as much an English word as *Christian* or *deacon* is. All are derived from the Greek; all are intelligible in English. It is strange that those who *call themselves Baptists* should use such an argument. Whether "baptize," according to its modern use, is a *correct* translation of βαπτίζω, is another question, with which, as I have repeatedly said, I have now no concern.*

This fact either was or was not known to Aletheia. He may take which alternative he pleases; but whichever be his choice we leave him to determine how he escapes the charge of "intentional misrepresentation," or of "culpable ignorance."

And then, in relation to ourselves, against whom the unworthy insinuation is ultimately directed. One and only one *immersionist* version has been presented to the British public during our Editorship. We refer to Alexander Campbell's New Testament, which was reviewed in our Journal for June last. The general tenour of our critique may be learned from the closing paragraph, which we subjoin, in our own vindication, and as equally applicable, with a single exception, to the English as to the American editor:

"With all respect for the powerful talents of Mr. Campbell, we cannot part with him without serious reprehension; and the more because of the loud vauntings (many of which are wisely excluded from the English edition) by which he has aggravated his fault. He has set an example of a mode of treating the sacred oracles altogether wanting, we think, in the reverence, caution, and simple-mindedness which every translator of them should cultivate; and it is needful that we should make our view of his error distinctly understood in order that we may contribute our humble share towards preventing its repetition."†

Had we been capable of the treachery imputed to us, we should have spoken in different terms of Mr. Campbell's labours; but what are we to think of a writer who, in the face of such facts, can recklessly throw out the pitiful insinuation which has led to these remarks? It would be easy to employ strong terms,—to talk of "bitterness of tone and spirit," and to assure the unlearned that they "should seek some credible evidence before they assign any value to the sweeping denunciations" of Aletheia; but we prefer to leave the matter to the impartial judgment of our readers. Surely Dr. Conquest will be ready to say, with the Spanish proverb, "Save me from my friends, and I will take care of my foes."

The reviewer is charged with choosing "to set at defiance or

* Critical Examination, &c., p. 47.

† June, p. 693.

to count as nothing such venerated authorities as Bishop Middleton, Professor Scholefield, Macknight, Kennicott, Pye Smith, Doddridge, and others of equal weight;" and six passages are adduced, the remarks on which, it is alleged, "will enable the public to judge whether his (the Reviewer's) sweeping and unsupported assertions are attributable to intentional misrepresentation or only to culpable ignorance."

We will now proceed to an examination of these remarks, from which our readers will see where the truth lies.

I. Job, i. 5. "It may be that my sons have sinned, and have not blessed God in their hearts." *Amended translation.* The reviewer has stated that "not blessed" is "without authority;" "and he does this," says Aletheia, "in the face of Mason Good, Broughton, and Kennicott."

Mason Good's translation (which is, "nor blessed God in their hearts") proceeds on the principle that בָּרַךְ means only *bless*, and never has the meaning *curse*, which our translators have given it not only in this passage, but Job, i. 11; ii. 5, 9; or *blaspheme*, as it is rendered, 1 Kings, xxi. 10, 13. In these two latter instances, Dr. Conquest has left the word "blaspheme" unaltered, "and this he does in the face of Mason Good." To obtain an intelligible sense in the passage under consideration, Mason Good is obliged to lay down a principle which is utterly untenable—viz., that the Hebrew וְ is a negative as well as an affirmative conjunction; in proof of which he produces no example whatever from the Hebrew, but mentions one or two familiar *English* phrases, two passages from *English* poets, and one from Horace, none of which are to the purpose. Broughton does not translate the passage as Dr. Conquest has done, but as follows: "and little-blessed God in their hearts;" thus giving an altered signification to the verb בָּרַךְ, which Dr. Conquest's other authority declares is not only forced but "unnecessary, unallowable, and monstrous." Kennicott's name is referred to, and the unwary reader may suppose that some authority for the insertion of the negative is derived from his critical text. This, however, is not the case; nor have we been able to find in his miscellaneous writings any remarks on the passage. Let his name, then, give all the weight to the alteration which he is entitled to, not as a critic but an expositor. What was meant by the reviewer clearly was, that there is "no authority" *from the text* for the insertion of the negative; and this is again distinctly asserted.

II. Job, v. 7. The only authority to which we are referred for this alteration is Dr. Roberts. His arguments are that the sense requires it, and that the Hebrew language admits of the extension of the signification of the negative to a succeeding sentence. The author of the letter reverses the arguments, and adds a

third. We have no hesitation in declaring again that the alteration is groundless. Let us examine each of the arguments on which it is founded.

1. The extended influence of the negative. This is thus stated by Dr. Conquest's champion:—"Owing to the idiomatic brevity of the Hebrew language, a negative is *seldom or never repeated* in the members of *an argument* or sentence, but its influence extends throughout the whole." We will venture to say that no one accurately acquainted with the Hebrew language, and capable of forming a judgment on such a matter, could (unless by oversight) lay down such a canon of criticism as this. The fact is, that the omission of the second negative is the exception, not the rule; and the influence of the first does *not* extend indefinitely to the subsequent members of an argument, but only to a closely allied clause, more especially to the latter of two hemistichs in poetical parallelisms. In such cases the negative at the commencement of the first modifies the second clause, which is either added without any particle of connexion, or is connected by the simple copula. There is no example which we have seen adduced, or have been able to discover, of the influence of a negative extending beyond these limits. The reader may refer to Gesenius *Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache*, p. 832, and to Ewald's *Hebrew Grammar*, by Nicholson, p. 379. Now in the case before us, the two sentences, in verses 6 and 7, are so far independent of each other, as that each of them is connected with the foregoing part of the argument by the particle ׀, which may in both cases be properly rendered "for," as is done by Dr. Conquest. We believe no instance can be found of the force of a negative being carried on in such circumstances.

2. The second argument is the authority of "the most learned living Jews" In order that this should have any weight, we should be informed who they are. But at the best, their authority is of little account when opposed to the almost unanimous testimony of both ancient and modern translators, critics, and expositors.

3. The third argument is the bearing of the context and the consistency of the argument. This is, indeed, Dr. Roberts's prime argument, and it only needs to be remarked, that to place it first, as he does, and seek a sense because the context will not admit the literal interpretation, is uncritical and dangerous; to adduce it last renders it of no account, unless the first point be proved, which we assert has not been done.

III. Jonah, iv. 4. The change, we are told, rests on the authority of Symmachus, the Septuagint, and the Syriac; "as a little research," it is said, "would have taught Mr. Gotch." It was truly *a little* research that was needed to know how the pas-

sage is given in all these three translations, for they are all referred to and distinctly quoted by Rosenmüller; but let the critical reader refer to his Scholia, and he will see that *not one of the three* gives the sense which Dr. Conquest has adopted. It is true that they all render the verb "grieve" instead of "be angry;" and had this been the only alteration in the amended version, there would have been nothing to object to. But every reader will perceive that the principal "emendation" of the passage is the change in the intention of the question, its being made to refer not to the propriety but the profit of being angry or grieved, which ever word be adopted. Dr. Conquest's version is, "Will grieving *do thee any good?*" Symmachus translates it, ἄρα δικαίως ἐλυπήθης; art thou *justly* grieved? LXX, εἰ σφόδρα λελύπησαι σύ; art thou *greatly* grieved? the Syriac, according to Rosenmüller's Latin version, "valde tibi displicet?" does it *greatly* displease thee? We have ascertained that Benjoin did not furnish the alteration, as the reviewer conjectured, and we are therefore left without any "authority" whatever. We repeat that it is a worthless alteration, whencesoever it has been derived.

IV. Luke, vii. 47. The expression of the reviewer, "there is not the least shadow of authority," applies, as the writer *must have known*, not to "the change" in this passage, but simply to one part of it, and that not the most important—viz., the insertion of the word "because." The mention of the names A. Clarke, Campbell, Doddridge, and Schleusner, is only calculated (if not intended) to give the reader a false impression, for they do *not* insert the word "because;" and the three last are expressly referred to by the reviewer himself, though he does not agree with their criticisms. Granville Penn, then, is the "authority" upon which this word "because" is inserted. Now if any reader will turn to his Annotations, he will see that Dr. Conquest has misunderstood his author, and has in this case, as in some others noticed by the reviewer, been led into a double translation. Mr. Penn connects the phrase οὗ χάριν, not with the words which immediately succeed it, but with the following declaration, and translates "I tell thee *because* (οὗ χάριν) her sins, which are many, are forgiven her, that she hath loved much." But Dr. Conquest has already employed this phrase, in conformity with most translators, at the beginning of the sentence, "*Wherefore* (οὗ χάριν) I say unto thee;" not perceiving this, he introduces a second translation of it, taken from Granville Penn. For the insertion of the word "because" in conjunction with

* The Syriac word ܘܒܝܢܝܘܬܝܗܘܢ, which Rosenmüller renders "valde," may, however, as properly be rendered "bene." It has this meaning in the New Testament, Heb. xii. 28; 2 Pet. i. 12.

“wherefore” at the commencement, there is, we repeat, “not the least shadow of authority.”

V. John, viii. 44. The emendation is supplied by Bishop Middleton, and confirmed by his editor, Professor Scholefield. We apprehend that there is no other authority whatever. Bishop Middleton’s principal ground of objection to the ordinary rendering, is the occurrence of the article before *πατήρ* which he thinks obliges us to take the word as the subject, not as the predicate, of the proposition. In answer to this objection, the critical reader is referred to Winer’s *Grammatik des N. T. Sprachidioms*, p. 106; and to Professor Stuart’s *Remarks on the Greek Article in the Biblical Repository*, No. xiv. p. 304. Both, writing on the subject of the Greek Article after Bishop Middleton, expressly refer to this passage as an instance of the use of the article in the predicate of a proposition, and translate the clause as our received version does. In this view we fully accord; but even were it otherwise, the alteration is one which Dr. Conquest, according to his own principles, ought not to have made; for he states, in his preface, that “in every instance where men of research and talent have differed, and where there has appeared no preponderance of evidence on either side, it has been considered most prudent to allow the passage to remain as in the authorized version.” Now his own authority, Middleton, would have informed him that the common version is “the interpretation of *Campbell, Newcome, Mill, Beausobre, Erasmus Schmidt, Casaubon, Heinsius, Suicer, Whitby, Wolfius, Rosenmüller, Schleusner*, and indeed of most modern critics,” and it would be easy to double the list. It is rather too much to claim for Bishop Middleton, and his editor, Professor Scholefield, so high a place in the ranks of critics, as that their sole authority should be equivalent to that of all others whatever. Such a list of disregarded authorities serves to shew how easy it would be to retort upon Dr. Conquest himself the charge the letter-writer brings against the reviewer, and to talk of “sweeping and unsupported” changes, and of his having “chosen to set at defiance or to count as nothing such venerated authorities as, &c., &c.,” and the list would include, we imagine, nearly or quite all the Doctor’s three hundred and odd names.

VI. “Such men as Drs. John Edwards, Pye Smith, Doddridge, Boothroyd, and Macknight, must answer Mr. Gotch’s strictures on the alteration of Col. i. 15.”

Let us hear the answer they give; but first let it be borne in mind, that the reviewer was speaking not of an exposition but a translation of the passage; and without making any objection to the explanation which the amended version gives, he asks whether it be right so to *translate* it. Now will the reader believe

that all the authorities referred to for an answer, except Dr. John Edwards, who gives no translation, and speaks as an expositor simply, agree with the reviewer, so far at least as that they actually do not in their *translations* render the term *πρωτότοκος*, Lord, as Dr. Conquest has done. Pye Smith, Doddridge, and Macknight, all translate it, "The *first-born* of the whole creation." Boothroyd gives "*begotten before* any creature." It is true that Drs. John Edwards and Pye Smith speak decidedly in favour of a meaning similar to that which Dr. Conquest's version gives; and the latter, after having twice translated the passage in the manner we have stated, says, at the close of his remarks, "I conceive, therefore, that the proper translation would be, 'CHIEF of all the creation;'" but it is quite clear that he does not mean that this is such a translation as should be admitted into the ordinary text, from the fact of his translating otherwise himself. Macknight remarks, that "the word in this passage may signify the *heir* or *Lord* of the whole creation." Boothroyd doubts the propriety of this meaning, and understands the word to express "his eternal existence." But surely Doddridge's name must have been put down at a venture. It is worth while to hear his answer, for it is very distinct:—"It is certain that Christ is often called God's *first-born*, his *first-begotten*, and his *only-begotten Son*, and therefore *I did not think it warrantable to change our translation of that word.*" The reader may decide as he pleases, whether the censor's assertion is (to use his own language) "attributable to intentional misrepresentation, or only to culpable ignorance."

We will now proceed to adduce a few more instances of mistranslation, which we must do within as brief limits as possible. We shall adopt the same means of distinguishing the emendations as on the former occasion—viz., including them in brackets.

Deut. xxxii. 5. *Authorized Version*: They have corrupted themselves, their spot is not the spot of his children.

Emendation: [His children] have corrupted themselves [by their pollution:]

[That they are not his children, that is their blot.]

The last line is our marginal reading. The passage is somewhat obscure, but it is very clear that the words of the first line in brackets have no authority from the text if the second be adopted. The insertion of the words "his children," in the first hemistich, causes an apparent contradiction between that and the second. The phrase "by their pollution," is a translation of the last word *בִּלְמָמָה*, "their blot;" but Dr. Conquest, not being aware of this, has repeated it in the second hemistich, thus furnishing another instance of double translation.

Deut. xxxii. 15. *Authorized Version*: But Jeshurun waxed fat, and kicked.

Emendation: [But Jacob ate, and was satiated.]
Jeshurun waxed fat, and kicked.

The first line is an addition from the LXX, and has no authority whatever from the Hebrew text.

Job, xxiv. 11. *Authorized Version*: Which make oil within their walls.

Emendation: Who make oil within their walls [at noon day].

Another instance of double translation, arising from the word translated "make oil," being, by some, rendered "rest themselves at noon." The two are incompatible.

Psalms, xlvii. 9. *Authorized Version*: For the shields of the earth belong unto God: he is greatly exalted.

Emendation: Who is greatly exalted, and doth defend the earth as it were with a shield.

Our version is literal; no comment is needed to shew that a translator could never obtain Dr. Conquest's rendering from the original.

Psalms lxxxvi. 2. *Authorized Version*: Preserve my soul; for I am holy.

Emendation: Preserve my soul; for I am [afflicted and destitute].

This alteration, like many formerly noticed, must have proceeded on doctrinal grounds. Our translation is literal; and, at all events, there is only one word in the original to answer to the two employed by Dr. Conquest. On the same principle the word "saint" should be altered, whenever it is applied to men.

Habakkuk, i. 5. *Authorized Version*: Behold ye among the heathen, and regard and wonder marvellously.

Emendation: Behold ye [despisers among the nations], and regard, and wonder exceedingly.

Another instance of double translation. The LXX, with whom the Syriac and Arabic translators agree, and who are followed by the apostle Paul, Acts, xiii. 14, plainly did not read בגוים "among the nations," or heathen, as most Hebrew MSS. do; but some word signifying καταφρονήται, "despisers," probably either בוגדים or בוזים as suggested by many critics. But Dr. Conquest does not see that adopting (with propriety, as we conceive) their reading, he has in the original no word to express the reading of our English version "among the nations." One or other must be chosen; both cannot be right.

Matt. iii. 3. *Authorized Version*: Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight.

Emendation: Prepare ye the way of the LORD, [make straight in the desert a highway for our God.]

An alteration made without any warrant, in order that the quotation may accord, verbally, with the predictions of Isaiah. The three Evangelists, Matthew, Mark, and Luke, quote the passage nearly verbatim from the LXX. If they thought right to do so, on what ground does a translator refuse to give the words as they wrote them? And if the alteration were needed in this instance, it was equally in the other two, Mark, i. 3, Luke, iii. 4; but in these the passage is allowed to stand.

Matt. iv. 15. *Authorized Version*: The land of Zabulon and the land of Nephthalim, *by* the way of the sea beyond Jordan, Galilee of the Gentiles.

Emendation: The land of Zebulun and the land of Naphtali; [on the Jordan near the sea in] Galilee of the Gentiles.

The transposition of the terms "sea" and "Jordan," and the alteration of the prepositions with which they connected, are equally unwarranted. In this instance the change makes the quotation dissimilar from the passage in the prophecy, which, as regards these clauses, has been left by Dr. Conquest as in our version.

Acts, viii. 33. *Authorized Version*: In his humiliation his judgment was taken away.

Emendation: He was taken away from affliction and from judgment.

Our translation is literal: the alteration (for it cannot be called translation) is taken from Isaiah, without authority from Luke.

Acts, xvi. 10. *Authorized Version*: Immediately we endeavoured to go into Macedonia.

Emendation: Immediately we endeavoured to go [to Philippi, a city of] Macedonia.

An addition altogether unwarranted.

Acts, xvii. 5. *Authorized Version*: And sought to bring them out to the people.

Emendation: And sought to bring them out [Paul and Silas] to the people.

Another unwarranted supplement, which besides is scarcely intelligible, owing to the singular place of its insertion.

Acts, xvii. 11. *Authorized Version*: These were more noble than those in Thessalonica.

Emendation: Now these [Bereans] were more noble [minded] than those in Thessalonica.

The word "Bereans," is unwarranted, useless, and makes nonsense of the passage.

1 Cor. viii. 1. *Authorized Version*: Now as touching things offered to idols, we know that we all have knowledge. Knowledge puffeth up, but charity edifieth.

Emendation: Now as touching things offered to idols, (we know that we all have [this] knowledge; [yet let us not be vain, for] knowledge puffeth up, but [love] edifieth, &c.)

The clause, "let us not be vain," contains a very useful piece of advice, but it is not in the original.

Gal. ii. 19. *Authorized Version*: I through the law am dead to the law.

Emendation: I through [renouncing] the law [have died] to the law.

This alteration is made on the authority of Granville Penn, and depends on a new division of the words, reading δι' ανομου for δια νομου. Such an alteration of the text has no authority from MSS. or versions; and, if it were allowed, the translation which is given of it would be extremely forced. But a translator is not to make a text of his own.

Gal. iii. 24. *Authorized Version*: The law was our schoolmaster to bring us unto Christ.

Emendation: The law was our schoolmaster [until Christ came].

Few who consider the meaning of the phrase παιδαγωγός εις Χριστόν, will think this an improvement.

Eph. iv. 8 and 11. *Authorized Version*: When he ascended upon high he led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men. And he gave some, apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers.

Emendation: When he ascended up on high, he led [the captives] captive, and [received gifts for men]. And he gave some [to] apostles; and some [to] prophets; and some [to] evangelists; and some [to] pastors and teachers.

We make no objection to the use of the word "captives," though "captivity" is the literal rendering. The other alterations from our version, which is literal, are so utterly at variance with the Greek, that it would seem like an insult to the understanding of those of our readers who know anything of the Greek language, to make any observations in order to shew their impropriety as a translation.

Col. i. 8. *Authorized Version*: Who also declared unto us your love in the Spirit.

Emendation: Who also declared unto us your love [in the bonds of that one Spirit, who unites all our hearts].

Our translation is literal; the most unlearned reader may see that Dr. Conquest's emendation is no translation at all.

1 Tim. vi. 14, 15. *Authorized Version*: The appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ, which in his times he shall shew, *who is* the blessed and only Potentate.

Emendation: The appearing of our LORD Jesus Christ: [who] in his own time will shew, who is the blessed and only Potentate.

Such a mistake as this, referring the first relative to Christ, could only have arisen from ignorance, or from singular inattention to the original; and, besides, what is the meaning of the amended version?

Heb. i. 6. *Authorized Version*: And again, when he bringeth in the first-begotten into the world, he saith, And let all the angels of God worship him.

Emendation: And when he [bringeth again] the firstbegotten into the world, he saith, [Worship him, all ye his angels].

It is to the last change that we especially refer. Our version is literal; the amendment (which cannot be called a translation) is intended to make this quotation agree with Dr. Conquest's version of Psalm xcvii. 7.

Heb. x. 7. *Authorized Version*: Lo, I come (in the volume of the book it is written of me) to do thy will, O God.

Emendation: Lo, I come (in the volume of the book it is written of me) to do thy will, O God! [yea, thy law is within my heart.]

The last clause is added from Psalm xl., without the slightest warrant from the text of the New Testament.

These examples might be greatly multiplied, but our limits are already exceeded, and we have said enough to vindicate ourselves from unworthy imputations, as well as to establish the soundness of our former decision. We have been anxious to select, on this occasion, those which are least liable to exception, and of which the faults are most readily presented to the view, even of the English reader. That many of the alterations made by Dr. Conquest are improvements upon the authorized translation we have no disposition to deny. This was stated in our critique, and is now repeated in no reluctant spirit. It would have been marvellous had the fact been otherwise. On the ordinary doctrine of probabilities, it could not but happen that, however incompetent the selector, or erroneous the grounds of his selection, some of the alterations made would be improvements. The result therefore obtained is nothing more than such probability, aided by the common sense and extensive reading of an English gentleman, would have led us to anticipate. Giving to Dr.

Conquest the full benefit of this admission, we must yet express the conviction—a conviction which grows upon us the more attentively we reflect on the subject—that the integrity of the inspired word is too important and sacred to be subjected to the operation of such causes. Had he confined himself to the publication of a body of notes; had his volume consisted of proposed emendations, printed as supplementary to, or distinct from, the text; our estimate of his labours would have been vastly different from what it now is, when such emendations—selected without rule, and in absolute ignorance of the language in which the greater part of the Scriptures is written—are substituted for the text, and presented to the English reader as a more accurate rendering of the inspired original than that with which he is familiar. Dr. Conquest, we believe, is utterly unacquainted with the Hebrew language, whilst his measure of Greek lore is obviously very limited and superficial. That he should undertake, with such meagre qualifications, a task so onerous and fearfully responsible, is amongst the marvels of the day. What would be thought of a similar effort in the case of Homer, Herodotus, or any other Greek poet or historian. Should a gentleman, as ignorant of Greek as Dr. Conquest is of Hebrew, have made an analogous attempt, would he not have met with an indignant rebuke from the learned of all countries? What is there then, we ask, in the inspired volume, to render reproof less merited in the present case than in the one we have supposed? We confess we see no other difference than what aggravates the offence, and calls for severer rebuke. Let men interpret the inspired volume as they see fit, but let not that volume itself be tampered with, under the plea of excellent motives and unquestioned piety.

One word more, and we have done. We have heard much of the injury to befall our Journal by a free and honest expression of our views in such cases as the present. If these suggestions are intended as a threatening, we despise them; if as a friendly warning, they are not of an order to command our respect, or to be admitted to influence our conduct. Truth, not patronage, is our motto; and no longer will we continue to cater for the public than we can give free utterance to our honest convictions. We have, however, yet to learn, that the men for whom we write are so recreant to their principles, and so ignorant of their true interests, as to join in the outcry which some kind-hearted but misjudging friends of Dr. Conquest have raised.

Brief Notices.

Hints to Students of Divinity: an Address at the opening of the Annual Session of the Theological Seminary of the United Secession Church, Aug. 1841. By John Brown, D.D., Professor of Exegetical Theology in that Seminary.

The interest which we take in the momentous subject of ministerial education, makes us turn with eagerness to any publication respecting it. The reputation and previous writings of the respected author of these "Hints" assured us that he would say nothing but what must be highly valuable to students of divinity. We have not been disappointed. This little work was published at the request of the students to whom it was delivered; and though, to secure a full discussion of the subject, many topics would require to be handled which are here omitted, and some which are briefly touched would require to be treated at much greater length, these "Hints" cannot but be read with profit by every candidate for the Christian ministry. In them Dr. Brown treats first of the "Qualifications for the Seminary," in which he makes a judicious demand—would that it had been always made by all theological institutions—of some vigour of mind, some considerable discipline, and respectable attainments, as preparatory to the study of theology with a view to the Christian ministry. He then treats of the "studies" to be prosecuted "in the seminary," (which constitute, it must be confessed, a very respectable course,) and concludes by some "practical counsels." We hope his little work may be diligently read by theological students generally, but especially by the young ministers of the "United Secession Church," for whose immediate benefit it was prepared.

Notes, Explanatory and Practical, on the Gospels. By Albert Barnes, Minister of the Gospel, Philadelphia. In two volumes. Vol. I. Matthew, Mark. Blackie and Son, Glasgow. 12mo. pp. 404.

Notes, Explanatory and Practical, on the Acts of the Apostles. By Albert Barnes. (Reprinted from the tenth American Edition, 1841,) forming the Thirty-sixth Number of Ward's Library of Standard Divinity. Royal 8vo. pp. 289.

These are exceedingly neat and even elegant reprints of different writings of one of the most popular, perhaps the most popular, commentator America has hitherto produced. His reputation has not been inconsiderable in this country, and it certainly has not been undeserved. These "Notes," it is true, are not often profound or original; they could not be the former, for they were designed to be popular: they could not often be the latter, for they are professedly, in great part, a compilation, and not much that is absolutely new can be wrought out of

this mine. Still the selection of matter is judiciously made and the expression is both simple and clear; in a word, the "Notes" are what notes of this kind often are not, really "explanatory," and "practical." We are almost sorry that two editions of different portions of the "Notes" should have been published in such different forms. At present, however, it seems that Messrs. Blackie and Son have not published the "Acts," nor Messrs. Ward and Co. the "Gospels;" and we should recommend neither to infringe upon the other. Considering the number of works which invite the enterprise of the publisher, or rather of the *re*-publisher, we always think it a pity, when two cheap editions of the same work are put forth at the same time. Still if they deem it right to give an uniform edition of the "Notes," each in the form adopted in the publications now under notice, we have little doubt that a remunerative circulation might be obtained. But of this matter publishers must themselves be the judge; only we are very sorry that, for want of concert, or in the blind spirit of competition, they should so often mutually suffer and inflict injuries. In the mean time we thank the enterprising publishers for their valuable and well-printed works.

Reconciliation between the Middle and Labouring Classes. 8vo. pp. 32. Birmingham; B. Hudson.

This pamphlet consists of several articles reprinted in a cheap form from the pages of the *Nonconformist*. We read them with much pleasure on their first appearance, and lose no time in strongly recommending them to the attentive and impartial examination of our friends. Without committing ourselves to all the views which they embody, we feel no hesitation in avowing our conviction of the soundness of their main principles, and our admiration of the talent and moral courage with which those principles are advocated. As we purpose shortly entering at large on the subject which these papers moot, we shall do no more at present than urge upon our readers the extensive circulation of the pamphlet amongst their neighbours. To expect to make head against a Tory government with divided forces is chimerical, and to look for the co-operation of the industrious classes without an equitable regard to their claims, is to insure to ourselves disappointment and ruin. United, we are omnipotent for all good ends; divided, we shall be the scorn of our opponents, and the betrayers of a sacred trust.

The Works of William Jay, Collected and Revised by Himself. Vol. I. *Morning and Evening Exercises, January to March.* Bath: C. A. Bartlett. London: Longman.

A uniform edition of the works of Mr. Jay will find a hearty welcome from a large class of readers. Their extensive circulation and great popularity naturally suggest the advisableness of such an issue, and we are glad to learn that the venerable author has undertaken to

supply such prefatory matter and notes as will considerably augment both the interest and value of the publications. "With regard to the extent of these enlargements," Mr. Jay informs us, "he cannot at present absolutely determine; nor indeed can he as yet positively ascertain even the number of volumes of which the whole will consist." A similar edition was published at Baltimore in 1832, which, however, is now necessarily incomplete, and must of course yield the palm to the present. A volume is to be published quarterly, at a price which will bring the whole within the reach of a larger class than have hitherto been able to possess themselves of them. The short advertisement prefixed to the present volume is thoroughly characteristic of the author. Referring to the fixedness of his views, he remarks, in a style familiar to all who know him, "This may be ascribed to prejudice, or to obstinacy of belief, or to the absence of metaphysical acumen, by which, as Bacon observes, a man, like an owl, can see in the dark, or the want of patience and ability to open the seals and blow the trumpets; but whatever may be the supposed cause, he is not ashamed to acknowledge that 'having tasted the new wine,' he says, 'the old is better;' or, to change the metaphor, to 'walk in the good old paths,' and to 'go forth by the footsteps of the flock, and find his kids beside the shepherds' tents.'"

The present volume includes the morning and evening exercises—which were formerly printed separately—for January, February, and March. It contains two title pages, one to range with the other volumes of the series, and the other, in the event of its being purchased separately from its companions.

The Biblical Cabinet; or, Hermeneutical, Exegetical, and Philological Library. Vol. xxxiii. Containing "The Life of Christians during the first Three Centuries of the Church;" a series of Sermons on Church History. By Dr. Chr. Ludw. Couard. Translated from the German, by J. Leopold Bernays. Edinburgh: T. Clark. 1841. pp. 285.

Highly proper it is that Christian congregations should be better informed than they are on the subject of ecclesiastical history; and we therefore wholly commend the plan of Dr. Couard to the attention of pastors in our own country, but whether it would be desirable to publish such series of sermons, necessarily superficial as they must be, compared with professed works on the same subject; or whether, if they were published at all, it would not be desirable to give them an entirely new form, to omit many parts, and to expand many others, are very different questions. For our own parts, we acknowledge that, considering the number of admirable works on theology and church history, still locked up in the German language, we could have spared the Sermons of Dr. Couard, which, however admirably adapted to the original purpose, do not seem to us, either for the value of historical matter, or impressiveness of style, altogether worthy of publication. The translator, indeed, says, "In giving to the English

public the following discourses on the history of the primitive church, I have been actuated neither by the eloquence of the language nor the novelty of the views contained in them, but simply by the lively and practical piety which they display, and the necessity which seems to have arisen in these days for exhortations of the kind." Of the piety of the author there can be no doubt—of the excellence of the exhortation there can be as little. The views propounded, too, generally seem scriptural, and dictated by a very different spirit from that which has led to our new Oxford Popery. Still we must say, that, considering how many excellent works await translation, we think something more full and profound on the subject might reasonably be expected. Dr. Couard's practice of preaching a series of sermons on this subject, for the benefit of his people, we highly praise, and hold forth to imitation; his publishing such sermons—just as sermons—necessarily meagre as regards historical matter, and oftentimes tedious with common-place—which, however excellent, addressed to one's own congregation by the living voice of the pastor, is but dreary reading in type—we praise not. It is but justice to add, however, that we much doubt whether Dr. Couard has been adequately represented by his translator. The style, we must say, appears to us often rugged and uncouth.

A Dictionary of Science, Literature, and Art; comprising the History, Description, and Scientific Principles of every Branch of Human Knowledge, with the Derivation and Definition of all the Terms in General Use. Illustrated by engravings on wood. Edited by W. T. Brande, F.R.S., &c. Part IX.

The idea of this work, which forms the twelfth of Messrs. Longman and Co.'s series of ponderous "Encyclopædias and Dictionaries," is most excellent. The able editor is assisted in his labours by a band of gentlemen, of first-rate talent and extensive attainments in their respective departments, and promises to realize the fair ideal of a dictionary of general reference in a moderate compass. The work is to be finished in twelve parts, of which nine have been already published. At its completion, we shall enter more at length, both into the design of the work and the merits of the execution.

Literary Intelligence.

Nearly ready.

Barnabas; a Manual for "those that are cast down." By Thomas Mann, Author of *The Gift of Prayer*.

The Great Commission. By the Rev. Dr. Harris, Author of *Mammon*, &c., the Prize Essay. Royal 12mo.

Mr. Ryland is preparing a translation of a work lately published at Breslau, in 2 vols. octavo, by the Rev. Charles Semisch, *On the Life and Writings of Justin Martyr*; containing much interesting matter relative to the early Christian church.

Just Published.

Notes of a Traveller on the Social and Political State of France, Prussia, Switzerland, Italy, and other Parts of Europe, during the present Century. By Samuel Laing, Esq.

The Divine Rule of Faith and Practice, or, a Defence of the Catholic Doctrine, that Holy Scripture is the Sole Divine Rule of Faith and Practice. By W. Goode, M.A. 2 vols., octavo.

Essays in Reference to Socinianism. By Joseph Cottle. In 2 parts.

Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. Lant Carpenter, LL.D., with Selections from his Correspondence. Edited by his Son, R. L. Carpenter.

The Harmony of Protestant Confessions, exhibiting the Faith of the Churches of Christ reformed after the pure and holy doctrine of the Gospel throughout Europe. A new edition, by Rev. Peter Hall, M.A.

The English Language. By R. G. Latham, A.M., Professor of the English Language and Literature, University College, London.

The Christian Diary, with Moral and Religious Reflections for Every Day in the Year. 12mo.

Congregationalism, or the Polity of Independent Churches viewed in relation to the State and Tendencies of Modern Society. By Robert Vaughan, D.D.

The Martyr of Erromanga, or the Philosophy of Missions; illustrated from the Life, Death, and Character of the late Rev. John Williams. By John Campbell, D.D.

An Essay on the Supremacy and Glory of Messiah. By J. J. Poulter.

Complete in Christ. By the Author of Visit to my Birth-place, &c.

The Messiah as an Example. By the Author of Think on these Things.

Reasons for not Uniting with a Class of Religionists known by the name of "The Brethren," deduced from their own publications. By a Member of one of the "sects."

British Rejoicings moderated by British Distress; a Lecture. By Andrew Reed, B.A.

The Birth-day; a Sermon occasioned by the Birth of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales. By Joseph Fletcher, D.D.

Juvenile Melodies, composed by John Lander.

The Pictorial Edition of Shakspeare.—Poems, Part 3.

England in the Nineteenth Century. Northern Division, Part 1, Lancaster: Southern Division, Part 1, Cornwall.

The Book of the Poets. Chaucer to Beattie.

The Book of the Poets. The Modern Poets of the Nineteenth Century.

Hints from a Schoolmistress to Mothers, Daughters, and Governesses, on the Practical Application of the Principles of Education.

First Series of Lectures on Prophecy. By J. W. Brooks, M.A., Edinburgh.

Two New Arguments in Vindication of the Genuineness and Authenticity of the Revelation of St. John.

Le Keux' Memorials of Cambridge, No. 22.

Canadian Scenery Illustrated. Uniform with American Scenery, Switzerland, &c. Part 20.

The Scenery and Antiquities of Ireland Illustrated, &c. Part 11.

Fox's Book of Martyrs. Edited by the Rev. John Cumming, M.A. Part X.

The Classical Pronunciation of Proper Names. By Thomas Swinburne Carr.

THE
ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR MARCH, 1842.

- Art. I. 1. *An Analytical Examination into the Character, Value, and Just Application of the Writings of the Christian Fathers, during the Ante-Nicene Period. Being the Bampton Lectures for the Year 1839.* By W. D. Conybeare, M.A., of Christ Church, Vicar of Axminster. pp. xii., 510. Oxford. 1839.
2. *An Introduction to a Course of Lectures on the Early Fathers, now in delivery in the University of Cambridge.* By the Rev. J. J. Blunt, B.D., Margaret Professor of Divinity. pp. 52. Cambridge: printed at the University Press. 1840.
3. *The Congregational Lecture.* Eighth Series. *The Theology of the Early Christian Church, exhibited in Quotations from the Writers of the first three Centuries: with Reflections.* By James Bennett, D.D. pp. xvi., 464. London. Jackson and Walford. 1841.

THOSE who had perused with due attention the 'Theological Lectures' delivered by Mr. Conybeare, in Bristol College, in 1831-1833, and which are now in the second and enlarged edition, will have hailed this seasonable publication with great satisfaction; nor can it, we are sure, have disappointed the reasonable expectations of any who have looked to it for valuable information and wise counsel on its principal subject. The author gives us to understand, in the preface, that it was prepared in haste; and we think that we can see indications of this in the work. Whatever blemishes, however, may be ascribable to this circumstance, affect no essential point whatever. The author was called to lecture unexpectedly; but it was on a subject with which he was creditably familiar, and he is not therefore to be confounded with those who have all to seek—matter, method, and expression—when they commence writing. He is also a gentleman of

mature mind, large acquirements and great intellectual activity; so that the circumstance on account of which he is disposed to claim indulgence must have given, one would think, and we believe it has, a freshness, vigour, and unity to the work which it would, perhaps, have wanted, however compensated by other qualities, had it been more slowly elaborated. Such as it is, however, we are very thankful for it; for it could hardly have appeared at a more seasonable time, and our readers will not, we trust, find the occasion thrown away if we proceed to give them an account of it.

The Lectures are eight in number, as is usual in the Bampton series, and, exclusive of an introductory and a concluding lecture, exhibit an examination of the Ante-Nicene writers in the following order:—

Lecture II.—Examination of the Apostolical Fathers, Clemens Romanus, Ignatius, and Polycarp. pp. 51—118.

Lecture III.—Examination of the earlier Philosophical Fathers, Justin, Tatian, and Athenagoras. pp. 119—185.

Lecture IV.—Examination of the Alexandrian Fathers, Clemens Alexandrinus and Origen, with a preliminary sketch of the Alexandrian Catechetical School. pp. 186—257.

Lecture V.—Examination of Irenæus, with preliminary remarks on the Gnostic Heresies: pp. 258—328.

Lecture VI.—Examination of Tertullian. pp. 329—391.

Lecture VII.—Examination of Cyprian, and concluding observations on the general introduction of Councils, with particular remarks on that held on the errors of Paul of Samosata, and the Nicene Council. pp. 392—452.

A brief abstract of the second lecture will convey a sufficiently accurate idea of Mr. Conybeare's general method. Some more particular statements will be considered afterwards. In the examination of the writings of Clement (pp. 52—71), Mr. Conybeare confines his observations to the Epistle to the Corinthians, considering that, 'of the other epistles, the Recognitions, the Homilies, and Digest of what are called the Apostolical Constitutions which have been ascribed to Clement, none have any sufficient support of internal or external evidence; and' that 'the spuriousness of most is palpable and gross.' The genuineness of this epistle, however, he briefly but ably supports, partly by external, but principally by internal considerations; and while he admits that it does not afford us 'any very important assistance in the determination of doctrinal questions,' he considers that 'we may more naturally and justly turn to it in the hope of obtaining further light—i. e., light 'beyond what we may derive from the inspired volume'—with regard to the form of discipline then established in the Christian Church. He gives, in pp.

61—67, a very interesting abstract of doctrinal references and illustrations, and in pp. 68—71 touches on some ‘incidental allusions,’ whence it appears that, besides deducing ‘the authority of a regular church government from that which had been divinely instituted in the elder covenant,’ this ‘Father’ ‘traces the regular succession of its ministry from the apostles.’

For the same reason which induced Mr. Conybeare to forbear inquiry into the spurious or doubtful productions of Clement, we find him giving the go-by to those which bear the names of Barnabas and Hermas; which, though ‘quoted as genuine by Clement of Alexandria, . . . the more careful inquiry and superior intelligence of Eusebius . . . led him to reject.’ To both these works our author applies the remark of the late Professor Burton, when speaking of the latter of them, ‘that the sentiments of piety and devotion which it contains are mixed up with so much of puerility and mysticism, as to detract considerably from its value.’

To Clement therefore succeeds Ignatius, of whom our author says—‘He was (probably by St. John himself) consecrated the second bishop of the Syrian Antioch, the cradle of the Christian name, and from the beginning one of the most important Christian churches.’ After a brief account of Ignatius’s appearance before Trajan, and journey from Antioch to Rome, his place of martyrdom, we find, in page 78, the opinion of Mr. Conybeare most explicitly given in favour of the seven epistles purporting to be addressed by him to Polycarp and various Christian churches, as writings for which we have Polycarp’s voucher in a confirmatory epistle. ‘This epistle of Polycarp,’ says Mr. Conybeare, ‘is still extant; its genuineness is undisputed, and appears undisputable. It must therefore be considered quite a sufficient guarantee to vouch that the epistles of Ignatius themselves are genuine. They have also been recited by Eusebius, and referred to by many early fathers. The first copies of them, however, published after the revival of literature, were not the genuine originals, but a mere diffusive paraphrase; that original text was first recovered in a Latin version, by the admirable sagacity of our own most learned countryman, Usher.’ In pages 80—90, we find the results of our author’s examination into these epistles, his general conclusion being that ‘we shall assuredly be disappointed if we expect to find in them anything at all calculated to throw additional illustration on the doctrines of the faith as delivered in the New Testament, or to supply us with any clue to unravel the true meaning of the Scriptures, which they do not themselves as freely and as fully afford.’

‘The great point, however,’ as Mr. Conybeare admits in a passage which we shall notice presently, ‘on which, in every epistle, Ignatius most strenuously and repeatedly insists, is the

necessity of a strict conformity to the discipline of the church, and a devoted submission to episcopal authority, which he makes to rest on the same principles as our obedience to our Lord himself.' Our author's very temperate and guarded approval of Ignatius's claims on behalf of the episcopacy of his day is followed by some observations on his general style and temper, which are equally candid and judicious.

After Ignatius comes Polycarp, described by Irenæus as: 'ab apostolis in Asia in ea quæ est Smyrnis ecclesia constitutus Episcopus, quem et nos vidimus in prima nostra ætate.' Mr. Conybeare's notice commences with the interesting account written by Irenæus to Florinus, and preserved in Eusebius, of his early knowledge of that 'father.' After which we find a description of his Epistle to the Philippians. This again is followed by some further biographical references, in the course of which our author briefly notices what Irenæus wrote to Victor respecting the friendly relation which Polycarp and Anicetus had manifested to each other, notwithstanding their difference of opinion as to the time of celebrating Easter, and, as briefly, the supernatural signs which were stated to have been vouchsafed to him at his martyrdom for 'warning and encouragement.'

The Lecture closes with some general observations on the writings which have been before described. These observations relate to the degree and kind of interest which attaches to them as early Christian remains, and to the 'illustration afforded by them to the general unity of spirit which animated the whole extent of the Christian church in that early age, and the general intercourse and communion which prevailed between its several members.' We cordially agree with Mr. Conybeare in the view which he takes of the latter point; nor have we *with him* much controversy on the former.

The preceding abstract will, as we have hinted, give a sufficiently accurate idea of the method of Mr. Conybeare's volume. We selected the second Lecture for our purpose, as relating to those writers whose tradition has the greatest claim to regard. That some deference is due to it, is capable of easy proof. The great question is, what—that is, how much, and on what grounds? Mr. Conybeare has thus expressed himself upon the subject:—

'The documents we have now considered [i.e., the genuine writings of Clement, Ignatius, and Polycarp] must, I conceive, to every candid mind, appear of the very highest interest and importance.* It must be quite obvious, that every system of theological education must be regarded as altogether incomplete which does not include the study of these remains as an essential object; for it is through their means

* This is an unintentional exaggeration; as Mr. C. does not mean quite so much, we must, in candour, modify this by his own more detailed expressions.

that we ascend, step by step, in the original promulgation of the apostolical Scriptures themselves; and, without such an investigation, we must remain very imperfectly acquainted with the strength of the historico-critical evidence, by which the authenticity of these sacred oracles of our faith is fully guaranteed.'—*Conybeare*, pp. 109, 110.

So far we entirely agree with the excellent author of these Lectures. It will gratify many of our readers to be informed that in the writings now under discussion there are, besides allusions, upwards of forty undoubted references to, or quotations from, the historical books of the New Testament, and nearly fifty from the epistles.* This is a contribution to our evidences of the genuineness of the sacred books of the New Testament which is surely not to be despised. But Mr. Conybeare continues:—

‘And surely higher feelings than those connected with any critical inquiry, however important, must be kindled, when we look back through the mists of ages to the men and times we have been now considering. If our first moralist could justly pity the cold insensibility of a heart dead to the associations of place and scene, how much more of moral power must belong to the memory of persons and of deeds. Had we lived in those early days, how high a privilege should we have esteemed it, could we have obtained any opportunity of conversing with men, who could repeat to us all that they had themselves heard from the constant companions of our blessed Lord, through his earthly ministry; from men whose eyes had seen the glory of the only-begotten, full of grace and truth; whose ears had drank in the words of life from his divine lips? Could we place ourselves in the situation of Irenæus, with what delight should we have sat at the feet of Polycarp, while he repeated to us all the lively recollections of the beloved disciple, John? Must we not enter into the feelings so well expressed in a fragment of a letter of that age? ‘If by any chance an elder presented himself to me who had conversed with the apostles, how eagerly did I inquire from him all their sayings: but what said Andrew? what Peter? what James? what John? what Matthew? or any other of the Lord’s disciples?—for I did not conceive it possible that I should derive so much profit from books,—*ὄσον παρὰ ζώσης φωνῆς καὶ μεροῦσης*.’ To us, indeed, this living and abiding power of the actual voice is lost; but surely we must be indifferent to some of the best feelings of the human heart, if we neglect the intercourse still permitted through their works, by which these companions of the companions of the Lord still speak to his church.

‘Nor shall we find these remains interesting only from such associations; considered in themselves, they are pregnant with edification;

* We take no account here of the numerous references which Lardner has, in his *Credibility*, collected from Polycarp alone to various passages of the New Testament, because many of these are mere allusions; or, for the same reason, the coincidence which the Rev. C. Forster, in his work on the Apostolical Authority of the Epistle to the Hebrews, has pointed out between passages in that epistle and in those of Polycarp and Clement.

the epistles of Clement and Polycarp, especially, breathe a spirit so truly apostolical, that we almost feel that, when Paul was taken away, he left his mantle behind him.—*Conybeare*, pp. 110—112.

The mind of a good man is apparent in this extract, and of a man who is alive to the perception of moral beauty: but we miss in it the strong good sense and conclusive reasoning of Mr. Conybeare. We do not merely object to the latter member of the concluding sentence. This, though a very unguarded expression to be vented now-a-days at Oxford, where it would, to a certainty, especially as delivered from the pulpit, be accepted by many as intimating that inspired and uninspired writings are divided by but ‘thin partitions,’ was clearly otherwise intended by Mr. Conybeare; and he has elsewhere too frequently and too carefully distinguished the two classes to leave any *reader* of his Lectures excusable who would palm the worse construction on his words. Our chief objection is to the preceding paragraph, which is both confused and—if we must apply to it an epithet which certainly applies but rarely, and then only by accident, to anything of Mr. Conybeare’s—sophistical. The paragraph confounds two very distinct things,—the interest of mingled curiosity and admiration which is raised when the actions or sentiments of one with whom the speaker is in some way personally connected are narrated or described, so that the recital brings with it a living sense of reality; and the very different interest which books impart, though communicating, it may be, the same events or sentiments. It was surely a very different thing when Irenæus sat at Polycarp’s feet, and listened to ‘all the lively recollections of the beloved disciple John,’ from what it is to us to peruse his printed letter. Mr. Conybeare, indeed, gives at last a hint that there is a difference; but we do not see what he means by expatiating so much upon the personal interest, unless it is, that *because* it would have been a privilege to hear Polycarp’s story, it must be also one to read his letter. The one might be inferred from the other, we admit, were Polycarp’s personal qualities the source of interest in the former case, but it is the mere circumstance that certain associations had given him something interesting to tell; which just embarrasses his argument the more. For suppose, which is the fact, that in all which has come down to us of Polycarp, there is not a single reference to the beloved disciple—what then? And suppose that the whole genuine remains of the three writers under discussion contain no information whatever concerning anything ‘that they had themselves heard from the constant companions of our blessed Lord through his early ministry,’ not one fragment of a ‘report’ of any ‘lively recollection’ of any disciple whatever—where is the parallel, and what becomes of the argument then? And it is even so. Not only in Polycarp, but in Clement and Iguatius, we shall look in vain for anything of the kind.

In objecting to Mr. Conybeare's argument we are not to be understood as intending that the writers in question are destitute of interest, and unworthy of attention from moderns. This is by no means our opinion. We have merely wished to shew that, in the preceding argument, their interest is put upon a false foundation, and exaggerated. But we will add—and the continuation of our extract will shew, that here Mr. Conybeare is of the same opinion with us—that if these writings did contain such narratives and recollections, and not a few of them, we have a *more sure* and immeasurably more valuable *word* in the records of those who spake as they were moved by the Holy Spirit of all those precious miracles and doctrines of the Lord which it was a special function of that promised Paraclete to bring to their remembrance, and to shew to them. With the reserve which our preceding observations imply, we fully approve of Mr. Conybeare's further remarks, and our gratification is not small that he has published such opinions.

Such are the feelings of affectionate respect with which we shall rightly use these ancient and venerable writings; but this is far remote from the abuse which would elevate them in any manner to that place of authority, belonging of right to the records of inspiration alone. If we properly study these valuable writings we shall see that they principally claim our regard from their own agreement with the volume of Scripture, or rather their entire dependence upon it, and that the minds of these writers themselves were so thoroughly imbued with their Bible, that its very words appear to have entered as an essential element into all their modes of thinking and expressing themselves.

The study of these writings will also remove the idea that because the body of truth contained in the Scriptures is dispersed throughout the whole mass, instead of being digested into a regular systematic form, we ought to look for some more systematic catechetical instruction in Christian truth from the records of patristical tradition; since in fact far from finding anything of this kind in these early remains, we have seen only works of a structure, in this respect, exactly the same as that of the Scriptures; and from which the task of eliciting the whole body of the truth must be equally laborious, and would assuredly be far less successful, the documents themselves being so much less copious.

And further, since we find these few and brief undoubted remains of the first Christian age floating amidst a vast sea of forgeries, this must add incalculable and hopeless embarrassment to one who should seek to build up his faith on such materials; nor can it be said that these difficulties need not affect the common Christian, who may be well content to leave such questions to the investigations of scholars, and acquiesce in their judgment as in a competent authority; for the scholar himself will in very many cases be unable to arrive at more than probability, far too weak a foundation in matters of faith; [we take it for granted that our author here means too low a degree of pro-

bility to serve as such foundation, not that probability is itself absolutely too weak a foundation,] nor can such questions, as to the authenticity of particular [rather some particular] writings, be by any means considered as questions of curiosity only, for they often affect the essentials of faith. Thus, a second series of Epistles, attributed to Ignatius, and indeed the first published and interpolated edition of the series generally received, are considered to be deeply tainted with the Arian heresy, and on this ground found a zealous defender in Whiston.

‘Surely then it must be equally injurious on the one hand to shut our eyes to the just and high claims which these early Christian documents must advance to our regard; and on the other to assign to them a place to which they never themselves aspire, and for which they are altogether unsuited. And as an attempt to bend the standard of opinion violently on one side, will always tend to produce an effort of revulsion with equal violence in the opposite direction, we cannot be surprised, that, while some appear to employ language of almost superstitious veneration, others have been betrayed into terms of obloquy and contempt still more painful to the holy and humble mind.’—*Conybeare*, pp. 112—115.

Comparative contempt is almost excused when its object is unduly exalted. Although not by any means inclined to undervalue the Epistles of Clement (i.e., his first) and Polycarp, we should certainly despise them as *rules of faith*; for the former, amidst many excellences, betrays unequivocally the credulity of ignorance—the latter, the servility, proper, we admit, in his circumstances, of one destitute of all authority. Of Ignatius, admitting, for the purpose of this argument, his Epistles to be genuine, we cannot speak in terms of by any means equal respect to those we could apply to those just mentioned. In reference to even the very best of the writings which have borne his name, we must at once declare our judgment, that they are far more deserving of contempt than veneration.

Should it appear to any of our readers that we are detaining them too long upon one single topic, let them understand that the pith of the whole *patristic* controversy lies in the subject we are now engaged with. And our readers must necessarily hear and read so much ‘about’ the fathers and their authority, in different societies and publications, that we are anxious to exhibit to them, as succinctly as we can, but definitely and intelligibly, the real points of the controversy, and its real facts in reference to the most important branch of it, the so-called apostolical fathers. Mr. Conybeare closes his judgment with the following paragraphs, on which it will be our duty to offer further remark:—

‘But although we may not accept these human writings as any sufficient *foundation for our faith*, which can rest on the authority of divine inspiration alone, still they are most useful as preserving to us the very form of the church, as it first came from the hands of its inspired architects; its original constitution, and its primitive discipline.

For all these things must (it seems clear) come down to us from these primitive sources, not indeed with an authority directly divine, but yet surely stamped with a sanction so high and venerable, that lightly and wantonly to depart from them must ever be accounted the part of an overweening and unjustifiable presumption.

‘It must therefore be most satisfactory to us to be able to ascertain with the clearest evidence, from these early documents, that our own tabernacle has been faithfully constructed in exact accordance with the pattern, which may, without irreverence, be said to have been once displayed in the Mount.

‘The last point to which I would now advert, is the striking illustration afforded by the remains we have now been considering to the general unity of spirit which animated the whole extent of the Christian church in that early age, and the general intercourse and communion which prevailed between its several members.’—*Conybeare*, pp. 115, 116.

We must omit our author’s illustration of this last point, as it is more material to examine the accuracy of his previous positions that Clement, Ignatius, and Polycarp have preserved to us ‘the very form of the church, as it first came from the hands of the inspired architects; its original constitution, and its primitive discipline;’ and further, that the ‘tabernacle’ nationally established, ‘has been faithfully constructed in exact accordance with the pattern, which may without irreverence be said to have been once displayed in the Mount.’ The very great respect we have for Mr. Conybeare, will not prevent our feeling deep astonishment that any man of sound understanding can maintain such positions as these.

Before, however, we point out their incorrectness, let us advert for a moment to the passage to which we on a former page expressed our intention to return. Speaking of Ignatius’s exhortations to a devoted submission to Episcopal [i.e., hyper-presbyterial] authority, our author observes: ‘It is needless to remark, that such passages have afforded the great reason why so many writers of the Presbyterian party have been so reluctant to admit the authenticity [genuineness] of these ‘remains.’ This is true: though not the only, it is the great reason, and reason enough, were there no other, as we hope to shew. But let us look at the other side. Episcopalians know that Ignatius, not the New Testament, is their strong hold, and take their measures accordingly. It will not be without its use to persons interested in such matters to make this assertion good.

The well known and able author of the ‘Veracity of the Five Books of Moses,’ and some other kindred works, on his appointment to the Margaret Professorship of Divinity at Cambridge, announced a course of lectures on the ‘Early Fathers,’ of which his pamphlet named at the head of this article is intended partly as a syllabus, partly as a justification. The author explicitly states in his Prefatory Advertisement, that ‘it will serve to inform

those whom it may concern to know it of the subject and plan of the lectures, and the spirit likely to govern them; that it may perhaps protect' him 'from misrepresentation or misconstruction out of the lecture room;—and that, so far as its circulation extends, it may have the effect of calling the attention of churchmen to a principle which ruled the reformers in their revision of' the 'church, and succeeding divines in their defence of her.' This is the Professor's own statement. He seems to think, and we do not wonder at it, that his choice of a subject required explanation; and it will be seen from the extracts which we shall make from his introductory lecture, that his chief reason for selecting the early uninspired, rather than the inspired, literature of the church as his text books, was to 'call the attention of churchmen to THE PRINCIPLE' which he knew to be necessary to the defence of the established Anglican episcopacy and ritual.

'I consider it then conducive to these ends so much to be desired, [i.e., the keeping up of their literary acquirements by members of the university who take 'orders,' that they may be qualified for the defence of the 'church,'] that our young divines should turn their attention next after the Scriptures, to the primitive fathers; not with blind allegiance, as authorities to which they must in all things bow, but with such respect as is due to the only witnesses we have of the state and opinions of the church immediately after the Apostles' times; and such as the church of England herself encourages. Who indeed could dispute this, who considered of what venerable antiquity is the substance of her ritual; who compared it in numerous places with short and incidental fragments of a primitive one, to the same effect, and often identical with it in expression, to be gathered by a careful reader out of these earliest writers; who looked to the ancient liturgies in which such fragments are embodied, and which have so many features in common (even when the churches which used them were remote from one another) as to bespeak a settled form to have prevailed from the foundation of the church? But if this be not enough, call to mind what were actually the directions by which Archbishop Cramer and his colleagues were to be guided, when they prepared the First Book of Common Prayer in the second year of King Edward VI.; and when Popery, be it remembered, was the great abuse against which they had to contend; and against which they had to make their own cause good. They were these; that they should 'draw an order of divine worship, having respect to the pure religion of Christ taught in the Scripture and *to the practice of the primitive church,*' [these Italics and those which follow are Mr. Blunt's.] And accordingly when they had completed their work, they recommended it to the people in a preface which is still retained, saying, 'Here you have an order for Prayer, as touching the reading of Holy Scripture, *much agreeable to the mind and purpose of the old Fathers.*' In another preface, that to the service to the Ordering of Deacons, we are told, 'It is evident to all men diligently reading the Holy Scripture *and ancient authors,* that from the Apostles' time there have been these orders of ministers in Christ's church.' In the twenty-

fourth Article, the language used is this :—‘It is a thing plainly repugnant to the word of God, and the *custom of the primitive church*, to have public prayer in the church, or to minister the sacraments in a tongue not understood of the people.’ Again, in her Communion Service, ‘Brethren,’ says she,* ‘there was a godly discipline, that at the beginning of Lent, such persons as stood convicted of notorious sin were put to open penance and punished in this world, that their souls might be saved in the day of the Lord.’—*Blunt*, pp. 15 *and following*.

Similar illustrations are then copiously furnished from the Homilies and Jewel’s Apology, all bearing, of course, on the controversy with the Romanist, whom it was quite *apropos* to treat with sour sauce from the fathers, as they professed to like their cookery. But Rome was not the only adversary with whom the Anglican establishment had to contend:—

‘The *Puritans* and *Socinians* succeeded the Romanists in the attack upon her; and still the churchmen who were accounted her best and safest guardians now appealed, as their predecessors had done, to Scripture and the primitive church for their arguments.’—*Blunt*, p. 34.

After instancing Hooker, Taylor, Hammond, Sanderson, Pearson, and Bull, and giving some specimens from Hooker, Mr. Blunt thus continues, and establishes our point:—

‘Let these instances out of multitudes suffice; for were we to proceed in this *Catena Patrum*, to the names of a later date than Hooker, to which allusion has been made, we should only find the principle I am developing still more apparent—the times of trouble to the church which had succeeded, having only served to render the appeal to that principle on the part of the champions of the church still more cogent and necessary. Indeed, the authority of some of the earliest Christian records was by this time becoming better understood than in the days of the Reformation itself. The Epistles of Ignatius, for instance, documents of the highest value both for the testimony they bear to the divinity of the Saviour, and to the episcopal form of church government, were scarcely to be appealed to with confidence till Usher and Isaac Vossius first, by the discovery of manuscripts, and Pearson afterwards, by most ingenious criticism, established (as is generally admitted,) the genuineness of the shorter copies—not to say that our reformers, from early habit as Romanists, and from a disposition to meet their antagonists on their own ground, appear to have been well-disposed to refer to fathers of a later date than the three first centuries, But the rise and progress of the Puritan and Socinian causes put the divines of the seventeenth century on looking at the fathers in a fresh light, and from a new quarter, so that, on the whole, opposite as the point was from which the assault came, still the church of England found the faith and practice of the primitive church to be a shield and buckler.’—*Blunt*, pp. 37, 38.

* Mr. Blunt is here forgetful: according to high-church notions, if this lady speaks, *she* must say “Sons;” her ministers, however, may say “Brethren.”

This surely is enough to shew that the defence of the established ritual and orders* is to be derived from the fathers. But lest it should be supposed that we have attached too great importance to some opinions which after all are but secondary with Mr. Blunt,—though indeed his very original conception on the subject of an appropriate theological course would be sufficient to refute that idea,—we will take a sentence or two more, to make it clear. The next paragraph is awkwardly constructed, but that we cannot help; the Italics are ours:—

‘Whether, therefore, we have to defend our church against the Romanist, the Puritan, or the Rationalist, and the day is come when we have not to defend her against one or other, but against them all; and therefore when it behoves us to *adopt a principle of defence*, which will avail us against them all, and to say, with the warrior of old, when tempted to look to one point of the ramparts too exclusively—

ἡ καὶ ἐμοὶ τὰε πάντα μέλει—II. ζ 441,

we shall find a magazine of arms *fitted for our purpose* in the writings of the primitive fathers; so that a man well versed in these, it being presumed of course that he is familiar with the Scriptures, can seldom be taken at a disadvantage by either of these various assailants; while it seems scarcely possible for one ignorant of them to *conduct his argument with such discretion as not to lay himself open* to thrusts which come from quarters so different.”—*Blunt*, pp. 40, 41.

Mr. Blunt, as we here see, requires a familiarity with the Scriptures, but the comparative amount of his concern on that head may be fairly inferred from his ‘presuming of course’ that aspirants to orders are familiar with them, while, as professor, he does all he can to make them familiar with the fathers. And on his own principles justly, since in reference to this point,—of appealing to the fathers,—he elsewhere says: ‘We may rest assured that if our church is in fact *constructed upon one principle*, and we undertake to advocate her cause, as if she was constructed [*she was constructed! is she an idol?*] upon another, *we shall soon find ourselves in more difficulties than we contemplated.*’ What Episcopalian will now venture to deny that the church of England, instead of being built upon the old foundation of the apostles and prophets, is built upon another and a different one—the foundation of the apostles, the prophets, AND the fathers?

If, then, the Presbyterians’ great objection to the alleged remains of Ignatius was their undue assertion of a distinct episcopal [i.e., hyper-presbyterial] authority, the advocates of *such* an episcopacy, (for we also advocate an episcopacy,) were, as we have seen, for this very reason at least, as anxious to vindicate them. But let this difference be noted. The Presbyterian can dispense with uninspired

* With Socinianism we are not now dealing. We have ample stores in the New Testament with which to meet this system; and whatever views of our Lord’s person and its connected doctrines have not that sanction, we are willing to abandon.

authority. He disclaims it altogether. His concern, therefore, if consistent, is to shew the improbability that writings, so different in spirit, doctrine, and precept from the inspired writings, for this is very much their character, should be the genuine productions of a man who lived so near the apostolic age. The Episcopalian's great interest in the question is, that these remains support episcopacy.

Our readers will now see the propriety of testing the accuracy of Mr. Conybeare's position, that the 'apostolical fathers' are most useful to us as preserving the very form of the church as it first came from the hands of the inspired architects, &c. Our counter-position is, that Ignatius (for there is nothing worth contending about in Clement or Polycarp,) exhibits to us a different ecclesiastical constitution from that in the New Testament. In the latter, bishops and elders, or presbyters, are the same; (it seems needless to give references on so plain a point, which every one is supposed and ought to know, but let Titus, i. 5, 7, be examined, and, *in the Greek*, Acts, xx. 28*); there is no

* For those who affect human authority in such matters, we subjoin what will probably be found sufficient:—

1. Dr. Aug. Neander, the distinguished church historian. 'Originally both names [*Πρεσβύτεροι* and *ἐπίσκοποι*] were in every respect [durchaus] applied to the same office, and on the same account both are very frequently used, the one for the other, as of the same import. So Paul addresses the assembled presbyters of the Ephesian church, whom he had sent for, as *ἐπίσκοπους*.' *Gesch. der Leitung und Pflanzung. d. Christl. Kirche durch d. Apostel. erste Ausg. B. i. S. 179.* [A later edition of this work, with some improvements and additions not yet incorporated into the German copies, but received immediately from the author, has just been translated for Clark's Bibl. Cabinet, by Mr. Jon. Edwards Ryland. This work we have not yet had time to notice, but from our knowledge of other translations made by Mr. Ryland, we entertain no doubt either of its faithfulness or elegance.]

2. Professor Mack, of the Romanist Theological Faculty at Tübingen. "We have . . . before taken for granted that *πρεσβύτερους*, [Tit. i. ver. 5,] refers to the same persons as *ἐπίσκοπον*, ver. 7. I think with reason, for . . . the connexion leads to this view. For when Paul, as is here the case, intending to show that Titus is to ordain as elders, — *πρεσβύτερους*, — only those who are blameless, points to the necessity that an overseer, — *ἐπίσκοπος*, — specially (*ὁ ἐπίσκοπος*) must be blameless, he lays it down as a fact previously known . . . that an *ἐπίσκοπος* and *πρεσβύτερος* are bearers of the same office. Else where would the inference lie? Does it follow that because a bishop must be blameless, whoever holds another office must be blameless also? Again, the apostle passes, verse 10, from the qualifications of an *ἐπίσκοπος* to the moral condition of the Cretans, and points to this as a reason why the *ἐπίσκοπος* should have the qualifications before enumerated. Evidently because he assumes that *ἐπίσκοποι* were to labour in Crete. Those who, in the sphere of spiritual operation, were to be ordained in the Cretan cities, the apostle had, however, in verse 5, named *πρεσβύτερους*. If there be, therefore, any method whatever in his address, — and who will doubt this? — those *πρεσβύτεροι* and these *ἐπίσκοποι* must be the same persons. Against the force of this argument there are no valid considerations, only *subterfuges* [the italics are Professor Mack's] more or less ingenious.' *Commentar üb d. Pastoralbriefe des Ap. Paulus, in*

preference of any one elder to his brethren; and but two permanent orders of ministers are necessary to the completeness of a Christian church, viz., bishops and deacons, see Phil. i. 1; 1 Tim. iii. 1, 8. This is the sum of what obviously bears upon the question in the New Testament; for though, it is true, we read in an appendix to the second epistle to Timothy, “the second epistle to Timotheus, ordained the first bishop of the Church of the Ephesians,” &c., and in another after that to Titus, ‘it was written to Titus, ordained the first bishop of the church of the Cretians,’ internal evidence always refuted those additions, and accurate criticism has long since given them up as the unauthorized supplements of a later age. There remains then, in the whole New Testament, only the seven times repeated expression, ‘to the angel of the church of Ephesus &c. &c. write,’ (Rev. ii. 3, 12, 18; iii. 1, 7, 14,) where at least episcopalians contend the bishop must be meant; while, considering the figurative character of the whole book, which abounds in symbolical imagery, and the contents of the epistles, it is far more probably a designation of the church itself as

Tit. i. 9. This language, be it observed, is not the treacherous admission of a low-churchman, careless about betraying his party, for Professor Mack labours hard in the sequel, pp. 65—70, to obviate it, by an appeal to the fathers, shewing, of course, that by ‘argument’ in his closing sentence, he means the argument quoad the interpretation, not the application of the passage.

3. The Rev. William Palmer, M.A., of Worcester College, Oxford, author of the ‘Origines Liturgicæ,’ &c., a distinguished partisan of the *tractarian* theology. ‘It is admitted that bishops and presbyters were the same at first, and that the church was governed by a council of presbyters under the apostles.’—*Treatise on the Church of Christ, part VI. ch. i. p. 394, 2nd edition.*

4. Theodoret, hyp.-presb. bishop at Tyre (ob. circ. annum 457,) *τοὺς ἀποστόλοις ἰκαλοῦν ποτε πρεσβύτερους καὶ ἐπίσκοπους.*—*Ad Tim.* iii. 1.

5. Jerome the ‘Father,’ and author of the Roman Vulgate, (ob. A.D. 420, in a monastery at Bethlehem.) ‘Idem est ergo presbyter, qui episcopus; et, antequam diaboli instinctu studia in religione fierent, communi Presbyterorum consilio ecclesiæ gubernabantur.’ We wished to avoid discussion in this note, but as the preceding would not be understood, especially by dissenters, in Jerome’s sense, if we stopped there, we add the following sentence:—‘Postquam vero unusquisque eos quos baptizaverat, suos putabat esse, non Christi, in toto orbe decretum est, ut unus de presbyteris electus superponeretur ceteris, ad quem omnis ecclesiæ cura pertineret, et schismatum semina tollerentur.’—*Com. in Ep. ad Tit., Opp., tom. ix., ed. Tref. p. 197.*

We have appended this note, as we have said, for those who value authorities. It will be seen, however, that, excepting Jerome, they tell us no more than any person with a clear head, and a little Greek, can make out for himself from the New Testament, or, even without Greek, from Titus, i. 5, 9. Jerome indeed says, that in consequence of the divided state of the church at Corinth, ‘it was decreed in the whole world, that one chosen from the presbyters should be set over the rest, to whom all the care of the church should pertain, and the seeds of schism be removed;’ but we want higher

represented by a guardian angel.—Let the reader compare Dan. x. 4—21 (Matt. xviii. 10. ?) and Heb. i. 14.

Let us now, admitting for the purpose of our present argument the genuineness of the alleged remains of Ignatius, examine the church principles of the age succeeding the apostles. Our extracts, each of which we shall authenticate by reference, will illustrate not only the constitution or platform of the church, but the pretensions of the several recognised orders of the ministry.

1. 'Seeing, then, I have been judged worthy to see you, in the persons of Damas, your bishop worthy of God, and your very worthy presbyters, Bassus and Apollonius, and my fellow-servant Sotio, the deacon, in whom I rejoice, inasmuch as he is subject to his bishop, as to the grace of God, and to the presbytery, as to the law of Jesus Christ, . . . Wherefore it will become you also not to use your bishop too familiarly on account of his youth, but to yield all reverence to him, according to the power of God the Father, as also I perceive that your holy presbyters do.'—*Ep. to the Magnesians*, ch. 2 and 3.

2. 'I exhort you that ye study to do all things in a divine concord: your bishop presiding in the place of God, your presbyters in the place of the council of the apostles, and your deacons, most dear to me, being intrusted with the ministry of Jesus Christ, &c.'—*Ib.* ch. 6.

3. 'In like manner, let all reverence the deacons as Jesus Christ, and the bishop as the Father, and the presbyters as the sanhedrim of God and college of the apostles: without these there is no church.'—*Ep. to the Trallians*, ch. 3.

4. '. . . Continuing inseparable from Jesus Christ our God, and from your bishop, and from the commands of the apostles.

authority for his statement. The apostle Paul has told us of the dissension; how surprising is it then that he should say nothing of this apostolic remedy. But let us be serious. We have from his own hand not only the *apostolic* but the *SPIRIT'S* remedy. His own first epistle was this remedy, and his second (see ch. i. 13, 14; ii. 9; iii. 2, 3; vii. 5—10, 14—16,) shews that it had taken effect. Let us look again at the violent improbability of what Jerome says. Paul, it is not unlikely, wrote during his stay at Corinth, in the year 52 or 53, that epistle to the Galatians in which he expressly says, 'The Gospel of the uncircumcision was committed to me, as that of the circumcision was to Peter, &c.' Now then, was it likely that before the year 56, (the probable date of his first epistle to them,) he would propose, or the apostles would join in, a decree affecting the whole world? It was doubtless a story suggested by the account given in Acts of the institution of the deacon's office. Once more, Jerome has stated above what is positively and obviously false: he says, 'After that everyone considered those whom he had baptized to be his own, not Christ's,' which is a gross perversion of the account in 1 Cor. i. 12. The apostle there charges the division on the people, but Jerome lays it on the apostles and others who had baptized them: We have said more than we intended on this passage of Jerome, but it may be useful to our readers to have a specimen of the 'Fathers' FACTS.

He that is within the altar is pure, but he that is without, that is, that does anything without the bishop, the presbyters, and deacons, is not pure in his conscience.'—*Ib.* ch. 7.

5. 'As many as are of God and of Jesus Christ, are also with their bishop.'—*Ep. to the Philadelphians*, ch. 3.

6. 'There is but one flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ, and one cup in the unity of his blood; one altar: as also there is one bishop, together with his presbytery, and the deacons, my fellow-servants.'—*Ib.* ch. 4.

7. 'I cried whilst I was among you, I spake with a loud voice, 'Attend to the bishop, and to the presbytery, and to the deacons.' Now some supposed that I spake this as foreseeing the division that should come among you. But he is my witness, for whose sake I am in bonds, that I knew nothing from human flesh; but the Spirit proclaimed, speaking these things, 'Do nothing without the bishop: keep your bodies as a temple of God; love unity; flee divisions; be the followers of Christ, as he was of his Father.' I therefore did as became me, as a man composed to unity: for where there is division and wrath, God dwelleth not. But the Lord forgives all that repent, if they return to the unity of God, and to the council of the bishop.'—*Ib.* ch. 7 and 8.

8. 'See that ye all follow your bishop, as Jesus Christ the Father, and the presbytery, as the apostles; and reverence the deacons, as the command of God. Let no man do anything of what belongs to the church separately from the bishop. Let that eucharist be looked upon as well established which is either offered by the bishop, or by him to whom the bishop has committed it. Wheresoever the bishop shall appear there let the people also be; as where Jesus Christ is, there is the Catholic church. It is not lawful without the bishop, either to baptize, or to celebrate the [feast of] love: but whatsoever he shall approve of, that is also pleasing to God; that so whatever is done may be sure and well done. For what remains; it is very reasonable that we should repent, whilst there is yet time to return to God. It is a good thing to know both God and the bishop: he that honours the bishop shall be honoured of God; but he that does anything without his knowledge worships the devil.'—*Ep. to the Smyrnæans*, ch. 8 and 9.

9. 'Hearken unto the bishop, that God also may hearken unto you. My soul be security for [or, I am one with] them that submit to their bishop, with their presbyters and deacons; and may my portion be together with theirs in God.'—*Ep. to Polycarp*, ch. 6.

Such is the constitution and the spirit of the church of Christ, as understood to be drawn immediately after the apostolic age by one who had had personal intercourse with the apostles! It would seem to be unnecessary to pursue the question further. To

those who are familiar with the New Testament, passage after passage will rise up in the memory destructive of the whole delusion. The epistles or the hierarchy, one or other of them, no matter which, must be a fabrication; whether the former be so or not, the latter is. *'I have heard what the prophets said, that prophesy lies in my name . . . yea, they are prophets of the deceit of their own heart; who think to cause my people to forget my name by their dreams . . . He that hath my word, let him speak my word faithfully. What is the chaff to the wheat? saith the Lord.'* Jer. xxiii. 25—28.

But we must not dispatch the matter quite so hastily. Mr. Conybeare is both too good and too wise a man to approve all that we have given from Ignatius. We find him saying, p. 84, 'We shall probably shrink from some of the language employed in these epistles, as seeming excessive and overstrained,' and regretting 'that in the somewhat overcharged and inflated style of his rhetoric, he (Ignatius) has too often been betrayed into expressions which seem almost to imply a parity of authority over the church between its earthly superintendent and its heavenly head.' In pp. 87 and 89, he has also made admissions to the same effect. While we wish that he had not spoken so mincingly upon these matters, and especially that he had not urged, as in pp. 85 and 86, the personal characters of Ignatius and Polycarp as reasons why they, and such as they, should enjoy the authority, and receive the submission, claimed for them, we are glad that he has made the deduction he has, however insufficient we may think it, from the value of the epistles. Mr. Blunt is yet more entitled to the benefit of cautious limitation. He admits, (pp. 41 and 42, and huge admissions they are,) that sometimes the 'fathers' are forced, by the extravagance of the heresies they are contending against, 'into positions unfriendly to the calm investigation of truth;' sometimes 'much qualification may be fitting,' under the head of civil relations, 'from their difference in those days to what they are now;' sometimes the fathers themselves may have been led into 'a snare by an over-anxious desire to make their doctrines palatable to the philosophy of the age;' 'sometimes the difficulty of finding any common ground of argument with their antagonists led them to adopt questionable principles;' sometimes 'they were themselves tainted with heresy;' 'sometimes they are inconsistent with themselves or with one another;' sometimes they speak the voice of the individual 'rather than of the universal church;' sometimes practices to which they allude, though 'innocent, have been found liable to abuse, and have been discontinued in consequence;' 'sometimes,' as 'they wrote before controversy had reduced the language of theology to exactness,' they 'may on that account seem rash and unguarded.' Great as these admissions

are,—and they seem to us, though not to Mr. Blunt, to be destructive both of doctrinal and historical credit in the writers to whom they severally apply, if not of the whole of that *traditional testimony to facts* which, descending through such a corrupted channel, stands a hundred chances to one of being adulterated somewhere,—we will deal honourably with them; and though we might press them to the overthrow of the whole system of uninspired tradition, or at least to that of every tradition which cannot be shewn to have come down to us uncorrupted, which, in fact, amounts to the same thing, we will consent to admit them upon this question as ‘witnesses in our courts,’ in whose evidence there may be something to abate or question, but who depose to facts of which, if we reject their evidence on account of character, we must be contented to remain in hopeless ignorance.* Omitting, then, all notice of Ignatius’s ‘inflation and extravagance,’ (*Conybeare*, p. 87,) doctrinal improprieties,† (*ib.*, p. 88,) ‘nervous excitement,’ (*ib.*, p. 89,) and ‘natural vehemence of character,’ (*ib.*) as bearing upon the integrity and accuracy of his testimony, (which is making as large a concession as when we consented to argue on his alleged epistles as genuine,) we will suppose him to have proved that the three orders of bishop, presbyter, and deacon, were recognised as distinct orders in the ministry before A.D. 116. What, then? We still contend, and trust to be enabled to prove, that this not only was not the original form of the church, but was an artful, vicious, and fatal perversion of it.

We have seen that originally the presbyter and the bishop were the same. How came they to differ? Jerome’s story certainly may be dismissed. We contend that not only did not the apostles institute the distinction, but that it was their practice in their own persons to merge the apostle in the presbyter. Thus

* ‘So it is with regard to witnesses in our courts: there may be found something, perhaps, to reserve in the evidence of each of them—some abatement to be made for inconsistency, inadvertency, precipitation, passion, prejudice, character, opportunity, and the like; all of which, nevertheless, does not prevent twelve honest men, who are truly bent on looking for the truth, by sifting the evidence of each, and combining that of all, from drawing a conclusion for all practical purposes sufficiently correct and trustworthy.’—*Blunt*, pp. 42, 43. If Episcopalians are willing to take up with a foundation of such rotten props as these, by all means let them; but they would find it edifying occasionally to hear the judge’s charge to the jury, when evidence of the character here specified has been given in a cause.

† ‘When he several times appears to speak of his sufferings as if they were expiations offered by himself for the church.’—*Ep. to the Eph.* ch. 8; *Conybeare*, p. 88. The reading is, however, doubtful, and the candid interpreter will not forget that the passage may be a misapplication of *Col.* i. 24, or *I Cor.* iv. 14. The text of Ignatius is susceptible here, and in some other places, of a much better sense than can possibly be given to the Romish rendering of Cotelier or the Anglican of Wake, both of which are exceedingly corrupt and anti-evangelical.

Peter (1 Ep. v. 1) and John (2 Ep. i.; 3 Ep. i.) designated themselves elders; and Paul (1 Tim. iv. 15; 2 Tim. i. 6) associated the presbytery with himself in the ordination of Timothy. In fact, wherever the apostles or any of them assert, as in Acts, xv. 23; 1 Cor. ix. 13; 2 Cor. xii. 12, their special character, there is always a reason for it; where it was not necessary, they seem to have delighted to take their place *with others* in the service of the church; e.g., Acts, xiii. 1, 2; 1 Cor. iii. 5, 6. Conduct like this is what we should expect from them in obedience to Christ's command, (Matt. xx. 25, 26,) but is rather inconsistent with the idea of their establishing the episcopal monarchy which Ignatius magnifies, and the 'fathers,' not the Scriptures, have handed down to us.

But near to the apostles' times as, for the sake of argument, we have admitted this corruption to be, there is no necessity for ascribing to them an innovation so contrary to their Master's spirit and their own; its origin may be clearly enough traced without this. If it appear *in limine* a violent hypothesis to suppose that so great a change could take place in so short a time unauthorized, the Epistle to the Galatians, had we nothing else, would quash that objection in an instant. Surely, if the Galatian churches (not one church only, let it be observed, but the churches, so far as we are informed, of a whole province,) were so unstable and greedy of change as, in a brief period of the apostle's ministry, and while his light still shone on earth, to be on the point of renouncing him for Judaizing teachers, and corrupting the doctrine of the cross with the law of circumcision, teaching thus, as the apostle distinctly declares, ANOTHER GOSPEL,—if this be the case, surely it is not a thing impossible that the churches of a few provinces of Asia Minor should in a larger space of time consent to a new model of the ministry. And this conviction would, we believe, be strengthened in exact proportion to the increase of our knowledge respecting the national character of the people in question.*

* Valuable hints on this subject may be gleaned from various classical authors, some of which have been already specified in archaeological and geographical works. We can here notice but one such, but it is instructive, and we bring it forward in illustration of our meaning. Agreeing with Calvin, (Ep. ad Gal. argument.) that the Galatians, q. d. Gallo-Græcians, were probably from the country now called Belgium, we cannot avoid the conviction that there is a common element of national character in the ancient and modern races, and that this element is the love of change. This inference will appear hasty, and perhaps far-fetched, to those who are unaccustomed to such considerations, and ignorant of the many parallel instances which might be produced. But whoever has had the opportunity of comparing the modern German character, as a whole, with the account given of their forefathers by Tacitus, will at once feel that it is reasonable and relevant to the subject in hand. If any of our readers think otherwise, however, our argument will hold independently of it.

But suppose that the New Testament furnishes indications of the already brooding corruption,—this will turn presumption into certainty. Let us then see. It would of course have its germ in the appetite, natural to corrupt human nature, for distinction, influence, reputation or power. The manifestation of this feeling in the Corinthian church is known to every reader of the New Testament; but it will strengthen our argument if we can present some instances connected with the churches of Asia Minor. Here they are. ‘Take heed to yourselves,’ said the apostle Paul, addressing the Ephesian elders, (Acts, xx. 28,) ‘and to all the flock over which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to feed the church of God which he has purchased with his own blood. For I know this, that, *after my departing*, shall grievous wolves enter in among you, not sparing the flock. Also of *your own selves* shall men arise, speaking perverse things, to draw away disciples after them.’ This last expression taken alone would perhaps suggest the idea of doctrinal heresy, rather than anything there, and we find, from Rev. ii. 36, that the church at Ephesus was afterwards in danger of infection with the corrupt practices of the Nicolaitans, and had sunk into a cold formality; but perhaps the next passage may be found to throw further light upon it.

‘I wrote unto the church,’ said the apostle John, in his Epistle to Gaius, (probably of Derbe in Lyeaonia, who accompanied Paul into the Ephesian Asia;) ‘but Diotrephes, *who loveth to have the pre-eminence among them*, receiveth us not.’ It is not quite clear who Diotrephes was, or where he lived, but it is all but certain that he was an elder of a church in or near Ephesus.*

We subjoin, not, it is true, from an epistle or discourse addressed to Asians, but an epistle to a European church, a passage which, however, is evidently not to be limited in its interpretation to any single place. It is the well known prediction in 2 Thess. ii. 3—8. We shall quote the English version as sufficiently accurate for our purpose:—‘Let no man deceive you by any means: for that day [the day of Christ,] shall not come except there come a falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition, who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped, so that he as God sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God. Remember ye not that when I was yet present with you I told you these things? And now ye know what withholdeth that he might be revealed in his time. *For the mystery of iniquity doth already work*, only he

* We subjoin Lardner's opinion, for the sake of those who may desire to pursue the subject: ‘It could not be far from Ephesus, (where John chiefly resided after leaving Judea,) for in v. 14 the apostle speaks of shortly coming to him, which he could not well have done had Gaius lived at Corinth or any remote place,’—*Canon*, vol. iii. p. 293.

who now letteth [restraineth] will let [restrain] until he be taken out of the way. And *then* shall that wicked be revealed,' &c. This is an explicit prediction of the rise of priestly domination. The following context fixes its application to the papal hierarchy, which doubtless is the consummation and absolute type of the evil; but with equal clearness did the apostle say: 'The mystery of iniquity doth *already* work.' We fear that the moderation and sympathy for which Mr. Conybeare gives the 'Bishops' of the succeeding age credit, if it existed as he thinks, was only the consequence of the restraint which heathen Rome—'he that restraineth'—put in the way of this early consummation of the hierarchical spirit. But we know what ensued when these restraints were put out of the way by the success and professed conversion of Constantine.

We think that we have given a fair account of the rise of hyper-presbyterial episcopacy, whatever may be its precise date, in the Christian church. We shall conclude this discussion by applying to Ignatius three or four of Mr. Blunt's cautious limitations. First, he says, in a passage not before quoted, 'Our church does not blindly bind herself to them in all things: particularly on some points where the Scriptures are not doubtful, but altogether silent; much less where they are or seem to be opposed.' We contend that if the Scriptures are not silent upon it, they are opposed to the episcopacy of Ignatius. Again, he limits the authority of the Fathers when 'they are inconsistent with themselves, or with one another,' and when 'they speak the voice of the individual rather than the universal church.' We charge Ignatius, on the supposition that his remains are genuine, with being the only individual of his age who exalted the bishop above the elder, and with contradicting in that respect Clement of Rome, and perhaps Irenæus. Clement's representations are as follows: 'Preaching Him through regions and cities [the apostles] appointed the first fruits, having proved them by the Spirit, to be overseers and ministers (ἐπίσκοπους καὶ διάκονους, bishops and deacons) of those who should believe.'—Ep. to the Cor. ch. xlii. 'So likewise our apostles knew by the Lord Jesus Christ that contentions would arise about the name [or rank] of the episcopate; therefore, being endowed with perfect foresight, [or having taken mature deliberation,] they ordained the forenamed [officers,] and afterwards gave direction, how, when they departed, other approved men should receive their [official] service (λειτουργίαν.) Those, therefore, who were constituted by them, or afterwards by other excellent men, the whole church consenting, who have blamelessly ministered to the flock of Christ, with humility, quietly and disinterestedly, and who have for a long time had a good report of all, such men we think to be unjustly deposed from their service.'—*Ib.* ch. xlii. 'It is disgraceful, beloved, very disgraceful, and

unworthy of the Christian manner of life, that it should be heard, that the established and long standing church of the Corinthians, for the sake of one or two persons should stand up in opposition to its *elders*.'—*Ib.* ch. xlvii. 'Do you therefore, who laid the foundation of this insubordination, render obedience to your elders, and be instructed to repentance.'—*Ib.* ch. lvii. These passages shew that whatever was the state of things with the churches in Asia Minor, Clement makes no distinction between bishops and presbyters, and the distinction was not recognised at Rome. Irenæus, who lived considerably later, in a letter to Victor of Rome, preserved in Eusebius' History, book iv. ch. 24, designates his predecessors, Anicetus and Pius, 'elders who presided over the church.' And although he says, Adv. Hær. iii. 14, 'in Mileto convocatis episcopis et presbyteris,' in allusion to Acts, xx. 17, we know that there were no recognised hyper-presbyterial bishops then, and the expression, unless it be regarded as a misinterpretation of the passage, suggested by subsequent usage, is equivalent in form to pastors and teachers, when one class only is supposed to be meant. Lastly, we suggest to Mr. Blunt, that the practice which rests on Ignatius' doubtful authority, even if 'innocent,' has been found liable to abuse, and had better, perhaps, even on his principles, 'be discontinued in consequence.'

We have devoted so much room to Mr. Conybeare's second and most important Lecture, that we have none to spare for the remainder. Remembering that the author has been all his life an Episcopalian, and that he thinks he sees episcopacy fairly deducible from primitive antiquity, and invested with apostolical authority, a view which we have felt it our duty to disprove, it is impossible to overlook the learning, piety, and candour which pervade his volume from beginning to end. We have derived much profit, and expect to derive more, from his labours; and if circumstances have put it into our power, or made it our duty, to detract in any point from them, we are not the less willing to sit at his feet. Though the apostle Peter incurred just reproof at Antioch, he was yet 'a pillar of the church;' and it is our sincere desire that the excellent author whose sentiments we have so freely discussed may, in his official ministry, and by his writings, influence and example, long continue an ornament and blessing to society.

Here we should have closed our article, but for receiving Dr. Bennett's volume while we were engaged upon it. We feel that it will be impossible to do justice to it now, and therefore must apologize to the author for attempting to notice it; yet consider it better on the whole to connect it with our present paper, than lay it by for some future opportunity, with the chance of long delay and apparent, however unintentional, neglect.

The work of Dr. Bennett, while it embraces the same writers as were included in Mr. Conybeare's volume, differs from it pre-

cisely as their respective titles would lead us to expect. In the Bampton Lectures, the fathers came under review in chronological order, and their personal histories are briefly handled. The work is in fact a contribution to *patrology*. In the 'congregational' course, their theology is the chief topic of investigation, and the contents of their multifarious writings are systematically distributed under various heads, each of which exhibits their collected opinions upon some one branch of Christian doctrine or usage: this, therefore, may be described as appertaining to systematic theology, of which it illustrates a part of the patristic section. But five of the lectures, however, are thus occupied with the selection and detail of patristic matter; the first of the series describes the 'sources of information;' the seventh illustrates 'the causes of the peculiar characteristics of early theology;' and the eighth concludes the course with suitable reflections. There is also a brief appendix of notes, extracts, and documents. We shall commence our examination of the volume with that of the fourth lecture, of which the following are the heads:—I. Of the nature or constitution of a church. II. The officers of the church. III. Of priests and clergy. IV. The worship of the church.

In the first part of this lecture, the church of the early fathers is shewn by numerous extracts to be 'congregational.' Even Ignatius—or the writings which bear his name—proves that. Dr. Bennett has made some valuable observations, pp. 203—208, in the course of his inquiry into the early constitution of dioceses, and we particularly agree with him in thinking that the hint thrown out by Hug, in his introduction to the New Testament, respecting the probable banishment of the leading members of the church at Rome by Claudius's decree against the Jews, is highly probable, and 'throws welcome light on several texts in the most important of all the epistles.' The following account of the origin of diocesan churches is substantially confirmed by the voice of history.

'As there was originally but one church formed in each place, whether city or village, when they became too numerous for one congregation, they were naturally reluctant to separate into more, and the bishop as naturally [why, as naturally?] wishing to keep the whole charge to himself, gave to separation the name of schism. Augustine was distinguished [and honoured] by his readiness to form new churches under their own bishops. But as in small villages there were bishops, they assembled by hundreds, as the lists of the councils shew. These chorepiscopi, or country bishops, were afterwards suppressed; for the avowed purpose of maintaining the honour of the episcopal title, by confining it to those who had the care of churches in large places, where population, with its wealth, could give dignity and importance to the bishop. The council of Sardica [A. D. 347] thus decreed, 'that the name and authority of the bishops should not be brought into contempt.'

‘Let him that readeth understand.’ Wherever there was a church there was a bishop, and wherever there was a congregation there was a church [this is true, as probably intended by Dr. Bennett, that is, with the limitation we shall presently specify]. There were as many bishops, therefore, as Christian congregations, and consequently many poor bishops became pastors of village churches. Though this raised no blush on the cheeks of those who remembered that God had chosen the poor of this world, when, as religion declined, episcopal pride increased, the bishops of the cities by their own decree, without any pretence to scriptural right, laid violent hands on hundreds or thousands of churches, and killed [metamorphosed] them outright. They were no longer independent churches with their own bishops, for these were unbishoped, pronounced in the ninth century no bishops at all; and their charges or flocks unchurched, became nondescript things, for which neither the Scriptures nor the earliest fathers furnish a name.—*Bennett*, pp. 207, 208.

Dr. Bennett may well ask, in his characteristic manner, ‘with what face could the diocesan bishops complain of a patriarch or pope for attempting to swallow them up in their turn?’ and add—

‘Modern days have heard loud complaints of the presumption of parliaments in cutting up bishoprics, annihilating the old and fabricating new ones; and on the right or justice we give no opinion; but ministers of state may say to bishops, ‘Who set us the example?’ If these reply: ‘But we complain of it as an act of the state,’ secular men may ask ‘In what text of Scripture, or sentence from an early father, can you prove even the right of *bishops* to annihilate others?’ Let both church and state remember that the power which can do this to one, can do it to all.’—*Bennett*, pp. 208, 209.

The limitation which we hinted above is this. It appears from history, and were it otherwise we might have supposed it from the nature of the case, that in thinly peopled districts there were scattered households, two or three of which assembled for worship on the Lord’s-day, when they frequently, if not usually, enjoyed the services of an elder of the church to which they belonged. It must, indeed, be admitted that they were members of the ‘congregation’ in which they received the Lord’s Supper, (which at first was the whole congregation, though afterwards abuses crept in,) but they congregated much more frequently in the neighbourhood of their homes than with the body with which they were in communion, and so far we must allow that there might be a congregation or assembly where there was not a church. Indeed, we are not sure that the word congregation, as representative of ἐκκλησία, does not denote rather ‘society’ than ‘assembly,’ and this is probably its meaning in the nineteenth Article of the National Establishment. True Christians, to whom the term in the New Testament has special reference, were a people ‘called out’ of Judaism, heathenism, or the world, and

associated as brethren by a common interest, not accumulated as a consequence of local contiguity. But on these two subjects, the extent of some of the early churches, and the rise of diocesan episcopacy, our readers will find much valuable information in Clarkson's 'Primitive Episcopacy,' and in Harmer's 'Remarks on the Congregational Churches in Norfolk and Suffolk.'—*Misc. Works*, pp. 151, 154. The former, though his works are too much neglected now, was a giant in his day, and tutor to Tillotson, before the latter attached himself to the episcopal communion.

We pass over some most provoking matter—(those who are accustomed to hear Dr. Bennett, or were present at the delivery of these lectures will know what we mean, to others we can only say we use the epithet in a good sense,) that we may reach the next head. Dr. Bennett here discusses the officers of the church, the number of bishops and deacons in a church, their election and ordination, and the transformations which their offices have undergone. The identity of the bishop and elder is of course here made out, not only as it is proved on the authority of the New Testament, but as we have the echo of that authority in Clement of Rome, Polycarp, Irenæus, and Clement of Alexandria. This section deserves particular attention, from the information given in it respecting the deacon's office, which, though as much perverted as the other in the Roman and its co-ordinate or subordinate systems, has been far too little explained and understood in more scriptural communions, notwithstanding its great practical importance. Dr. Bennett puts the unscriptural character and enormity of the early perversion of both offices in a very striking light.

In the third part, which treats 'of priests and clergy,' the statements of Clement of Rome, Ignatius, Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian, come under review. Dr. Bennett here shows convincingly that the earliest of the fathers seem to have known almost as little of a human Christian priesthood as the New Testament itself. In page 253 he animadverts, with just but by no means excessive severity on the gross falsifications of the statements of Clement of Rome in Dr. Wake's version. We have often been surprised that this flagitious translation has not been discountenanced by churchmen. When we see it issued once and again from Mr. Bagster's warehouse for Bibles and Testaments, whence the Scriptures have been issued in so many different languages, we ask, Can a fountain at the same time send forth sweet water and bitter? Not only are the numerous falsifications perpetrated in that version, however (for they are by no means confined to the substitution of priest for elder) 'disgraceful to the Christian name,' as Dr. Bennett says, but as he has truly observed, 'no one should suppose that he has obtained the testimony of the apostolic fathers because he has read this prelate's

translation.' The course of corruption by which elders were transmuted into priests is thus traced by our author:—

'But the word priest, once introduced, soon acquired an authority contrary to Scripture and the views of the earliest fathers. As the world is ruled by names, a figure taken for a fact was made an argument, and the word which should have been the child became the father of the thing. Few asked counsel at the word of God; and those who repeated its response [i.e., we suppose Rev. i. 6.] coolly persisted in giving to the ministers the title of priests, even while confessing that it was conferred by Christ on all the faithful.'—*Bennett*, pp. 258, 259.

'The portentous and impious assumption of the priestly name became at last the boast of ministers, who thus gloried in their shame. . . . To support their own priesthood, men were compelled to do violence to that of Christ, and to blaspheme the very sacrifice of the cross in which they profess to glory. For it was easily seen that a priest must have a sacrifice to offer; and if something more than the priesthood of the whole body of the faithful, who offer up prayers, and thanks, and benevolences, with which 'sacrifices God is well pleased,' was to be ascribed to Christian ministers, there was no other real sacrifice but that of Christ. On this, therefore, they laid their sacrilegious hands, and in the teeth of the Scripture, which declares that Christ alone offered it up once for all, they pretended to sacrifice him again. Rome therefore makes of the Lord's Supper the sacrifice of the mass, offered up for the sins of the living and the dead; and all pretended Protestants, who plead for a human proper priesthood, must virtually join in this conspiracy against the glory of Christ. A commemorative sacrifice is nonsense; for if it is a real sacrifice, it is not the commemoration of one; if it is but a commemoration, it is not itself a sacrifice; if it needs to be offered again, Christ did not make an end of offering for sins, and is not then the Messiah foretold by Daniel.'—*Ib.*, 261, 262.

After some brief remarks on the term 'clergy,' as applied exclusively to the ministry, Dr. Bennett proceeds to part IV., 'The Worship of the Church,' on which the information he has furnished is full of interest, but would suffer by compression, and cannot be adequately represented by extracts.

There are two subjects in this lengthened and valuable lecture on which we find ourselves at issue with Dr. Bennett. The first which we shall mention, though not first treated in his volume, is the election and ordination of ministers. Perhaps, indeed, we misunderstand the statement, (p. 246,) 'that the church was accustomed to choose, or elect, persons, and that what is called in our translation ordaining was electing,' we learn from a passage in the letter of Ignatius, who had sufficiently high notions of episcopal rights.' Dr. Bennett appears to be speaking of the election of bishops or elders, and to say that, according to Ignatius, what is called ordination in the New Testament was election, and no more. The passage which he quotes from Ignatius, however, refers merely to the choice of some faithful

brother, who should go to Antioch as a messenger from them. But the appointment of a brother for this special service is not to be confounded with that of a bishop or elder, which was a permanent office. That the church also chose the latter, we believe, since we have no evidence in the New Testament to the contrary, and in every place in which a choice is explicitly mentioned, it devolves either on God or the people. Thus, in Acts, ix. 15, Paul is chosen for its special service by our Lord himself (compare also Gal. i. 15, and the commencement of his various epistles); in Acts, xiii. 2, the Holy Ghost chose Paul and Barnabas for a special missionary work; in Acts, i. 23, 26, the selection of an apostle and witness of Christ's resurrection commenced (whether rightly or otherwise is of no consequence to the point we are upon) with the disciples, and was supposed to be definitively consummated by God; in Acts, vi. 5, seven deacons are chosen by the whole multitude; in 2 Cor. viii. 9, a certain brother is stated to have been chosen by the churches to accompany Paul to Jerusalem with their collections for the saints. If Paul, as in Acts, xvi. 3, would have Timothy to go forth with him; and if, as in Acts, xv. 39, he and Barnabas considered that it rested with themselves who should accompany them, these indications confirm the principle of the popular election of bishops or elders, which is, that they who have the deepest conscious interest in an individual's services, shall choose the individual. On the question of choice, then, we have no difference with Dr. Bennett, neither should we, if all he meant to say was that *χειροτονέω* signifies to elect as well as to ordain, have any other difference of opinion upon the passage we have just noticed. But this is apparently not his meaning; for not only does he not allude to 'what is called in our translation ordaining' (these are his words, intimating apparently that it is wrongly so called), except in this passage, but, in the next page, he leads his readers to infer, that when *χειροτονέω* is used in any other signification than elect, it is used improperly.* But, etymology and usage alike reject this restriction. *χειροτονέω* is i. ἱ. τὴν χεῖρα τείνω, I stretch the hand; and whoever has attended a public meeting and an ordination must know that this action is, with equal functional facility, performed in voting and laying on of hands. Hence the two significations: the former of which occurs

* Again, in page 243, Dr. Bennett says:—'We know that what is translated ordain (*χειροτονέω*) signifies election by show of hands, which, however denied, cannot be disproved;' but this only increases our embarrassment, for the passages to which his remarks apply are Acts, vi. 3—6, and a portion of Clement's 42nd chapter, in neither of which this word occurs. Indeed, Clement has not used it at all. Ignatius has employed it three times; i. e., in the Epistle to the Philad, ch. x.; to the Smyræans, ch. xi., and to Polycarp, ch. vii., in all which places it, in all probability, means 'to choose,' as rendered by Dr. Bennett.

in 2 Cor. viii. 19, when the brother, as above mentioned, was chosen, probably, by vote expressed by raising the hand; the latter, in Acts, xiv. 23, where Paul and Barnabas ordained, by the laying on of hands (surely Dr. B. would not say that they merely voted for them), ‘elders in every church.’ As this distinction of ordination from election is, we fear, with many an unsettled point, we will clear it further. After the multitude had chosen the seven deacons (Acts, vi. 5), the apostles laid their hands on them, ver. 6. The Holy Ghost having made choice of Paul and Barnabas, as stated above, and commanded their separation for a special service, the other ‘prophets and teachers’* laid hands on them and sent them away. When Paul would have Timothy go with him, not only did he for special reasons have him circumcised, but, apparently for the sake of decency and order, (1 Cor. xiv. 40,) he presented him to the presbytery of the church at Lystra (just as the multitude presented the deacons of their choice to the apostles) for ordination, himself joining in the laying on of hands (1 Tim. iv. 16; 2 Tim. i. 6). So Paul charges Timothy (1 Tim. v. 22) ‘to lay hands suddenly on no man;’ and Titus is instructed by him (Tit. i. 5) to ordain elders in every city. If these facts do not shew that there is such a thing as ordination distinct from election, and that, while the latter is the privilege of the brethren, when they have a *conscious* interest in the appointment, (where they have not, as in the case of the heathen, others must make such a selection of labourers as they believe to be most agreeable to the mind of God, which is the nearest approach which can be made to the divine precedent in Acts, xiii. 2,) the former is a function of the eldership, we shall feel at a loss in making anything clear. We may, perhaps, have mistaken Dr. Bennett; if so, he will excuse us, as we have not purposely done it; but we know with sorrow that there is too much ignorance and looseness of conviction on this subject to make the pains which we have taken unnecessary.†

* As ‘teacher’ is one of the designations of a bishop or elder, see Eph. iv. 11, (probably because teaching was a necessary duty, Col. i. 18, whence aptness to teach was an essential qualification for the office, 1 Tim. iii. 2; 2 Tim. ii. 2, 24,) it is not improbable that all the five brethren mentioned in Acts, xiii. 1, including Paul and Barnabas, constituted the presbytery of the Christian church at Antioch at that time. If so, our former position, that the apostles on ordinary occasions united themselves with other elders in the pastoral work, is confirmed by this passage.

† To obviate misconception on another point, we will just add, that the imposition of hands, connected with ordination to office, was, in our view, a different act from that whose object was to impart spiritual gifts. This view is confirmed by accounts given of the ordinations of the deacons, and of Paul and Barnabas. The former were ‘full of the Holy Ghost,’ and the latter were spiritually gifted, before the imposition of hands mentioned in the accounts.

The other point respects the number of bishops or elders in a church. The New Testament recognises a plurality. The church at Jerusalem, (Acts, xv. 6, 22,) that at Philippi, (Phil. i. 1,) that at Ephesus, (Acts, xx. 17,) and, if our conjecture on a former page was correct, that at Antioch, (Acts, xiii. 1,) all had elders; and some have not improbably supposed that Titus was directed to ordain a plurality in every Cretan city where there was a church. All, or the greater part, of this Dr. Bennett allows, but adds:—

‘On the other hand, the language of Scripture often leads to the conclusion that it was not the design of Christ to require a plurality of bishops in every church. For this officer is mentioned in the singular, when the deacons are spoken of in the plural, 1 Tim. iii. 2, 8. The argument of the apostle, derived from the father of a family, as Clemens Alexandrinus observes, leads to the same conclusion: ‘A bishop must rule well his own house, having his children in subjection, with all gravity; for if a man know not how to rule his own house, how shall he take care of the church of God?’ Here a single ruler is supposed to preside in the church, as in a family. In the Revelation, the *seven* stars are the angels, as Origen observes, or presidents of the *seven* churches. The term pastor supposes one shepherd over one flock.’—*Bennett*, p. 223.

We must confess, that we are not impressed with any one of these considerations in particular, or all of them together. The bishop is mentioned in the singular, (1 Tim. iii. 2,) because the singular pronoun *τις* had immediately preceded. If any one, i. e., any brother, desire the episcopate, he desires a good employment. It is therefore necessary that the bishop be blameless, &c. What more natural than this construction? or more un-called-for, than to look out of the passage for a reason for the difference of number here and in verse 8? In reply to the observation of Clemens Alexandrinus, we would ask, if a man is incapable of ruling his own house well, does he not prove his unfitness to govern elsewhere, whether he have the sole government or not? We admit that the risk is greater if an improper or incompetent person have sole, uncontrolled management; but if the apostle gives a reason for his direction, which is valid on either supposition, that is, whether there were to be a plurality of elders or only one, we cannot see how it can be fairly alleged in exclusive support of either. As to the figure, we must beg to be excused from deriving arguments from mere *allusions*, till we can get nothing else. Neither does Origen’s observation on the seven stars prove at all more satisfactory; for though he says they were the presidents of the seven churches, this is but one interpretation out of many. The most distinguished Presbyterian writers have been accustomed to regard them as symbolical representations of the presbyteries, and Dr. Bennett has told us (p. 402) that ‘ordinary divines,’ in these times, ‘surpass the

most eminent of the fathers,' and (p. 399) that Origen, in particular, though the only 'biblical scholar' the church produced for three centuries, was not to be 'called a divine,' but was 'formed after the image' of his predecessor, Clement, who, 'as a Janus,' at one time presented 'the face of the Greek philosopher,' at another that 'of the Christian teacher.' If the term pastor, also, really supposes only one shepherd over one flock, then the Ephesian elders, though directed to take heed to themselves and to all the flock, were not pastors, for theirs was but one flock with several elders. To be serious—all these reasons taken together, do not weigh a feather against the clear Scripture light we have; and if the church at Ephesus, whose angel is addressed, and which, in the year 58 or 59, had a presbytery, had really but one bishop when the Book of the Revelation was written, that is, as some think, A.D. 69 or 70,—others, 90 or 95, we can only say, 'Le vrai n'est pas toujours le vraisemblable.'

But this is an interesting practical question. We are concerned, and it is our duty to exemplify, as nearly as possible, the New Testament idea of the Christian Church, and we are sure that, *ceteris paribus*, and a disproportionate degree of attention not being paid to mere externals, religion must flourish most when the primitive pattern is most nearly adhered to. By primitive, we do not mean patristic, but scriptural. The church of the fathers is not, in the sense we are expressing, the church of the New Testament. We know of a purer and more venerable antiquity than theirs, and one free from the imbecility of age; for, though called antiquity by us, it was, in reality, youth,—some, indeed, will say infancy, and we own it in a manner. The evangelical history of the book of Acts, and some of the epistles, do exhibit to us the infancy of the church: we behold her in Jerusalem, as we behold our Lord at Bethlehem, in the cradle. But let us take the great characters of the New Testament; let us consider the number of inspired teachers, and the still greater, though fewer, inspired authors with which the church was then favoured; let us calculate the influence of such men as Paul and John, and the various friends whom they name and praise in their epistles, upon the society with which they were familiar; and, after making a large allowance for the irregularities consequent on conversions from the depths of heathen impurity, we must own it was a wondrous infancy. Its 'new life' was the light of the world; and if we, on whom the ends of the dispensation, perhaps, are come—if we are to 'come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ,' it must surely be by availing ourselves to the full extent of the arrangements expressly declared in the New Testament (Eph. iv. 11—16) to have been made in furtherance of that special end.

With these views, and separating, of course, from our own

speculations all that is connected with the miraculous in primitive institutions, we love to see them adhered to. This is our 'GLORY AND DEFENCE.' It seems to us, however, that the very thing which Christ has provided for in one way, the churches of our order have attempted to provide for in another. We find in the New Testament congregations, a presbytery, and a body of deacons. We have disused the former, and we have, in fact, though not so grossly as is done in most other communions, misapplied the latter. Congregational deacons do, in fact, usually share with the pastor the presbyterial functions, though under another name. A return to the primitive order seems to us to require that those of the deacons in our churches who possess the qualifications mentioned in Tim. iii. 1—7, Titus, i. 6—9, should, if willing, be associated with the pastor in the eldership (this association need not affect the present distribution of labour as regards preaching) and be scripturally ordained to office. That the presbytery should be from time to time filled up from the society of deacons, seems also to be favoured by 1 Tim. iii. 13, and this may seem to imply that those who are appointed deacons should be in the vigour of their age and zeal, and capable of rendering active service; their experience in which will in due time render them wise to give counsel, and to rule in the church.

As these convictions have been drawn from us by what we found in the volume before us, we do not feel it necessary to continue the subject now. Some of our readers will doubtless think that such a change in our practice would bring those brethren who, being elders, give themselves wholly up to the preaching of the Gospel and the care of souls, into comparative neglect, but we have considered this subject well, and are persuaded that there is no ground for the apprehension.

The desirableness of the measure is, however, we may just add, made apparent by the custom which prevails in some of the larger congregational churches, of appointing annually, we believe, a committee of discipline. Now the object of this committee is to do what the pastor cannot do alone—to assist the pastor in ordering spiritual business; its functions are presbyterial. Its authority is unscriptural; for the New Testament knows no such committees. And the wisdom of our Lord is seen in connecting permanent office with presbyterial power, and requiring that none shall be admitted to that office without certain qualifications, which are detailed by inspiration. But we apprehend that it would be thought an unnecessary measure, and one quite out of order, to try the eligibility of a member of a committee of discipline by the qualifications of the New Testament elder.

We shall conclude this notice of Dr. Bennett's volume, which should be in every vestry library, and which we hope will be

very extensively read, both by dissenters and churchmen, with the following extract from the eighth lecture :—

‘Let not the student of the Scriptures, then, shrink from the contest concerning the opinions of the ancients. Antiquity is most to be dreaded by those who vaunt it most; for they would be the last to restore the primitive times. The sanctuary in which the fathers are enthroned is a crypt; for, like other antique idols, they cannot bear the light. Their theology is often so heterodox, their expositions of Scripture so absurd and contradictory, and their chastity [language] so obscene, that he who would dethrone them has but to bring a blazing torch into their shrines, and show to the crouching multitude what it is they have adored. Their high priests, like the Chinese, offer *scraps* of gilded paper, but would not dare to publish in the vernacular tongue *all* that the fathers have written, nor [or] consent to be bound by all that they have prescribed.’

Art. II. *A Residence on the Shores of the Baltic. Described in a Series of Letters.* 2 vols. Murray, London, 1841.

THIS is an instructive and entertaining publication, descriptive of a nook in the European region, that had been previously but little explored, and scarcely at all described by any English traveller. Independently of its claims to originality, in this respect,—and they are of a most interesting nature,—the literary qualities and recommendations of the work are also of a very high order. The author is evidently an accomplished, shrewd, observant, unaffected, and well-bred woman; her literary attainments are considerable, and yet they are never obtrusively or ostentatiously paraded, nay, seldom elicited but when the occasion necessarily requires it. An Attic vein of pleasantry, wit, and drollery pervades many of her pages, more particularly in her delineations of dress and costume. She paints the various scenes and events of her journey with artistic force and precision, bringing them before the mind of the reader as near as may be in the exact ‘colour, form, and shape,’ in which they struck her own. Her powers of observation are always equal to the opportunities presented to her; and she never feels necessitated to go far in search of incidents or scenes, but takes them as they rise, and treats them in a fresh and vigorous, yet off-hand manner, denominated by the Greeks *εκ του παριστάμενου λεγειν*. Her pictures are often as vivid and striking to the imagination as the sensible work of some eminent artist is to the bodily eye. Whether it be the ice-bound and cheerless aspect of a northern winter, or the effect of the sudden burst of spring upon natural life and vegetation,—the dawning blessings of summer, or the warm and cloudless splendour of its full meridian sun,—we at once acknowledge

and feel the graphic power and fidelity of the writer's art, as we should that of a Claude or a Turner. Her style, too, is lively and graceful, full of ease and freshness, and, sometimes, as need may be, deepening into the reflective and sentimental, the tender and pathetic.

We learn, rather by implication and suggestion than from any direct statement to be found in the book, that an elder sister had married a resident Esthonian nobleman, and that to pay her a visit was the occasion and object of the writer's solitary journey to the Eastern shores of the Baltic. With her she seems to have remained several months, and to have undergone all sorts of social experience both in the country scenes of Esthonia, and in the town residence of her brother-in-law at Reval. But her work is not confined to a description of this province; it gives likewise by far the best account that has yet been given of St. Petersburg, at which city she tarried some time both in going to, and returning from, Esthonia. The chief interest of the book, however, turns on matters of a strictly personal nature. It contains a more full and faithful delineation of the provincial life and scenery of that great and interesting section of the country, of the social habits and manners of the only two classes of its occupants, the nobles and the peasantry, of the state of agriculture, — of religion and morals, of the effect of the military laws and the political organization, than any traveller has ever been able to communicate.

Esthonia, or Esthland (not *Estonia*, as our author writes it), lies south of that part of the Gulf of Finland where it joins the Baltic, extending over 7,106 square miles, and is divided into four circles or districts, namely, Hapsal, Reval, Weisenstein, and Wesenburg, formerly entitled, respectively, the Wieck, East and South Harrien, Jerwen, and Wierland, each of them boasting advantages of some kind or other. Of this province, Reval is the capital, and the chief place of foreign trade. There are besides, four cities, one market town, forty-seven parishes, 630 estates of nobles, with about 30,000 peasants' dwellings. The whole population amounts to nearly half a million. It is, in general, a level and sandy district, but mixed with portions of clay and stones. It is full of brooks and morasses, and there are many forests of pine-trees. As agriculture is the chief employment, rather more corn is produced, chiefly rye, than is required for home consumption. There are also fisheries; and manufactures of a domestic kind, such as the spinning and weaving of coarse linen and woolen stuffs for their own clothing, furnish each family with employment during the long winter season. The language of the nobility is the German of their ancestors, while the peasantry use the Esthonian, their primeval dialect. The latter caste are the only remains of the aboriginal population of the province, being a

branch of the great *Tchud* family, which Adelung and Klaproth identify with the *Scythians proper* of antiquity.

Too insignificant to govern itself, and too central to be disregarded by others, Esthonia has been bandied about by every Northern power, and has exhibited a scene of suffering and discord, of which the history of its capital, Reval, is sufficient to give an epitome. In 1093 its first buildings were erected by Erich IV. of Denmark, which consisted of a monastery dedicated to the archangel Michael, afterwards transformed into a convent of Cistercian nuns, the picturesque ruins of which are, we believe, still standing, and a fortress called Lindanisse. To these were subsequently added other buildings; and in 1219, Waldemar II. set about erecting a regular town. Reval now became of sufficient importance to be quarrelled for by the Danes, the Swedes, the Livonian and Teutonic knights, and even by the Pope himself; by whom, in 1240, it was elevated to the seat of a bishopric. To this were shortly after added the privileges of a Hanseatic town, upon the same footing as Lübeck. Trade now began to flourish, and was further encouraged during the regency of the Queen-mother of Denmark, Margareta Sambiria, who confirmed and increased the privileges of Reval, endowed it with the right of coinage, &c., and enfranchised it from all outer interference. In 1284, Reval was included in the Hanseatic bond, and, in right of his wife, a princess of Sweden, was held for some time by a Mark-Graf of Brandenburg. After governing itself for a few years, it was at length, in 1347, formally sold to the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order at Marienburg, and given as an independent possession to his ally, the Master of the Order in Livonia. The knights, very glad of so fair a possession, built castles, where they lived in great pomp, and introduced the chivalrous feeling and luxury of the age. With the increasing commercial wealth of Reval, luxury indeed was carried to such a pitch, that the gentlemen wore heavy chains of gold, and pranced about on saddle-cloths embroidered with the costliest jewels, and the ladies sported diamonds, and other precious stones, in the greatest profusion. Meanwhile the peasantry were ground down to the most abject poverty; consequently, in 1560, they rose in immense numbers, attacked castles and monasteries, killing and slaying all before them; and they menaced Reval, where many of their lords had taken refuge, so seriously, that in the end they formally threw off the dominion of the order, and took the oaths of allegiance to King Erich XIV. of Sweden, in 1561. Esthonia remained henceforward under Swedish rule, until it and Livonia were wrested from Charles XII. by Peter the Great. The Esthonians esteem themselves fortunate in being united to Russia under a czar who left them all their privileges, and took much delight in his new acquisition, visiting Reval several times, and instituting public

improvements. The province has been allowed to retain its own jurisdiction, which is administered by twelve *Landrätthe*, a strictly honorary office, dating from the fourteenth century. Many distinguished names adorn the pages of Esthonian history, either in an episcopal, military, or civil capacity, the chief of which are the Barons Meyendorf, Uxcüll, Rosen, Ungern, all of which families still exist in very flourishing condition. Thus, Reval and Esthonia were more or less under the dominion of Denmark until 1347, under that of the Order, or *Schwerdt-brüder*, until 1561; under Sweden until 1700, since when they have proved themselves most loyal subjects of Russia, who selects her best civil and military officers from this Polyglot colony, and are caressed as '*Mes bons Esthoniens*' by Nicholas I.

The steam-vessel in which our author sailed, soon after getting out to sea, encountered a most terrible storm, the description of which will be fully felt and appreciated by those, and perhaps by those only, who have been exposed to a similar visitation. So great was the danger at one period, that the captain called upon the passengers to be ready to come on deck at a moment's warning. They providentially weathered it, however, and then steered for a Norwegian harbour, where they stopped awhile to refit, thankful and subdued under the impressions of their late narrow escape. Here they were joined by a large French steamer, driven in by the same storm, and apparently much more damaged than themselves. The contrast between the behaviour of the two companies, both just escaped from so imminent a peril, does honour to English feeling and character. The state of the French party is thus described:—

'A party of us went on board her, and, had the touch of a wand transported us to the Palais-Royal, the change could not have been more complete. It was Paris itself, and Paris as if no storm had ever been; or rather as if its reminiscence were worthiest drowned in a Bacchanal. Above seventy passengers were on board—all laughing, flirting, and drinking champagne, with levity in their flushed cheeks, and more than negligence in many a careless costume. As soon as seen, we were toasted with loud cries of '*Vive l'Angleterre*,' by a score voices and glasses—an honour which our quiet John Bull-ism received most ungraciously. But there were beautiful creatures among this reckless crew, with falling tresses and loose costumes, like pictures by Sir Peter Lely, and looks as light as if they had studied under the same royal patron; and French viscomtes with Shakespeare-cut chins; and Italian opera-singers, with bold flashing gaze; and amongst the rest was a quiet, fair country-woman, like a drop of pure crystal midst a row of false pearls. We longed to carry her off, and give one of our party in exchange.'

Passing the coast of Jutland, Hamlet's castle, and Elsinore, they arrive at Copenhagen, where our traveller stopped awhile, just

to visit the ‘*lions*’ of the place, among which she mentions the eminent sculptor, Thorwaldsen, ‘now an old man, past seventy, but with undiminished vigour of imagination.’ She then proceeded on to Cronstadt, which she reached after a voyage of thirteen days. Here the passengers of the French vessel, hitherto in their rear, got the start of them in entering the *Pyroskaff*, or small steamboat, for Petersburg, from understanding better the connexion between Russian justice and Russian roubles, by virtue of which the former always abdicates to the latter. From Cronstadt to Petersburg by the *Pyroskaff* was a three hours’ passage. The lady’s first impressions on getting in sight of the latter city, she thus sums up:—

‘Altogether I was disappointed at the first *coup-d’œil* of this capital. It has a brilliant face, but wants height to set it off. The real and peculiar magnificence of Petersburg, however, consists in [our] thus sailing apparently upon the bosom of the ocean, into a city of palaces. Herein no one can be disappointed. Granite quays of immense strength now gradually closed in upon us, bearing aloft stately buildings, modelled from the Acropolis, while successive vistas of interminable streets, and canals as thickly populated, swiftly passing before us, told us plainly that we were in the midst of this Northern capital ere we had set foot to ground.’

Amid all the discomforts of travelling, there is hardly anything more disconcerting than the annoyances of a foreign custom-house, and, according to this lady’s account, those of a Russian by far exceed all other. The interior of this *salle* is so admirably and graphically depicted, that we should be tempted to cite the whole passage, did our limits permit. With regard to the ‘courtesy and hospitality of nations’ which it is requisite should be here shewn, we are of opinion that there is no surer index of a country’s advance in real civility and refinement than a foreigner’s reception and treatment at the custom-house. Ameliorations of this kind will infallibly be made to keep pæce with the general progress of mind and manners. In no country do foreigners experience such a civil reception and gentlemanly treatment, as at the English custom-house and the alien-office; and the consequence is, that they often become inspired with instant respect for the land they tread; whereas few travellers remain long enough in Russia to wear off the disagreeable impressions of their inauguration scene.

Our traveller first took up her quarters in an English boarding-house, and afterwards removed to the house of a nobleman, to whom she had letters of introduction,—the Baron S., aide-de-camp to the Emperor, and Fort-major of Petersburg. Her descriptions of the Winter Palace, the Casan Church, the Academy of Arts, the Summer Gardens, and Brülloff’s celebrated picture of the Fall of Pompeii, are most interesting. Brülloff is

the first Russian painter of any eminence. His picture is a gallery in itself, and one of absorbing interest; the canvas is at least twenty feet wide by fifteen high. The palisading of the Summer Gardens is so renowned that the story of our countryman who came expressly from England to see it, and *immediately returned*, is here considered a very credible piece of homage. Much good has been introduced, as regards honesty and straightforwardness in business, by the system adopted at the British Factory in Petersburg. Thus a principle, seemingly inherent in the English nature, that of making it a man's interest to be honest, has here engendered a habit which subsequently may claim a higher motive. Our author visited a Russian prison, and her remarks on its system of discipline, as well as on the delay in the administration of justice in the Russian courts, may be read with advantage, as likewise her narrative of the rebellion of 1826.

We cannot quit this part of her labours without presenting the reader with the following account of a Russian wedding at Petersburg:—

‘Passing the interminable *Corps des Cadets*—the longest façade in the known world, our attention was caught by the most delicious strains of vocal music, and observing the chapel part lighted up, and carriages waiting, Baron S. pronounced a Russian wedding to be going forward. In a moment the check-string was pulled, the horses' heads turned, and we alighted at the doorway. The chapel itself was on the second story, divided off with glass doors, which we were proceeding to open, much to our satisfaction, when, with all the dignity of high integrity, the officials rushed to repulse us—not, however, till we had caught a tantalizing glimpse of a fair girl with a rueful countenance standing before an altar, with candle in hand, as if about to light her own funeral pile, and a gentleman of no very promising exterior at her side. This was enough to have fixed the ardour of a saint; but in our hurry, bethinking ourselves only of a terrestrial remedy, we applied that infallible key, fitted to all hearts as well as doors in Russia,—looks of integrity vanished, smiles of bland acquiescence ensued, and, in a moment, ‘all the doors flew open.’ We entered, and mixed among the bridal party, and gradually advancing found ourselves within a few paces of the bride, and I trust diverted her thoughts pleasantly, for the ceremony was long, and the bridegroom old enough to have been her grandfather. The ill-sorted pair stood together in the centre of the small chapel before an altar, each holding a taper as emblem of the light of their good works, and, between them and the altar, a stout, burly priest, with handsome jovial countenance, and a fine flowing beard and hair: on either hand a subordinate. After reading prayers at some length, he gave the bridegroom a golden ring—the shining metal typifying that henceforward he should shine like the sun in his spouse's eyes; and to her one of silver, emblem of the moon, as reminding her to borrow light solely from the favour of her husband's countenance; an admonition which in this instance seemed doubly necessary. These were exchanged amidst a profusion of bowings and

crossings, the choristers, about twenty in number, dressed in the court uniform, taking up the '*Ghospodî Pomilui*,' or 'Lord have mercy on us,' in strains which seemed hardly of this earth. The priest then addressed the pale girl, whom we ascertained to be an orphan, marrying for a home, in an extempore exhortation upon the duties awaiting her, with a manner so gentle and persuasive, his full Russian flowing so harmoniously from his lips, that, though not comprehending a word, my attention was rivetted and my heart touched. The bridegroom, who stood without any discernible expression whatsoever on his countenance, received the same admonition in his turn; the priest, or pope, as they are termed in the Russian church, alternately putting on and off his high mitred cap, which, with his costly robes, gave him the air of a Jewish high-priest. This concluded, the sacrament, here taken with the elements mixed, was administered, which, besides the sacred meaning in all Christian churches, on this occasion further typifies the cup of human joy and sorrow, henceforth to be shared by a married couple. Of this each partook alternately three times, and then kissed the book on the altar. The attendants now brought forward two gilt crowns, which were received with reverence and many crossings by the priest, and two gentlemen in plain clothes advancing from the family party in which we had usurped a place, took the crowns, and the priest blessing the couple with their respective names of Auna Ivanovna and Peter Nicolaiwitch, placed the one on the man's head, and held the other over that of the girl, whose head-dress did not admit of a nearer approach. This latter, with her veil flowing from the back of her head, her long white garments and pensive looks, seemed a fair statue beneath a golden canopy; while the poor man, encumbered with candle in one hand, the perpetual necessity of crossing himself with the other, and his stupendous head gear, looked quite a ridiculous object, and vainly attempting to bow with his body, and keep his head erect, was near losing his crown several times. In this, however, lies the pith of the ceremony; so much so, that the Russian word to *marry* is literally to *crown*. This pageantry continued some time, while copious portions of the Scriptures were read, holy water strewed around, and clouds of incense flung about the pair, their saints called upon to protect them, and, lastly, a solemn invocation addressed to the Almighty to bless these his children like Abraham and Sarah, Isaac and Rebecca, Joseph and Mary, &c., to keep them like Noah in the ark, Jonas in the fish's belly, and the Hebrew captives in the fiery furnace; and, that tradition might not be omitted, to give them joy such as the Empress Helen felt on discovering the true cross. Then, taking a hand of each in his, the priest drew them, himself walking backwards, and the crown-bearers following in slow procession, three times round the altar. Now the crowns were taken off, kissed three times by bride and bridegroom, the choristers ceased, the altar disappeared, and priests and attendants, retreating backwards to the chancel end, vanished behind the screen, and all was silent in a moment.

'Here you will conclude the ceremony terminated; so at least thought we, and so perhaps did the happy couple, who seemed well nigh exhausted; but now the *ci-devant* crown-bearers seized upon the

bride, hurried her to the screen which divides off the Holy of Holies in a Russian church, where she prostrated herself three times in rapid succession before the pictures of two saints, touching the floor at each plunge audibly with her fair forehead, the exertion being so great that, but for the support of her attendants, she must have sunk. The gentleman was left to prostrate himself unassisted, which done, each kissed the picture the requisite three times. And now the bridal party advanced to congratulate—the bride's tears flowed fast—a general kissing commenced, and we sounded a rapid retreat, for, in the crowd and confusion, it seemed very immaterial on whom this superabundance of caresses might alight.

'It is only just to say, that the whole ceremony was highly impressive, so much so as quite to overbalance the admixtures of Orientalisms and traditions which pervaded it. I should also add that marriage in Russia is entirely indissoluble; that no kind of relationship within the fifth degree is permitted; two sisters may not even marry two brothers; that more than three times no one can be united in wedlock, nor even that without previous fast and penance to qualify the sin; and that a priest can never marry a second time; so that a priest's wife is as much cherished as any other good thing that cannot be replaced.'

The third week in October had been fixed for our author's quitting Petersburg; but she was unfortunately detained until she had recovered from a fever, which, sooner or later, attacks all southern-born sojourners. The pyroskaffs had now ceased plying to Reval; there were no diligences, and the distance was three hundred miles. At length the Baron S. procured her a trusty and responsible escort in a Russian courier, named Anton, who could speak, however, no language but his own. The journey began on the 19th of November, for which her English clothing was laughed at, as being mere cobwebs against the cold; it was therefore doubled and trebled; and thus equipped, this enterprising lady sallied forth into the wild waste of darkness and snow. They first reached the town of Jamburg, and were just in time to cross the river Luga in a ferry-boat. The next town they came to was Narvā, celebrated in history for the victory which Charles XII., of Sweden, gained over Peter the Great. Here our traveller experienced some difficulties and troubles, owing to the officious curiosity of her otherwise friendly hostess and her visitors, to see and entertain an English guest. They now soon enter the province of Esthonia; and, at the station-house at Loop, she happens to spy an English clock, made in Fenchurch-street, London, and discovers that the tenant himself had been in England, and could speak English. The cold, all this while, was intense, being eleven degrees below zero, of Fahrenheit. At length, after a most fatiguing and lonesome travel, she arrives at her sister's residence at Reval. There is no part, we think, of her peregrinations so calculated to excite a harrowing interest in

the reader as that of her journey from Petersburg to this place. A night-scene in a station-house, at which she stops on the route, and the moment when her courier, Anton, cries out ‘*Volki*,’ (wolves) as the carriage was traversing an open plain skirted by forests, amid the dead silence of night, are especially subjects fitted for an artist.

A few days after her arrival, the family removed into the country, and a day’s journey through a richly-wooded landscape brought them to a grand, crescent-shaped building, like the terraces in Regent’s Park. ‘The richness of the architectural ornaments—the beauty of the frescoes and painted ceilings—the polish of the many-coloured and marble-like parquêtes—the height, size, and proportion of the apartments, produced a *tout ensemble* of the utmost splendour, entirely independent of the aid of furniture.’

It appears from this lady’s account of the every day routine of families of this description, that there is no fixed hour for rising, but each individual suits his own pleasure in this respect. Breakfast is not here considered a meal; some take it standing, others smoking, and the children as often as not run off with their portion of *butterbrods* to devour it in comfort in some little niche, or wander about, in the act of mastication, from place to place. At one o’clock, an excellent, plentiful, and formal repast is served, generally preceded by what they call here *Frühstück*, or breakfast (the real breakfast on rising being simply termed *café*), which is looked upon as a herald—the dinner being in full view—to summon and encourage all the powers of relish and enjoyment. Accordingly, it consists of highly-spiced dishes, such as strong Swiss cheese, pickled fish, black pudding, and sausages, washed down with a glass of potent liqueur. The *cuisine* is German, upon a foundation of native dishes, one of which is of old-established custom, a kind of pudding made of oatmeal, and called *brei*, being the same, we suspect, with the oatmeal porridge so common in the North of England. This *brei* is sauced with an abundance of the richest cream, which indeed enters into a number of dishes, and is used with great liberality. Rye bread, slightly fermented, is of daily occurrence; white bread being considered a delicacy little inferior to cake. The mode of waiting is the same as in Germany and France; the dishes being carved at the sideboard, and carried round. Tea, at six, is a slight meal, the beverage being of the finest description; but supper is a solemn repast of several courses, when so much is eaten that it is no wonder but little appetite survives for breakfast.

Servants, of both sexes, it seems, are as numerous here as in houses of the same rank in England; the one, it is true, with rusty coat and unblackened boots, but the other neat and tidy,

generally still in their village costume. Such, we are told, is the inconvenience of these thoroughfare houses, that the servant has no other passage from her working room to the kitchen than through the whole splendid suite of drawing-rooms. Here, as in all countries in an early stage of civilization, the women labour twice as willingly and effectually as the men. We must pass over our author's description of the *schafferei*, or store-room of the baron's lady, as also a very interesting picture of the *volkstube*, or people's room.

The description of the baron's farm-buildings, such as the sheep stable, the piggeries, and the garden, green-houses, &c., is equally interesting, and may be strongly recommended to the agricultural reader. We venture to say that many of these appurtenances are on a scale of magnitude and convenience, to which our own agriculturists, with all their means and emulous zeal for cattle-breeding, can produce no parallel.

Our traveller's remarks on the characteristics of forest scenery at this season of the year, and her account of a winter's walk, when every tree was fringed, every stream stopped, and the crystal snow, lighting up into a delicate pink or pearly hue, or glistening with the brightest prismatic colours beneath the clear, low sun, reminds us of the once-celebrated Ambrose Philips's poetic '*Winter-piece at Copenhagen*,' which Sir Richard Steele inserted and praised so highly in the '*Tatler*.' The descriptive parallelism is strikingly observable in many places, not only as depicting vividly the phenomena visible during the time when—

'The face of nature's in a rich disguise,
And brightens every object to one's eyes;
And every shrub, and every blade of grass,
And every pointed thorn seems wrought in glass;'

but also as exhibiting the 'face of nature' under the effects of the thaw,—

'When, if a southern gale the region warm,
And by degrees unbind the wintry charm,
The trackless scenes disperse in fluid air,
And woods, and wilds, and thorny ways appear.'

Why Esthonia, whose Lutheran calendar has no jealous saints to regard, should continue in the old style, the neighbouring provinces of Livonia and Courland having already departed from it, it were not easy to say. For this reason Christmas and New Year's-day are not solemnized until twelve days after their reception with other nations. Christmas is here treated as including three days, each being considered alike sacred, and all attended with general hilarity and visiting. For the first of these days, being the 6th of January, *n. s.*, the lady and her friends were invited to a large assembly at the house of a neighbouring family. To prepare for a dinner-party at a residence twelve wersts re-

moved, they had to commence their evening toilette at the unusual hour of eleven in the morning.

‘By twelve o’clock we were equipped; not without considerable apprehension, however, of being too late, nor were our movements now such as attend those tardy belles of our own country, who, having no fears of frost-bites or of lethargic stupor before their eyes, skip into the carriage, and are whirled off before the door is well clapped to. Here, on the other hand, just as my foot was descending very nimbly into the sledge, I felt myself pulled back by my tender hostess, who, beneath the wools and furs of my outer habiliments, had espied a most unguarded satin shoe and silk stocking. I was now hurried back again into the warm hall, where, before I well knew what they were about, my feet were in the firm grasp of two buxom smiling Estonian handmaidens, the one pulling on a red worsted sock, the other a fur boot, and, in their hurry, reversing, and not mending the matter when they had found out the mistake, while a sweet laughing pair of eyes, gleaming from the depths of a fur collar, stood over me enjoying the joke. This necessary preamble finished, for the thermometer stood at 5° of Fahrenheit, we seated ourselves, or rather sunk into the bed of down with which the seat and floor of the sledge were spread, when men-servants and maid-servants crowded zealously round to smoothe and fold our cloaks firm about us; which done, several large loose down cushions were tumbled in, and tucked over our knees and down into every spare corner—a bear-skin drawn firm over all—and the leather finally looped tightly above. And now the coachman, a bearded Russian, with bare neck, and gray cloth coat of homespun wool, well stuffed beneath with a warm sheepskin, and indented at the ample waist with a belt of bright colours, threw one last look behind him to ascertain that his ladies were in their right place—bless him! we could not have stirred,—and a man-servant, in ponderous cloak, having mounted beside him, now gathered his round braided reins in a whole handful together, and off set the four eager horses galloping abreast, like the steeds in a Roman car. These sledges may be best understood as a slight barouche, put upon soles instead of wheels, with long transverse poles to prevent them from overturning, and stretchers of leather, like extended wings, in front to screen the traveller from the showers of snow which fly from the horses’ hoofs. It must not be supposed that sledging is here such smooth gliding work as it is generally represented; on the contrary, a succession of drifts, worn into deeper declivities and higher ascents by the continual traffic, will subject you to a bumping kind of movement, which, in spite of your feather-bed casing, is neither convenient nor agreeable. Then suddenly the sledge declines a fathom deep on one side, and out flies the coachman’s or footman’s leg to act as an additional prop, and you lie comfortably cradled upon your half-suffocated companion, when, with a loud jingle of all four horses, the sledge is jerked out of the hole, and the traveller once more stuck upright. And then, perhaps, when the track becomes narrower, the outer horses are driven into the loose deep snow, and one of them tumbles over head and ears into an invisible ditch, whence, his long traces giving him perfect liberty, he clammers out

again unassisted, shakes the snow from his sides, and snorts and stamps with the utmost impatience to be off again. The two centre *deichsel pferde*, or pole-horses, are fastened firmer, and the middle of the track being always the best, the most spirited of the baron's stables are generally placed here, while the side horses take the luck of the road, jumping over loose drifts, or picking their way with their delicate feet over any road-side encumbrance, and, with their graceful necks and gleaming eyes at full liberty, are never frightened, and never at a loss to extricate themselves from any difficulty. Hedges and walls are the destruction of sledging roads; wherever there is a barrier, there the snow collects, and a line of battered fence, here the usual partition, will ruin the track—sunken ditches are the only mode of divisions advisable for snow countries. The intelligence of the coachman is no less surprising than that of his horses; regardless of the summer line of road, he steers straight over bank, river, and morass, for his object, and like a bird of passage, seldom misses the mark. Thus it is that in the dull long season of winter, when friends are most wanted, they are here brought closest together; for the same morass which in summer is circumnavigated by a drive of twenty wersts, may in winter be crossed by one of half an hour's duration.

Every Esthonian peasant occupies a certain portion of land, some more, some less. Every estate is parcelled out, the proprietor having a considerable portion under his own management; the rest being divided among the peasants, who, from time immemorial, have belonged to the land, and, till within the last few years, in the condition of serfs. The same fields, therefore, for which they formerly paid rent, limited only by the will of the *herr*, or lord, they now hold upon a tenure fixed by law. It appears from this lady's statement, and indeed it has been stated by other authorities, that the act of enfranchisement in Esthonia has not as yet been productive of the advantages which might have been expected. In reference to this it may be urged, that the blessing of freedom was bestowed on the Esthonian peasant before he was in a condition to understand its import, though truly such a privilege is better given to a people too early than wrested by them too late; and besides, a state of freedom is that alone in which any class of human beings can ever arrive at the experimental knowledge and appreciation of its benefits. The emancipation of the peasants from their state of serfdom was long a favourite object with the Emperor Alexander; and it redounds to the credit of the provinces of Esthonia, Livonia, and Courland, that they were the first in the empire to coalesce with the late czar by enfranchising their peasantry, for the execution of which, however, though the act passed in Alexander's lifetime (and he died in 1825), the ukase did not issue until 1828, under the present sovereign.

'One characteristic consequence of this emancipation,' says our author, —and the passage may tend to throw some light on the

origin of surnames in general,—‘was the adoption of family names by the peasants, who hitherto, like the Russian serf, had been designated only by his own and his father’s baptismal appellatives. This accession of dignity was conferred only a few years back, when it cost the lord and lady no little trouble and invention to hunt up the requisite number and variety of names for the tenants of their estates. The gentleman took the dictionary, the lady, Walter Scott, for reference—with us it would have been the Bible—and homely German words were given, or old Scottish names revived, which may one day perplex a genealogist. The worst of it was, these poor creatures were very difficult to please, and many a young man who went away happy with his new family distinction returned the next day with a sheepish look, owning that his lady had put him out of conceit of it, and that he would trouble the *erra* (the Estonian corruption of *herr*) to provide him with another, not seldom ending by begging leave to adopt the aristocratic, unsullied, sixteen or thirty-two quartered name of the count or baron under whom he served. But, however liberal of his neighbours’ names, the Estonian noble is in no hurry to bestow his own; far from running the risk of such vile identity, he does not even allow the peasant the same national appellation which countrymen of the same soil, whether high or low, generally wear alike. The aristocrat is an *Esthländer*,* the peasant an *Esthe*.* The noble’s wife is a *frau*, the peasant’s a *wieb*, and any transposition of these terms would be deemed highly insulting.’

Our traveller visited the village church, a few miles distant from her superb dwelling, and the scene she witnessed is so peculiar, and so well described, that we must be excused another extract.

‘Here we found the peasant’s sledges standing in double rows as thick along the road as the carriages before the Opera-house at a morning concert; and, entering through a dense crowd, smelling strongly of their sheep-skin habiliments and the smoky atmosphere in which they live, we mounted a gallery to a pew reserved for the family, whence we looked down upon a platform of human heads of every variety of rich blondes and browns; blacks there were but few, and grays none at all; though of wrinkles, failing limbs, and other signs of age, there was a premature profusion. The service, which was in Estonian, had commenced; and, after the first careless wonder with which you listen to a new language subsided, my eyes busied themselves with what was around them.

‘The men were all on one side, their long hair, untouched by scissars since their birth, divided down the centre of the head, and flowing on their shoulders; the women on the other, with high helmet-shaped caps of every variety of bright colour, their gay ribbons and bright locks streaming promiscuously from beneath; or sometimes all this lowly vanity covered with a white handkerchief, which, disposed in a

* The orthography of these words shews that, for our previous remark as to the propriety of writing *Esthonia*, and not *Estonia*, we have, among others, even the lady’s own authority.

band across the forehead, and falling in ample folds down the cheeks, ennobled many a homely set of features. Beauty there was but little; here and there a young rosy cheek and bright eye shot through the crowd, but the generality were plain rather than ugly. The first impression on the mind of this dense crowd of attentive poor was almost painful. Our Saviour's audience were only the poor; and amongst the silent, listening throng who stood, each leaning with clasped hands upon his foremost neighbour's shoulder—here and there a child held aloft above the crush of limbs—while a row of sick and decrepit beings, ugly, abject, yet venerable, lying on mattresses in every picturesque form, occupied the centre, and Hebrew-dressed heads and apostolic countenances crowded around—you missed only the Divine aspect from this ready-made and most touching picture. The women were chiefly in sheepskins or wolfskins, with gay bands round their waists, the men in the same, or in a coarse brown cloth, with rows of silver buttons down the breast. The scene was enlivened by the presence of a bride, in other words a *fiancée*, who, at the publication of her bans, has the enviable privilege of appearing before the public in every rag and ribbon which it ever entered the head of any Estonian Madge Wildfire to desire, being literally loaded with all the ribbons, handkerchiefs, and petticoats, which herself or her neighbours can muster; only the outer edge of each, in the insolence of her wealth, being visible, till the bride looks like the walking pattern-book of the *kirchspiel*, or parish, and the admiring swain views at one glance both his companion and her wardrobe for life. But the head is more particularly the centre of attraction, the helmet-shaped cap on these occasions being stuck full of flowers, ribbons, scraps of tailors' cabbage, peacocks' feathers, and, in short, all the sweepings of the baron's mansion, like an over-garnished shape of blancmange; while the young lady, oppressed alike by her feelings and her finery, keeps every tag in perpetual quiver, and hardly dares to lift up her heated countenance from her panoply of garments.

'The service, to our ideas, was by no means impressive, being little more than a succession of monotonous psalm-singing in a minor key, sustained by the congregation, after which the clergyman, a spare-looking gentleman with a very long nose, and I should be inclined to think, a very cold one,—for the churches are not heated, and the thermometer kept its average of 10° of Fahrenheit,—delivered a sermon, leaning with Knox-like energy over the edge of the pulpit, and at the full stretch of his voice; for the congregation, who otherwise were devotion itself, and would not have disturbed him by a whisper, took no account of coughs, sneezes, blowing noses without the aid of pocket-handkerchiefs, and other little noises, including now and then a stout squall from a baby, and as loud a hush from the mother, till the preacher's voice was sometimes drowned. The church itself was a heavy, ancient building, with simply groined roof, gay bedizened altar, and whitewashed wall behung with tin urns and armorial bearings. Before the conclusion of the sermon a contribution was levied, with long pole and bag at end, as elsewhere, into which kopecks of all weights and sizes tumbled; upon which the clergyman retreated to the

altar, and facing the audience, chanted a few sentences in a high key. This was the signal for dismissal; the solid mass stirred, and broke up into hundreds of fragments; the reeking church was abandoned; each recognised his own little sledge and horse among multitudes which seemed cast in the same mould; poles stuck, rope-reins entangled, bells jingled, and voices scolded and laughed alternately; and in five minutes the whole congregation were scouring away across the country.'

The Lutheran clergymen are barely kept on what an Englishman would call a respectable footing. They are paid in kind by the landholders and the peasants, though in neither case to above a fiftieth of the produce of their lands. He has also an allotment of glebe-land. For a marriage in the upper classes, he receives fifty roubles; for administering the sacrament, twenty-five, while the peasants bring their fifty copecks. In all respects the pastor's life is no sinecure. He has to attend the call of his poor parishioners, scattered frequently over a circumference of a hundred wersts,* while twice in the year all the boys and girls in the parish assemble for three weeks under his roof, to be instructed and examined previous to confirmation. The clergymen, of whom there is only one order, are here ordained by three fellow pastors, the livings being in the gift of the landed proprietors of the *kirchspiel*, before whom, as in the case of some English dissenters, the various candidates preach for preference, and are elected accordingly.

In ancient times the Esthonians worshipped almost as many gods as there were objects in nature and aims in life; at the same time they had a superior and invisible deity, called *Jummal*, whose name was transferred to the God of Christianity, and has descended to the present day. The primeval attempts to win them over from idolatry were accompanied with acts of the greatest selfishness and cruelty. The Danes were the principal perpetrators of these atrocities, who, at length, in spite of much opposition, established their power, and the Esthonians were obliged to submit to the yoke of several Roman-catholic bishops; and the whole catalogue of extortion, rapacity, and crime of the papal dominion, was here seen in stronger colours, from the utter want of civilization. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that the Esthonians made no progress in religious knowledge, being very alert in purchasing indulgences at small prices, but in secret returning to the gods of their forefathers by many a secluded rock or lonely lake.

Meanwhile time was advancing, and as early as 1524 the new doctrines of Luther began to be known, and they spread rapidly among the lower orders; not, however, from any conviction of the

* A Russian werst is a little more than three-quarters of an English mile.

superiority of this new form of worship, but from an utter and constantly maintained indifference to the old, and an apathy to all inquiry, arising from their helpless state of servitude. The change, however, did not benefit the poor serfs; they soon discovered that the old enemy had only returned under a new face: religious instruction was as far from them as ever. Meanwhile alternate civil war and pestilence drove even these pastors from their abodes, and the serf's condition was more miserable than ever. Luther, it is true, sent a pastor to Reval, with a letter of recommendation written by himself and Melancthon, which still exists in the church archives; but Reval was a distinct colony, and had no influence beyond its walls. So late as 1654 some peasants endeavoured to revive the worship of their ancient deities; and their old pagan sabbath, the Thursday, is still held holy by many. In short, it was not until Esthonia was safely gathered under the Russian sceptre that there was any regular succession of church ministry; since when, the establishment, such as it is, has been maintained in outward peace and order, the peasants have been instructed, and are become the zealous church-goers which the above extract represents them.

We had intended to have touched upon several more of the topics contained in these interesting volumes, more particularly on the social and domestic peculiarities of the Esthonians, but our limits warn us to desist. There are in the book a few opinions and averments which might, indeed, furnish matter for controversy, but we have neither space nor desire at the present moment to enter upon it,* so gratified have we been with the general spirit and tenour of the work, and with no part of it do our own sentiments better accord than with the statements, as they incidentally arise (for we are assured of their truth), of the whole train of facts, arguments, and observations, which lead the gifted writer to close her performance with the announcement of her reluctant conviction, that, 'at this present time, Russia is the country where the learned man wastes his time, the patriot breaks his heart, and the rogue prospers.'

* We think the *getting up* of the work would have been improved had the writer condescended to favour the reader with a sight of the various likenesses and sketches, which she mentions as having taken of different individuals and scenes: for instance, of the handsome peasant, described in the ninth Letter, whose physiognomy and costume were taken to represent his class; of the interesting and beautiful Jewess, portrayed in Letter thirteenth; the sketch of Castle Lode; and of a subject in a *krug* at the *Fleck Leal*, mentioned in Letter sixteenth, &c. &c.

Art. III. *Historical Memorials relating to the Independents or Congregationalists: from their Rise to the Restoration of the Monarchy, 1660.* Benjamin Hanbury. Vol. II. London: Fisher and Co.

THE struggles of the early Independents, though admitted by all competent and impartial historians to have exercised a most important influence upon the constitution and liberties of England, are to this hour scarcely known to the British public, and but ill appreciated even by those who have succeeded to their principles. If Lord Bolingbroke's apothegm 'that history is philosophy teaching by example' be worth anything, then this portion of her instructions has been long and grossly disregarded by her pupils. If the constitution, which is so applauded by all parties, owes its chief excellences to the principles and the courage, the constancy and the martyr-spirit of the little band of patriots, who, single-handed amidst confederated hosts of bigots and tyrants, achieved our liberties,—then let posterity, basking under their vines and fig-trees, none daring to make them afraid, count it no indignity to listen to the unpretending narrative of their conflicts and their sufferings.

The Reformation was forced on by the unbearable oppressions and abominations of pretenders to a patent Christianity, and the doctrines of Independency were but the legitimate issues of that inquiry which the Reformation broached and justified. The reformers said to the papists, 'We appeal unto Cæsar;' but when the thorough Reformers, in their turn, said, 'To Cæsar shalt thou go,' they recalled their appeal, and wished to stop short at the church. The argument was tough and noisy among both divines and statesmen. It extended through many tedious years, and became implicated with secular politics. Power in the state, and authority in the church, were exerted to the uttermost to silence the cry for liberty of conscience, to repress the unrestrained exercise of public worship, and to curtail the licence to act out the precepts of that holy volume which the Reformation had made free to all. This public liberty to use the book seemed essential to complete the boon which the state had conferred. But the church, which had been from the first jealous of this enfranchisement of the sacred volume, and only yielded to it from dire necessity, resisted to the last the enfranchisement of human nature, with the independent right to hear, and conscientiously obey, the heavenly voice. Long indeed, and desperately, did the ecclesiastical council maintain its iron yoke, and heart-rending is the tale of the cruelties it inflicted on many of the noble assertors of human rights. Yet nothing could subdue the courage nor exhaust the patience of the high-minded men, who said, 'You have given us the Bible, give us the liberty to use it;' for surely it was no boon, but a cruel mockery, to

possess the former and be denied the latter. In this protracted and memorable struggle, not for their own party but for mankind, the Independents were the leaders. What they accomplished remains, and is now the universal boast of Englishmen—the glory of our constitution—never, we trust, to be tarnished by any retrograde movement.

The wonder is, that the Independents, at that period inconsiderable as a religious body, should have been able to work out so clearly the doctrine of religious liberty for themselves, and that, in defiance of all the formidable powers arrayed against it, they should have worked it so effectually into the heart of the constitution, and even into the heart of the people, that neither Church nor State, nor both of them combined, have ever been able to work it out again, though repeated and unwearied attempts, open and covert, have not been wanting to this end.

The entire history of the growth of religious liberty in this country is peculiar and intensely interesting, not only in its relation to human nature and religion, but in its bearing upon our national character, our secular prosperity, and the pre-eminent rank and influence our country has attained among the nations of the earth.

The period from the full establishment of Protestantism down to the enthronement of the house of Brunswick is altogether one of the most remarkable, not only in our own history, but in that of any European nation. It presents to view, first, the fact of a nation asserting and effecting its own religious freedom as against a universally dominant, and dogmatizing, and persecuting church, and then refusing to concede to each of its subjects severally what it had achieved for the whole collectively; which was essentially only casting off a foreign yoke to impose a domestic one, scarcely one whit easier or lighter; secondly, it presents the unnatural anomaly of the two great sections of the Protestant family—the Episcopalians and the Presbyterians—the former possessing the southern and larger portion of the empire, and the latter holding nearly undisturbed possession of the northern portion, struggling to the death for the sovereignty over each other, and for the extinction of their respective systems, which was neither more nor less than attempting to re-establish the Popery they had all conspired to overthrow; and, thirdly, we have the extraordinary, the splendid fact of a handful of men coming in between these contending parties, and so managing their reasonings, so timing their movements, and watching the conjunctures, as to disarm both the other bodies of their power, and permanently imparting to our constitution a spirit of tolerance and of liberty, which has been gradually working improvement, till it has nearly exterminated every trace of ecclesiastical oppression and intolerance. When we

say *nearly*, our readers will understand that, though we admit the growth of religious liberty to have been great and glorious, we by no means intend to intimate that it is complete, nor can we ever do so while any one party of religionists can commit the moral wrong, the religious outrage, of taxing all others for their own spiritual benefit, nor while the state guarantees advantages to one sect which it denies to others. Yet, in comparison with the condition of nonconformists under the first establishment of Protestantism in this realm, we may say that almost every shackle is broken, and that those which remain must finally yield to advancing knowledge and improvement.

There is one fact respecting the history of Independency, and another fact respecting Episcopalianism, which we recommend our readers to notice. Concerning Independency, as a system of church government most extensively upheld, we beg to state that it has nearly superseded Presbyterianism, which was once powerful in England, next to the Establishment. There are Scottish Presbyterians resident in England who maintain the church government of their mother country, and, of course, these we except; but there is no such thing as English Presbyterianism, signifying by that term a specific platform of ecclesiastical polity, remaining in England. Those few skeletons which hypocritically assume the garb and wear the superscription of presbytery, are, for the most part, as independent of exterior church government as Independency itself. The Independents, if we include in that term the Baptists, who are identical with those who conventionally inherit the name in everything but the rite of baptism, have been steadily and gradually increasing from their rise to the present day, and are now more numerous and more efficient than at any former period. Portions of their creed are creeping into other bodies, and even the Puseyites are so far Independents that they teach the essential independency of the church, though they never have sanctioned, and certainly never will sanction, by their writings, that definition of a church given in the Nineteenth Article, 'A congregation of faithful (believing) men;' yet, be it observed, they have solemnly sworn they believe it.

Independency of the Christian church in reference both to the state, and to all other Christian associations, in the important matter of government and administration, is demonstrably the doctrine of the New Testament, and confessedly the practice of the earliest, that is, the apostolic Christians. We know not the historian, ecclesiastical or secular, that has denied it; all the most celebrated, including even the earliest Fathers, have expressly stated the fact.

Independency, therefore, viewed in its history in this country, is but an attempt to revive the primitive discipline; it is as old

as the apostolic age, and as secure in its foundations as Christianity itself. Its history, since its revival, shews that it has been as benignant in its influence upon society, the nation, and humanity, as salutary to the church and the world. It has had a hard struggle to maintain, like the gospel itself, against the pride, worldliness, and ambition of ecclesiastics, on the one side; and, on the other, against the indifference, acquiescence, and succumbency of the professedly religious community; and it now has before it, probably, a no less arduous struggle against the reviving spirit of the papacy and the threatening attitude of the hierarchy. If it has not a second time to achieve, it will certainly have to defend, the dearest rights of humanity, and the most precious truths of the gospel, against that antichrist which has already grown to giant might in the Established Church. May the Independents of the present and coming generation prove themselves no unworthy sons and successors to those patriots whose deeds of glory and heroism the volume before us records. It is becoming increasingly manifest that the burden of maintaining consistent and unflinching Protestantism, as at the first, so now again, must rest with the men who, like youthful David, may be despised in their father's house, and by all their brethren, but to whom the Lord of hosts may, notwithstanding, decree the honour of delivering Israel by those simple weapons, the sling and the smooth stones from the brook, which the antichristian Goliath may affect to despise. Those who can use the Bible skilfully have little cause to fear either the Puseyites or the Pope. And if all the Church of England clergy should become openly, what many of them have long been covertly, unquestionable Papists, the cause of the gospel will advance without them, while they will the more evidently identify themselves with that old apostasy which 'the Lord will destroy by the breath of his mouth, and consume with the brightness of his coming.'

But the second fact which we have to recommend to the attention of our readers relates to Episcopalianism. Ever since its establishment in these realms, it has been intolerant, uniformly and incurably intolerant; an enemy to every extension of religious liberty; a friend to arbitrary power, except when itself was threatened, and then it never hesitated to lift its crest above the crown. As an ecclesiastical body, it possessed, at first, great and dangerous power, which, as long as it was able, it exerted against all who refused submission to its dogmas. Most happily, its teeth have been extracted one by one; but its intolerant disposition remains unchanged, and will continue to be so as long as it is permitted to wield the sceptre and enrich itself with the treasures of this world. It has never been friendly to human liberty; has never originated a single generous measure for the

enfranchisement of British subjects, with that liberty of conscience which genuine Protestantism asserts, and without which accountableness is impossible. It has aped, from first to last, the tyrannical domination of the papacy; carried itself with the airs of a pope towards all its brethren of the Reformation, and that it has not continued to enact the bloody tragedies of the papacy to the present time, as it began in its youthful days, has been owing to the progress of dissent, and the gradual influence of tolerant principles in the legislature. The insufferable arrogance, the ridiculous assumptions, and the absurd pretensions to exclusiveness, long the characteristics of a large portion of this Protestant hierarchy, but only now and then made prominent, as in gala days, and before large clerical assemblies, are become in these times the most conspicuous attributes of the clergy *en masse*.

The measureless absurdity of a Protestant church, whose very foundation is dissent—the right to think and to interpret for themselves, in defiance of the clear authority of the church out of which they came—the prodigious solecism of at once claiming for themselves what they deny to Rome, and of refusing to dissenters from their church the same right as she exercised in casting off the yoke of the oppressor, one would think must inevitably make them smile in one another's faces, when they cast aside their robes of office, and meet in friendly association to talk over their genealogy from St. Peter, their exclusive commission from heaven, and their sacramental grace. But they might enjoy the comfortable and convenient legend of the church-nursery, undisturbed by us, were it not that these are the very doctrines that endanger, first, the liberties of the nation; and, secondly, the souls of the people.

Ecclesiastical assumptions uniformly tend to arbitrary power; and the entire history of the church of England proves it. Hence issues an imperious call upon the public for vigilance at the present moment. With a church corrupted to its very core by the popish dogmas, denying the right of private judgment and of individual conscience, claiming the exclusive charter of heaven for *their* church, *their* worship, and *their* sacraments, and consigning their brother Protestants to uncovenanted mercy, which, so far as we can understand the phrase, is intended to signify hopeless damnation, and with a government not the most enlightened and liberal England ever enjoyed, with an aristocracy blindly devoted to *one church*, and yet as ignorant of its real character as Hottentots, and, finally, with a House of Commons become the mere appendage to the lords of the soil, what may not be attempted? Let all our readers who may have seen them, remember the awful, the gratuitous CURSES which a clerical member of Oxford has recently published, in the name of his church, against all English, Scotch, and Irish—yea, and foreign, dis-

sentiments from the Church of England; let this, with a thousand other auguries, stand as an index to the spirits of the men whose principles are spreading with the velocity of railroads almost into every village church, and which are to be heard nearly in every sermon delivered in Church of England pulpits, and then let an anticipation be formed of the probable issue of these things.

To what do the present aspects in Church and State point but to ecclesiastical domination and arbitrary power? That the people of England will ever yield their hard-earned liberties either to tyrants in the State or tyrants in the Church, we do not believe; but that strenuous attempts will be made, and are already designed, there can be no doubt. Liberty of conscience and private judgment are openly denounced on every side by the clergy; not the will to curb dissenting worship is wanting, but the opportunity and the power. The men who decry such liberty as schism, and such dissent as sin, would feel no scruple of conscience in calling for the aid of the civil power to enable them to destroy it at a blow, and, doubtless, there are hereditary legislators who would gladly concede it. There is, then, abundant reason for arousing the friends of liberty of all denominations. A determined combination of all the advocates of freedom of conscience and of the gospel was never more loudly and urgently demanded than at the present moment. The Church of England, long kept at bay by the fetters of the State on the one hand, and the growth of dissenting principles on the other, has now wrought itself up to a spirit of daring and desperation; its eye looks up to a pinnacle of tyranny and domination; and the public safety requires, as in the case of all maniacs, that suitable restraints should forthwith be employed. The cry has long been sounded forth 'The church is in danger;' but surely now there is cause enough to shout through the land, with the voice of an archangel, 'The people are in danger!' Englishmen, look to your liberty of conscience and freedom of worship, and enfranchised Bibles; for the Church of England has adopted the sliding scale, and while she is sliding back to Rome take good heed to yourselves and your children! Hold fast your liberty wherewith Christ has made you free; be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage, which the Independents of former ages broke from off your necks; suffer not all the hierarchies and churches upon earth to deliver you up again to *star chambers, high commissions, and ecclesiastical courts.*

But we must terminate these remarks which, though not unseasonable, may run to inconvenient length. Our subject is the History, or rather Memorials for a History of the Independents. The subject is implicated with the church history of our country, from the rise of the Reformation to the present day. It is even remarkable, that the germs of Independency are to be found in Wicliffe, and most of the precursors of the Reformation. The

entire history of the principle has yet to be written. Mr. Hanbury's work, of which the present forms the second volume, to be followed and completed by a third, is one of prodigious research and labour. The indefatigable industry, patient examination, and careful analysis of innumerable works of controversial theology, displayed by this author, place him in the very first rank of collectors; while the species of running notes and comments, in the character of expletives and conjunctions, serve not merely the purpose of directing attention to the chief points of argument, but shew the critical acumen and analytical powers of the author. He seems to be equally at home and at ease in every part of the dusty road of ecclesiastical controversy; he has wormed his way not only into, but literally through and through, we might almost say, every existing pamphlet, volume, and tract, and many which probably few persons had ever heard of, and no one but himself has ever read, belonging to that most prolific age of authors and controvertists. He has selected the most important passages from writers on both sides, and shews becoming ardour and fairness in admitting either defects in argument or breaches of Christian charity and good temper by his own party. From the very nature of the work, as a continuous exhibition of a long and keen controversy upon church government and toleration, it is not easy to find extracts suitable to our pages. The following portion of the controversy between Heylyn and Burton will perhaps amuse and instruct our readers. It will be observed that Heylyn was Abp. Laud's journeyman, employed to write up the highest church principles, to defend arbitrary power, and to write down dissenters of every class. Burton was the bold and uncompromising assailant of tyranny in all its forms, and the generous defender of human rights, in the vindication of which, he braved all the severities of persecution.

‘Your first exception is against the oath *ex officio*.’ Heylyn's defence of this oath, borrowed chiefly from Dr. Cosin, as he acknowledges, we are relieved, happily, from introducing. We insert only this passage, ‘In such cases (causes) as principally do concern the high commission, it hath not been thought fit to admit counsel for drawing up an answer unto the articles objected; the better to avoid delays, and that foul palliating of schisms and errors, which might thence arise.’ We are indebted to Heylyn for letting out the secret from its prison-house; but it is our happiness to be able to show, beyond cavil, that the men who, like Burton, and ‘some that had,’ what Heylyn calls, ‘as evil will to the church as he, in Queen Elizabeth's time,’ have proved themselves to be some of Britain's best champions for constitutional liberty; which the celebrated exponent of ‘The Laws of England’ (Blackstone) thus certifies: ‘The caonical doctrines of purgation, whereby the parties were obliged to answer upon oath to any matter, however criminal, that might be objected against them, though long ago overruled in the court of Chancery,

the genius of English law having broke through the bondage imposed on it by its clerical chancellors, and asserted the doctrines of judicial as well as civil liberty, continued to the middle of the last century to be upheld by the spiritual courts, when the legislative was obliged to interpose to teach them a lesson of similar moderation.' This historical testimonial releases us also from noticing correlate 'exceptions,' slurred over or quibbled at by Heylyn; who finishes this, his first chapter, occupied chiefly upon Burton's Apology, 'wherein is nothing to be found but poor surmises;' and yet, notwithstanding this unprofitable labour, Heylyn tells Burton, 'I am resolved to dissect you thoroughly, and lay you open to the world, which hath so long been seduced by you!' How the vaunting anatomist succeeded will be shown.

'Hitherto it should seem that Heylyn has been wasting his labour; for, continuing to follow his calling, as in duty bound, he commences his second chapter, with a sentence of *depravation*, 'declining' from an 'apology' that was *full of weakness*, unto a 'sermon, or rather a Pasquil, far more full of wickedness!' After exhibiting various coruscations of a heated imagination, and having warned Burton of that 'calamity' which 'is now like to fall upon him,'—'Now,' exclaims Heylyn, 'for the *method* of your sermon, I mean to call it so no more, though you observe no method in it!' The passages 'therein, either of scandal or sedition, I shall reduce,' so he goes on, 'especially unto these two heads, those which reflect upon the King's Most Excellent Majesty, and those that strike directly against the Bishops:—

'First for the king; you may remember what I told you was the Puritan tenet; that kings are but the ministers of the commonwealth, and that they have no more authority than what is given them by the people. This, though you do not say expressly, and *in terminis*, yet you come very near to it, to a tautamout, finding great fault with that *unlimited power* which some give to kings; and also with that *absolute obedience* which is exacted of the subject. . . . Finally, you reckon it among the 'innovations' wherewith you charge the prelates, in point of doctrine, that they have laboured to make a change in the doctrine of obedience to superiors; setting man so in God's throne, that all obedience to man must be absolute, without regard to God and conscience, whose only rule is the word of God.'

'Now, sir, I pray you, what are you, or by what spirit are you guided, that you should find yourself aggrieved at 'unlimited power,' which some of better understanding than yourself have given to kings? or (that you should) think it any 'innovation' in point of doctrine, in case the doctrine of obedience to our superiors be pressed more home of late than it hath been formerly?'

'Your 'reprehension' is of those that so advance man's ordinances and commandments, as though they be contrary to God's law and the fundamental laws of the state, yet press men to obedience to them; your instance is of one which was shrewdly threatened . . . for refusing to do that which was not agreeable' to the word of God, namely, for refusing 'to read the Book for Sports.' . . . So, then, the case is this: the king permits his people honest recreations on the Lord's day, according as had been accustomed, till you and your accomplices

had cried it down, with orders to the bishops to see his 'declaration published in the churches of their several dioceses respectively.' This 'publication' you conceive to be repugnant to God's word, though none but a few factious spirits so conceived it, and that your doctrine of the Sabbath be contrary to all antiquity and modern churches; and, therefore, by your rule, they do very well that refuse to publish it. It is true, indeed, in all things that are directly contrary to the law of God, and such as carry in them a plain and manifest impiety, there is no question to be made but it is better 'to obey God' than man; but, when the matter chiefly resteth either in misapplying or misunderstanding the word of God—a fault too incident to ignorant and unstable men, and to none more than to your disciples, and their teachers, too,—or that the word of God be made a *property*, like the Pharisees' corban, to justify your disobedience unto kings and princes; your rule is then as false as your action (is) faulty.

“ Since you are so much grieved at the ‘unlimited power,’ as you please to call it, which some give to kings, will you be pleased to know that kings do hold their crowns by no other tenure than *Dei gratia*; and that whatever power they have, they have from God, by whom ‘kings reign, and princes decree justice.’

“ But you go further yet, and tell us of some things the king cannot do; and, that there is a power which the king hath not. What is it, say you, that the king cannot do? Marry! you say he cannot institute new rites and ceremonies with the advice of his commissioners ecclesiastical, or the metropolitan, according as some ‘plead’ from the Act of Parliament before the Communion Book! Why so? Ah, say we too, Why so! And now let the reader see wherein lies not accordance, but *disaccordance*, between Heylyn's statement and Burton's. Having shown ‘wherein the Prelates’ endanger a division between the king and his subjects, Burton asks, ‘But upon what grounds is all this? What authority do they show for these outrages? The King! That is answered before, by his solemn protestations to the contrary. But they *plead* the Act of Parliament for Uniformity, before the Communion Book, wherein is reserved a power to the queen, ‘with advice of her commissioner, or of the metropolitan, to ordain and publish further ceremonies or rites as may be most for the advancement of God's glory, the edifying of his church, and the due reverence of Christ's holy mysteries and sacraments.’ Hereupon they ground all their innovations. But, for this; first, observe that this clause of the Act is limited to Queen Elizabeth, and not extended to her successors of the crown; they are still expressed.’ A fairer specimen of priestcraft for shifting an odium from the shoulders of the ‘holy hierarchy’ upon the king's, than that presented by Burton, cannot be expected to be produced. His charge is, that the prelates have availed themselves of a defunct statutable authority to cover their innovations beneath the king's name; although, as he shows, the king cannot exercise any authority derivable from that statute; thus leaving the force of his argument against the prelates, augmented by a proof of the illegality of their doings.

“ Heylyn labours again, in his third chapter particularly, to turn the brunt of Burton's argument from the bishops upon the king: argu-

ing still that everything done in the king's name, was rather the act of those about him and under him. For a dexterous way of evading a point, and a determination that the scandal of this Book of Sports should lie upon King James, although it was drawn up by Bishop Morton, mark Heylyn's 'sounding brass,' where he tells Burton, 'You lay a scandal on the dead who are now laid to sleep in the bed of peace, and tell us of that prince of blessed memory, King James, that the said Book of Sports 'was procured, compiled, and published in the time of his progress into Scotland, when he was more than ordinarily merrily disposed.' When he was 'more than ordinarily merrily disposed!' Good Sir, your meaning? Dare you conceive a base and disloyal thought, and not speak it out; for all that 'παρρησία' which you so commend against kings and princes? Leave you so fair a face with so foul a scar; and make that peerless prince, whom you and yours did blast with daily libels when he was alive, the object of your puritanical—ay, and *uncharitable* scoffs, now he is deceased? Unworthy wretch! whose greatest and most pure devotion had never so much heaven in it as his greatest mirth! Sage and disinterested reproof, from the pen of a chaplain to two monarchs, and to an archbishop to boot!—pp. 6—9.

The great excellence of these Memorials is that they afford the reader a thorough insight into the controversies of the time, presenting the analysis of many a keen and sturdy encounter, nearly in the words of the respective authors. We thus seem to live among the men who led the several parties, and to become familiar with their productions. We perceive the manœuvres and the weapons by which the most important battles for religious liberty were lost or won. We become acquainted with controversies which agitated a whole nation, made statesmen tremble in their closets, and kings totter on their thrones.

No part of this interesting volume is more valuable than that which comprises the History of the Westminster Assembly of Divines. The conduct of the Scottish commissioners, and of Baillic in particular, as narrow bigots and persecutors, is fully elucidated, while the struggles of the few Independents in that assembly, and of their friends out of doors, for a toleration not of themselves alone but of all others, elevates them to the first rank of patriots and Christians. The work altogether is a monument of patient, diligent, and philanthropic research. It will prove of immense service to future historians of British Protestantism, if they will avail themselves of it. By a few days' reading in these Memorials they would gain the results of months, yea, of years, devoted to toilsome inquiry in ransacking libraries and reading innumerable pamphlets.

Every dissenter ought to patronize Mr. Hanbury's 'Memorials' and make himself familiar with their contents. We have not yet done with the controversies which they describe. It is becoming every day more evident that the race of the Lauds, Mortons, and Heylyns is not extinct; and had we such another

Solomon on the throne as James I., we would not venture to predict how soon another 'Book of Sports,' or the old one, might be read from the pulpits of the churches under episcopal sanction and with a royal declaration. But—and there we must end—God has other designs to develop in our age.

Art. IV. *Notes of a Half-pay, in search of Health: or, Russia, Circassia, and the Crimea, in 1839-40.* By Captain Jesse. 2 vols. London. Madden and Co.

IN his introductory chapter Captain Jesse informs us, that at the early age of sixteen he found himself at the mess table of a regiment in India. The habits contracted in such an association, added to snipe-shooting under a meridian sun, brought on the very natural results of fever and other maladies, which sent him home to England, a confirmed dyspeptic, at the end of six years. Various remedies were employed with the hope of regaining the health which had been so seriously impaired, but without effect; until at length, almost in despair, he consulted a London physician, whose work on change of air and climate had attracted his attention. 'My good sir,' said the physician, after listening to a lengthened detail of his ailments, 'throw physic to the dogs, and amuse yourself by travelling.' The advice was immediately taken, and hence originated the tour, to a description of which the volumes before us are devoted. Proceeding to Rotterdam, accompanied by his lady, Captain Jesse visited Switzerland, the climate of which, proving too variable for his state of health, he hastened to the more genial atmosphere of Italy, by the valley of Ticino. Thence he sailed for Corfu, whence he visited Athens and other Greek towns. Of this part of his tour he gives only a very rapid sketch, but the general impression received of the state of the Greek nation is far from being favourable to the government of Otho. The foreign predilections of this monarch operate most injuriously on the consolidation and advancement of his new kingdom. 'During my six weeks' residence in Athens,' remarks our author, 'I soon found that the gallant survivors of that contest which again made Greece a nation, were not only neglected, but treated with contumely and injustice.' Almost all the best appointments are represented as held by Bavarians, whose single object appears to be the accumulation of sufficient property to enable them speedily to return to Munich. From Greece our author proceeded to Constantinople, the unnoticed beauties of which are said to be sufficient 'to furnish themes for a whole regiment of poets.' From the City of the Sultan our author sailed for Odessa, where he began to experience the innumerable vexations which arise from the suspicious vigilance and filthy

habits of the Russians. Crammed into a small room, with numerous Russians, Jews, Tartars, and others, he was subjected to all the annoyances which are inevitable in such a position. His rank as an English officer, so far from affording him protection, seems only to have increased the impertinent curiosity of his examiners. 'Pray, sir, what do you, a British officer, want in Russia?' 'Sir, as you are an Englishman, why have you a Dutch passport?' These, and similar questions, were sufficiently annoying, but the following requisition taxed our author's patience to the utmost:—

'The crew performed their spoglia at the Health Office, and were stripped altogether! The passengers, reserved for a later exhibition, were ordered off to the Lazaret, on the summit of the hill, preceded by an old pensioner, with a piratical flag; the rear being closed by another with a similar one. The room in which the male portion of the party performed, was damp, and furnished only with a table and a few wooden benches. I was one of the last called, and on entering the apartment, found, to my great surprise, not only the doctor, but the director of the establishment, his clerk, and several soldiers. I ventured to object to this public display of my person, but was informed that such was the regulation, and the director (the only person who could speak any language but Russian), being a Greek, and of the Lower Empire, I knew there was no hope. I therefore submitted; and having delivered over my watch, money, pencil-case, and every other article about me, had the satisfaction of seeing them (with the exception of the former) placed in a solution of chloride of lime. I then *peeled*, and awaited the son of Galen's decision. His order first to elevate one arm, and then the other, led me to suppose the good man was going to put me through the 'extension motions;' but I found it was only to observe whether I had that infallible indication of plague, swellings under the arms. During the whole of this time, my feet were kept cool and comfortable in a pool of the solution, which had fallen from the table. Having passed muster, the few articles of clothing I had received from the town were hurried on, and as it rained in torrents, I remained in the adjoining room. My meditations on the ceremony I had just passed through were interrupted by the entrance of a naked Tartar, of hideous aspect; his deformed person was covered with burns and scars, and his whole appearance more like Quasimodo's, than any being, real or imaginary, I ever heard or read of. I immediately recognised him as one of the passengers I had observed *hunting* on the deck; and this circumstance, coupled with the certainty of his being accompanied by forty Tartars, Jews, and Russians, all more or less as hideous and dirty as himself, gave me the wings of Mercury, and in spite of the storm which raged without, and my thin slippers, I met it as unconcerned as Lear.'—Vol. I. pp. 55, 57.

The proceedings of a Russian public office, always sufficiently dilatory, were rendered more so in Captain Jesse's case by his military rank. This circumstance rendered him an object of suspicion,

so that three days were employed in obtaining his passport. 'I saw enough,' he says, 'on this occasion, to warn me never to expect civility, attention, or good-nature from the officials of government, unless I was under the immediate protection of some person of high rank and influence, or could pay enormously.'

Arriving at Kertch, Captain Jesse heard that an expedition was about to proceed to Circassia, of which he determined, if possible, to avail himself, in order to obtain an insight into the condition of that celebrated country. For this purpose he called on the governor, Prince Kerkhoulidzeff, to whom he had a letter of introduction from a Russian general, but soon found that there was little disposition on the part of the authorities to permit the accomplishment of his plan. He was referred to General Riefski, the commander of the expedition, who positively refused his request, alleging 'the positive orders of his government, that no foreigner, particularly a military man and an Englishman, should be allowed on any account to visit the fortresses on the Circassian coast.' Disappointed in his hopes, our author wisely determined to see what was within his reach, and the following account of his mode of travelling gives no very favourable notion of the comforts of the country:—

'This was my first jaunt in a telega, and I suffered accordingly. To describe one in a few words, it will only be necessary to say that the body of the vehicle resembles a large pig-trough placed on four wheels, without springs, each wheel travelling in a different plane from the rest, on wooden axles roughly made. The horses, however, had plenty of *go* in them. The yemtschik's shouts of, 'No, no, no, no, poshol, scorri!' mingled with the loud ringing of the bell attached to the pole, were accompanied by a liberal application of his short whip, and we tore over the steppe, regardless of any inequalities in the ground, or gripps in the track, which we sometimes left altogether. Had a tumulus been in the way, I firmly believe Jehu (a real one) would have put his horses at it. The straw that had been put into the telega, to break the shocks, was useless, and I was obliged to hold on with both hands to keep my seat. General Perofski, the hero of the Khiva expedition, made the journey from Orenburg to Moscow in one of these vehicles, in an incredibly short space of time; bearing, as quickly as possible, the news of his own failure. 'Mashallah,' said his friends, 'what a feat!' and thus terminated the expedition.'—*Ib.* pp. 85, 86.

Returning to Kertch, our author inspected the museum, in his account of which, he indulges himself in a brief disquisition on the variations observable in the skulls of different tribes. At this place he dined with General Riefski, who, on hearing that Captain Jesse had served in India, speedily turned the conversation to the subject of a Russian invasion of that country.

'The difficulties in his proposed line of route were quite smoothed away as far as Bokhara, and there, like Alexander on the Hydaspes, he

intended to build boats, and float his army of 50,000 men down a certain river, called the Moura, that flowed into the Indus. I leave his geography to Arrowsmith, Burnes, or Wood. Once at the Indus, he thought there could be no doubt as to the result, assuring me that it would be impossible to concentrate more than 10,000 British troops upon this point, and winding up his argument by laying the flattering unction to his soul, that the Sepoys, like the Persians, were men of straw. I need scarcely add that his ignorance of India was extreme, and my gravity was severely put to the test. But the general is not singular in his opinions, for this invasion is a question that Russians have not only the vanity and assurance to speak of openly; they consider themselves certain of success whenever they choose to make the attempt. One of the emperor's present aides-de-camp brought himself into notice from his chateau, in the depths of Podolia, by the intelligent plans which he drew up and forwarded to his Imperial Majesty on the subject. The result however of the Khiva expedition should teach them, if it has not already done so, the necessity of modifying their views upon this subject. They would have acted with more wisdom (only that theirs is of the cabinet rather than the field) had they not attempted an invasion which terminated in so much disaster and disgrace. Their military reputation, the point on which their influence in Central Asia entirely depends, has been completely lowered by this failure; while ours, rising above no ordinary difficulties, has been elevated to a high degree by the gallant conduct of our troops, and a combination of events which have finally led to success.'—Ib. pp. 114, 116.

The luxuriant vegetation, which has been represented as characteristic of the Crimea, is said to pertain only to the sea coast. The Russian conquest of the country has been followed by a general emigration of the Tartars, and the natural effects of depopulation are, in consequence, visible in the interior. Proceeding to the estate of Count de Witt, Captain Jesse first saw a Tartar village, the houses of which 'are very low; the roofs flat and covered with clay, and frequently so curiously placed against the mountain, that a person coming down from above might easily ride or walk on to the top of one without being in the least aware of it.'

We pass over our author's account of the docks at Sevastopol, together with the military works which command the approach to the harbour, but must find space for the following description of a religious service witnessed in the Greek church at Yalta:—

'The day after my return was the 'jour-de-fête' of the young Count W——, a relation of my host, and every one went up to the chapel at Massandra, to attend the service in honour of the day. I was glad to have an opportunity of witnessing the Greek ritual, and accompanied the prince. Four horses in a light phaeton soon brought us to the door, which, as well as the interior, was thronged with people of the lower orders, in their pink shirts and gay sashes. They looked careless, and unconscious of their slavery; but it was there completely betrayed

by the way in which they saluted my companion as we passed; not only was the cap in hand, but the body was bent low, with a servility of manner truly distressing to witness. Though the church was so densely crowded, the talisman of rank and power soon made way for us up to the altar; it was brilliantly illuminated, for a great many of the congregation brought candles as an offering, and, having lighted one, placed the remainder with it on a table near the altar for the Papa; whether for his benefit, or the young count's, I did not make out.

The chant, though pleasing, was tedious and monotonous in the literal sense of the word; the prince's steward, who stood near us, exerted himself most laudably in keeping up the quantity, if not the quality, of the tone. The heat, not *pure* caloric, soon made me anxious for the conclusion; but the censers, though they increased it, relieved the unpleasant effluvia. Towards the end of the ceremony, the doors in the gilt screen, which, like the veil in front of the Holy of Holies, concealed the altar, were closed, the chanting ceased, the censers were withdrawn, and every one remained in mute attention. At length, the folding doors in the centre were re-opened, and thrown back, and the priest, a gigantic fellow, with a large black beard, carrying on his head an enormous volume, which he steadied with both hands, came forward, and in one of the finest voices I ever heard, commenced a long recitation.

Every one bent low, not in humble adoration, but in superstitious awe. I asked the prince, in a whisper, for an explanation of a scene which exhibited so much emotion, and found that they were praying for the Emperor. The large volume contained the gospels. The sensation manifested on this occasion surprised me much; it was scarcely equalled by that usually seen in Catholic churches at the elevation of the host. But the serfs of Russia look upon their Tzar as equal, if not superior to the Deity, and consequently, the prayer for his Imperial Majesty is listened to with more attention, and responded to with greater fervour, than any other part of the service. Several women now entered with infants in their arms, as I imagined for a christening, but in reality to have the sacrament administered to them. Their mothers, kneeling before the altar, gave them in succession to the priest, who endeavoured to place a spoonful of the elements in the mouth of each. This, as may be supposed, was neither easily nor silently accomplished, and a chant arose of a character quite different from that in which the steward had taken such a prominent part. The scene that ensued defies all attempts at description. The children kicked and squalled, and all resisted to their 'little utmost' this food, so unnatural to them; while their mothers, evidently impressed with a belief in the benefit they were to derive from it, anxiously endeavoured to induce them to swallow at least a portion, and in some cases, forced it down their throats. The whole finished with a sermon, which the little communicants, not half pacified, interrupted by their cries; but the Papa, determined that his eloquence should not be displayed in vain, ordered the young choristers out of the church.'—*Ib.* pp. 166—169.

Returning to Odessa, Captain Jesse was detained there till the

season had too far advanced to permit his travelling to Moscow, as he had originally designed. He therefore determined to winter in that city, which afforded him an opportunity of observing the Russian character, under circumstances more favourable to a correct estimate of it, than could have existed at either of the capitals. The city stands on a high cliff, along which runs a boulevard, and the streets, which are exceedingly wide, are generally at right angles to it. Large spaces intervene between many of the houses so that the town is spread over a very wide surface. The two principal streets are planted on either side with a row of acacias. The accumulation of mud in winter, and of dust in summer, renders the streets almost impassable.

'The Rue Catherine, with a few other streets, is macadamized with the soft stone of the cliff, a conglomerate of shells which is soon converted into dust, two or three inches deep; this makes its way into desks, drawers, and all corners of the house; every article of food is covered with it, for the heat is too intense to allow of the windows being closed. In the tremendous gales which often occur here in the summer, it is almost impossible to leave the house; for it drives 'en masse' with such caprice, that the attempts the passenger naturally makes to avoid the spiral columns which rise every moment, are utterly futile; and after having zig-zagged from one side of the street to the other, he finds himself completely enveloped in its gritty, hot, and dry embrace. When Napoleon came to Russia on his insane expedition, he remarked that he had discovered a fifth element—mud; had he remained the summer he would have found a sixth—dust. The dust may, in fact, be considered a perfect scourge, and causes diseases of the eye, and pulmonary affections. Twice a week only, the comfort of the inhabitants is consulted, when the Boulevard is watered in the evening, and they are tantalized with an atmosphere which they can only breathe for six hours in the week. The rains of autumn, and the thaw in spring, convert all this dust into such a depth of mud, even in the three principal streets, that it is difficult to cross them without sinking up to the ankles. The charity of the upper classes, who never frequent any other, is too uncertain to induce any one to speculate, and work upon the chance of their getting a livelihood by sweeping a crossing, though there is enough to do in this way to maintain the numerous paupers, that may be seen in all parts of the town. The other streets become almost impassable to foot passengers, and in these seasons, droskies are indispensable; even they can scarcely make their way in some parts of the suburbs, which are then a very Slough of Despond! Now and then a drunken man, or an old woman, is suffocated at a crossing; 'mais cela passe comme le temps.' The women servants can only get to the bazaar in Wellington boots! and if they have none of their own, which is a rare occurrence, as they keep a pair for the purpose, they take their masters'; at least, so mine served me. Thus accoutred, with their petticoats tucked up above their knees, they have no occasion to pick their way, though they never fail to pick their employers' pockets.

'Ladies going to the theatres or balls, were formerly obliged to yoke

oxen to their carriages, and even now, during the deep falls of snow, when coming away, their servants, to give them a little notice, announce their shovels previously to their carriages. On one occasion General L——, commanding the Odessa district, in going to a review stuck fast on his drosky; finding further progress on it impossible, he left his equipage, riding off on the near horse with all his harness still about him, and with this charger, thus caparisoned, made his appearance in front of the regiment he was going to inspect.'—*Ib.* pp. 178—181.

Our author bears a well merited testimony to the moral courage and noble heartedness of the Duc de Richelieu, a French emigrant who was made governor of Odessa, by the Emperor Alexander. During the duke's administration, the plague raged in the city with tremendous violence, and when the inhabitants refused to bury their dead, he took a spade himself and set them the example.

'Richelieu's moral courage was only equalled by his charity and hospitality; and his salary as governor, being insufficient to supply the demands upon both, he was frequently without a sou in his pocket. Alexander hearing this, sent him a considerable sum as a present, but the war with Napoleon breaking out at the time, he returned it to his generous master, remarking that his Imperial Majesty would have plenty to do with his spare money. He pursued the same line of conduct to the end of his administration; and though he had numerous opportunities of enriching himself, he left the town, on his return to France at the Restoration, in a cabriolet de poste, with a portmanteau containing his uniform and a few shirts—all his wardrobe. His departure was deplored by all classes, particularly the poor, who looked up to him as a father.'—*Ib.* pp. 184, 185.

An interesting account is given towards the close of the first volume of the aggressive war which the Russians have been carrying on in Circassia, from which we would gladly extract did our space permit. The noble stand which the brave mountaineers are making against the overwhelming numbers and military discipline of their assailants, is recorded in terms of well-merited eulogy. This struggle has hitherto excited comparatively little attention in this country, though every way worthy of the deepest sympathy. It will gratify us to find that the publications which have recently appeared on this subject, succeed in attracting towards it the practical attention of the governments of Europe:—

'The contest in Circassia,' remarks Captain Jesse, 'cannot fail to interest the heart of any man possessed of one spark of generous feeling, for it is for liberty of the purest kind—national independence. It does not owe its rise to excess of tyranny in her own princes, nor to the insidious arts of heated demagogues and political adventurers, supported by followers as weak and selfish as themselves. It is the struggle of a brave people, who have for sixty years been defending their wives, their children, and their homes, and all that man, civilized

or not, holds dear, against an enemy overwhelming in numbers, and possessed of immense resources. True, the liberty of Circassia is of a rough character, but the gem is there, though unpolished; and shall we not sympathize with these noble descendants of the Lacedæmonians, who still act with the same gallant spirit that animated their ancestors? Not only is the abstract idea of being subdued abhorrent to their feelings, but their fate, if unsuccessful, will be embittered by the tyrannical and oppressive character of their conquerors. Well may they dread their rule; a nation, amongst whom no liberty but that of thinking is permitted, and that not aloud; who, in the countries that have submitted to them under the most solemn treaties, that their rights should be respected, have directly or indirectly violated them, whenever superior physical power gave them the opportunities of doing so; whose energies have been always directed, since the time of Peter the Great, in support of despotism, foreign and domestic, and whose civilization consists in little more than having adopted the arts of modern warfare, and the details of discipline, to render their brute force more available.'—*Ib.* 293—295.

On the return of spring, our traveller began to prepare for his journey to Moscow, in doing which he encountered from the officials even more imposition and delay, than in the case of his Crimean tour. Several days were consumed, and many bribes were necessary to his obtaining the needful passport. At length, however, the day of departure arrived, and early in the morning 'the bearded sheep-skinned postilion and his four horses,' made their appearance at the door. The distance from Odessa to Moscow is 1383 versts, or about 922 English miles. The country through which the route lay, presented but little to interest the traveller,—neither were the habits of the people, nor the accommodation of the post-houses adapted to relieve the weariness of the journey. We are not, therefore, surprised to find our author remarking, on occasion of meeting an English friend at Nicolaieff: 'No one can understand the value of one in Russia, unless he has passed a night in such a dog-hole as the post-house of Coblefska, and been without a comfortable meal for two days.' Three thousand men, nearly all of them slaves, are employed in the dock-yard of this place, and all the machinery is of English manufacture. No very favourable account is given of the Russian navy, and the habits of the seamen are amusingly contrasted with those of the English sailor:—

'It is said that Admiral Lazareff is not desirous of being opposed to the English fleet, but is very eager to encounter the French. This speaks more for his courage than his judgment, for failure would be equally certain with either. England can afford to give Russia the mechanical means of endeavouring to rival her; neither money nor Ukase can create the British seaman. No!—here Nicholas must halt! He may order ships, like the Twelve Apostles, to be built, and guns

from four-pounders to Paixhans, to be cast in unlimited numbers; but crews to man either the one or the other, neither he nor his successors can ever hope to have. The Turks excepted, the Russians are the afterguard of all the sailors in Europe. One cannot help smiling when contrasting the seamen of other nations with theirs. Look at a blue jacket in our own service! he is all ease and freedom, agile and muscular; his countenance is open, and bearing independent; and, though he shews implicit obedience under discipline, his demeanour is manly as well as respectful, and he is clean. The Russian sailor is neither fish nor flesh, a kind of horse-marine. His head is nearly shaved, and his jacket of green cloth, made like a dragoon's, fits quite tight; this is buttoned all the way up the front, being padded out like one of Mr. Buckmaster's, made for a young cornet. His lower extremities are cased in Wellingtons! and on his head is a worsted forage cap, all on one side. If a mate, his pipe is stuck between the buttons of his jacket, like an eye-glass; and last, though certainly not least, when addressed by an officer, he uncaps, and bringing his feet together, stands, oh, ye tars! at what?—'at ease?' oh no! at 'attention!' with his 'little fingers down the seams, and thumbs pointing outwards.'

'The crews of the Black Sea fleet are wholly inefficient; to be convinced of this, it is only necessary to walk down to the pratique port at Odessa, and see a boat's crew land their commander from a line-of-battle ship. The naval power of Russia in this quarter is a chimera, and though immense sums have been, and are expended upon their fleet, the result is, not an effective force, but merely the appearance of one. It consists of thirteen sail.'—Vol. ii. pp. 21, 22.

The general poverty of the country was painfully evident in the destitution and misery of its inhabitants. Famine prevailed through extensive districts, and was followed by social disorganization as well as personal wretchedness. The following extract will show that absenteeism is not confined to Ireland, and that its consequent miseries are not based on anything peculiar to that ill-governed country:—

'This day we found whole families lying by the side of the track craving for food. On making inquiries, through my interpreter, I found that many of them had slept in the open steppe for several days, living upon the precarious assistance they received from the few travellers who passed. Their husbands, indeed all the men, had left them for the south, where there was less distress: more than once during our journey we had met them in parties of twenty and thirty at a time. This district, and the town of Tula, were only kept quiet by the presence of a division of infantry, encamped near the suburb by which we entered. The artisans employed at the Imperial manufactory of arms were well enough off, as they had their meal and flour served out to them at a fixed price all the year round; fluctuation, therefore, was of no consequence to them—the rest were in a wretched state. Formerly provision was made against such a calamity by hous-

ing large quantities of grain, which was supplied by each proprietor, according to the number of serfs he possessed; but these stores sometimes perished, from want of care and bad granaries, and were also materially reduced by speculation. Besides this, the nobility, always in difficulties, thought it would be more to their advantage to get interest upon the value of the corn thus lying idle. The subscriptions were therefore taken in money instead of in kind, and the sums collected were placed in the Lombard bank, or other government securities. The absurdity of this system was proved in the present instance; the money was useless, there was neither rye nor wheat to be bought either in these provinces or at St. Petersburg. The owners of the serfs were interested in keeping them alive, if not from motives of humanity, at least as property; but where were they? on their estates, exerting themselves to soften or relieve the miseries of their dependents? No, at Rome, Vienna, or the German watering-places, gambling away the money received for the corn their toil had raised, and for want of a portion of which they were now starving. One of these absentees, with whom I was one day in conversation, told me that he had just returned from his estates in White Russia, adding, 'It is the first time I ever saw my peasants.'

'Before leaving Tula, I was recommended to provide myself with a bag of coppers, to rid us in some degree of importunity, which it was impossible to satisfy. As long as they lasted, I continued to throw them amongst the hungry crowd, reserving some for those who thronged the carriage when we stopped to change horses. As the coopecks fell amongst them, the women, many of them with children at the breast, tumbled over one another, regardless of all decency, in the struggle that ensued. This scene of wretchedness was completed by the dead post-horses on the side and in the middle of the track, which had perished, not from fatigue or ill-usage, but from want of forage. Their carcasses were in all stages of putrefaction, surrounded by crows, sometimes so gorged that they scarcely took any notice of the britzka as it drove by.'—*Ib.* pp. 56—58.

The slight progress which civilization has made in Russia, notwithstanding the achievements of her foreign policy, is strikingly shewn in the wretched state of the roads, or rather in the absence of anything deserving such a name.

'The whole distance from Odessa is a mere track, marked by verst-posts about ten feet high on each side, and by them the traveller is guided across the open steppe; but these posts do not determine the width of the road; each carriage picks its own way, either a hundred yards, or half a mile, to the right or left, as the horses or driver may think fit. This track cannot be called a road; it is merely traced over the natural soil by one vehicle after another; there is not a shovelful of material laid down, nor is there any fencing or draining. In the winter, the verst-posts are the compass of the steppe, and without them it would be impossible to proceed, after heavy falls of snow; in this season, the track is so uneven, that persons are constantly thrown

out of their sledges by the violent jolts. In wet weather it is almost impassable, and after the thaw has set in, quite so for a few weeks. Traffic is then almost suspended, and the transport of the mails is a service of great danger, as the wooden bridges, which have been taken up during the winter, are not replaced till the weather is settled; the yagers are frequently obliged to pass the rivers on rafts. In the latter part of the spring, the ground is suddenly hardened by the slight frosts which follow the thaw, and in the summer retains all the inequalities it then had, presenting, particularly through forests where the track is narrow, and consequently more cut up, a series of ruts, holes, and hillocks. In the continued heat, which withers all the grass on the steppe, some inches of the surface is beaten into dust, and in a light wind, a handkerchief over the face is almost indispensable in travelling. The dust on a hot Derby day will give but a faint idea of it. In some places, a few trees are occasionally planted by the side of the track, but they are not much more picturesque, and certainly at this season, not more verdant than the *verst*-posts. When the emperor is going to travel, instructions are sent to the governors of the different provinces through which he intends to pass, to put the track in some sort of repair; should this circumstance chance to occur in the middle of harvest, the peasants are obliged to leave the crops and set to work.'—Ib. 67—69.

The expense of posting, which varies in different parts of the country, is exceedingly low, the whole cost of the journey from Odessa to Moscow being stated by our author to be only 25*l*. Especial care, we are informed, should be taken not immediately to precede or follow any government official or great man, as in such case serious delays and gross impositions will inevitably be experienced. 'The country is so detestably ugly and monotonous, that the desideratum in going through it is to keep up a perpetual motion; the scenery may be described in three words—steppe, morasses, pine forests.' We need not detain our readers with Captain Jesse's account of Moscow, in which there is nothing that claims particular attention. From Moscow he proceeded to St. Petersburg, a distance of 674 *versts* or 448 English miles. The approach to the capital from the interior is thoroughly uninteresting, nor is there anything in the general aspect of the city approaching to the picturesque or pleasing.

'The low and swampy level that it stands on certainly gives ample room to lay out a city of any extent, but there is nothing to give it an interest. From the top of the Isaac church the traveller will see, at one *'coup-d'œil'*, not only the remote corners of the suburbs, but the country for many miles, till the horizon is closed by the rocky shores of Finland on the one side, and loses itself in marsh and low forests on the other. The course of the Neva, with Peterhoff, Sarsko-Selo, and a few other villages, breaking the middle distance; and Cronstadt, with its fleet and fortifications, that of the gulf. The Admiralty is one of the most striking of the public buildings; but the façades,

both towards the river, and in the square, are very ugly, and the little windows in the latter great disfigurements; the spire is gilt, and out of character with the design, which is intended to be Grecian.

‘Though magnificent, St. Petersburg is far from pleasing; there is an everlasting sameness about it, and the houses are so whitewashed, that it all looks unpleasantly new. No one is allowed to wash or colour the front of his house as he pleases; the government saves him the trouble of deciding upon the particular shade, or any anxiety as to the period at which it shall be done. The Nevski Prospect, the Regent-street of the place, is ornamented with a row of trees on each side; but here, again, Nature appears to take a pleasure in defeating the Ukase which placed them there to embellish the street, for they are not much taller than a front rank man in the Preobrajensky regiment of the guards, and afford no shade to the promenaders. The shops in this street are numerous, and well stocked with every article of fashion and luxury, at extremely high prices: most of the tradesmen are foreigners. The trottoirs in the Nevski are handsome, and the carriage pavement is divided into three portions, stone in the centre, and one of wood on each side; the latter is by no means good or smooth, unless when quite new; the fir timber employed in its construction is never seasoned, and the hard frosts injure it very much; it is as bad as the stones for jolting, though not for noise.’—Ib. pp. 108—110.

We pass over our author’s account of the Russian army, as well as his sketch of its modern rulers, which occupy several chapters; but must find room for the following census of the population published by the government in 1836, and which he represents as the most correct that has yet been issued:—

	Males.	Females.
‘Priests of the Greek religion . . .	254,057	249,748
Priests of other religions . . .	19,848	14,724
Nobility, hereditary, and by service .	550,700	565,145
Merchants, shopkeepers, and artisans	1,547,103	1,628,778
Serfs of the Crown, and Nobility . .	21,845,121	22,981,467
Military colonies	950,698	981,467
Poland	2,077,311	2,110,911
Finland	663,658	708,484
Russian colonies in America . . .	30,761	30,292
	27,939,257	29,271,016
Females	29,271,016	
	57,210,273	
Calmucks and Trans-Caucasian provinces, &c.	1,885,994	
Foreigners	37,329	
	59,133,596’	

The army, it must be observed, is not included in this census, nor is any account taken of the Calmucks and other hordes which are under the government of Russia. The great mass of the population are serfs or slaves, and are unquestionably amongst the most degraded and wretched of the human family. A very small fraction of the Russian people range within the limits of civilization, the overwhelming mass are crushed down by an iron despotism, which destroys all the nobler capabilities and aspirations of their nature. A wretched account is given of the legal administration of the country. The protection of law is unknown to the serf, and the property of the people generally is exposed to a thousand depredators, whose outrages are perpetrated with impunity. The government is to the very letter, absolute and military. The habits of the latter are carried through all the gradations of society, the simple object being to prepare a sufficient number of human machines for the use of their lord and employer. On a late occasion the emperor is reported to have exercised a regiment of six hundred boys, the colonel of which was only eleven years of age, and we are told that they went through their manœuvres with all the precision of old soldiers. Such are the arts by which the despot of the North seeks to prepare the servile instruments of his pleasure, and strange to say, men are not wanting in England to gloss over the tyranny and to praise the government of Nicholas. There is an intimate sympathy between all the grades of despotism, no matter whether it be seen in the modified form of English Toryism, or in the more rank and perfected state of Russian tyranny; the spirit of the whole is one and the same. But we must not be tempted from our more immediate object.

In parting from Captain Jesse, we tender him our thanks for the entertainment and information his volumes have furnished. They are written in a lively style, and abound in strokes of humour which win upon the heart. We dissent from some of his views, more particularly those respecting our corn law system. On this subject he loses much of his usual good temper, and dogmatizes with a zeal which looks somewhat suspicious. For his facts we are grateful, but his philosophy we must discard, as unworthy his good sense, and indicative rather of class partialities than of sound judgment or of enlightened patriotism.

Art. V. *Frederick the Great and his Times*. Edited, with an Introduction, by Thomas Campbell, Esq., Author of 'The Pleasures of Hope. Vols. I. and II. London: Colburn. 1842.

THE history of the kingdom of Prussia presents some truly curious phenomena. There are several instances of small countries or states having become powerful ones, through a predominant attachment to liberty, which has enabled them to overcome disadvantages, defy the oppressor, and rise from their glorious struggle into the altitudes of the political firmament. But the house of Brandenburg has hitherto exhibited very little sympathy with liberalism; nor have its subjects, until comparatively recent times, seemed at all disposed to value civil freedom. Upon the map of Europe, 'Prussia appears as a patchwork of territories acquired by war or negotiation;' to which must be added, its share in the wages of infamy, when Poland was partitioned out between Frederick, Austria, and Russia. The rights of conscience, however, have encountered better fortune than those either of person or property, from the princes of Hohenzollern. Through the introduction of Christianity, from A.D. 1230 to 1283, the dominion of the Teutonic Knights was established; and at the commencement of the sixteenth century, Albert, their grand master, sacrificed the duties of his order for the sake of private aggrandizement. He declared himself a zealous Lutheran, married a princess of Denmark, and accepted the hereditary dukedom of Prussia, as a fief, from Poland, in so far as it had not already become, by the peace of Thorn, in 1466, a dependency of the latter kingdom, under the appellation of Polish Prussia. It passed to the electoral line, A.D. 1618; which, according to Professor Heeren, paved the way for its future importance. The Germanic empire then, and for ages afterwards, remained in a state only of semi-civilization. Here and there sprang up the fountains of light and knowledge. The towns and cities were prevented from extending those beneficial influences all around them, which they might otherwise have done, through the aristocratic spirit with which they governed themselves, and the bitterness with which they hated one another. It was still an iron age; a period dear to the romancer or the novelist, in which the picturesque prevails over the practical. Moated and battlemented castles threw their dark shadows over villages and hovels, which there alone could find protection, although they had to pay for it both with person and purse. The good things of this life were only for the great ones of the earth. Nobles commanded, and peasantry obeyed. Power clad

itself in purple and fine linen, whilst it imposed upon poverty a shirt of sackcloth and hair. Debauchery, and its concomitant abominations, demoralized or enslaved the land. Magnates, ruling over no inconsiderable territories, could scarcely write their names. Wickedness and ignorance seemed to have everything their own way. No middle class could make its voice heard, or its hand felt, to restrain the licentiousness of potentates, or elevate the condition of the people. Austria pretended that it possessed something like a right divine, annexed to which were all the obsolete prerogatives of the forgotten Roman Cæsars; but if it bore any universal sway at all, it was rather as a lord of misrule than a mighty monarchy, the parent and guardian of nations. A rival power, moreover, began to spring up after the 'Thirty years' war; when Frederick William, commonly called the Great Elector, rendered Berlin the metropolis of Northern Germany. He died in 1688, bequeathing to his successors a state, respected abroad and well organized at home, no less than 42,000 square miles in extent. His great grandson was the subject of this article.

He came into the world on the 24th of January, 1712, in the palace at Berlin; a few months after which event, an American aloe, which had been forty-four years in the royal gardens, blossomed for the first time, and in the most luxuriant manner. The soothsayers regarded it as an emblem of national prosperity, for it shot up to a height above thirty feet, and threw out more than seven thousand flowers. His grandfather had been the first of his house who had exchanged an electoral coronet for a regal crown. His father attended to more important objects; he reformed the finances, increased the army, healed the wounds of war, rebuilt the towns, restored peace and plenty to the provinces, introduced order and economy into the various departments of government, and amassed considerable treasures. But he was also one of the most peculiar sovereigns that the world ever saw. His character and conduct had, of course, no slight influence in forming the future conqueror of Silesia, the patron of infidelity, and the friend of Voltaire. Such a brute as this besotted Brandenberger proved, within the limits of his domestic circle, would have almost astonished the boors of Pomerania, could they but have known his enormities. He maltreated his wife, beat his servants, caned his ministers, wore out his attendants, and half-starved his own children, when they were young, so as to render resistance out of the question. His own daughter, an unexceptionable authority, has detailed scenes to which she was an eye-witness, and amidst which she was herself a severe personal sufferer, too shocking to be either dwelt upon or even transcribed. The monster would confine his hungry off-

spring, in their tenderest years, to a certain suite of apartments, dining with them himself from a table far too insufficiently furnished for the number present, doling out to them a wretched mess, which frequently produced the effects of an emetic; and then, after loading his own ample trencher with more food than he could consume or fancy, *he would spit upon the remainder*, lest the prince and princesses should help themselves to the fragments so soon as his back was turned. His grand recreations were smoking and drinking; and the elysium of his pleasures, if they might be styled such, was the retreat of Wusterhausen, a royal chateau, in the court-yard of which six young bears mounted guard, with their fore paws tied behind them, so that they were obliged to walk upon their hind legs. At Potsdam, also, an old blind bear, belonging to the king, used to go about the town, with his teeth broken out and his claws properly pared. Whenever the picquets were summoned out, this creature would join them under arms; and, it was notorious, that whenever he heard the voice of his majesty, he would always run to him and evince his fondness and attachment to him, as his most congenial companion and master. Besides these irrational but appropriate comrades, the monarch kept several court fools, whom he called his ‘merry councillors.’ One of them he appointed to the presidential chair of the Academy of Sciences, made him a baron, invested him with the most fashionable costume of the day, and for years exhibited him, amongst the choicest circles, as a severe satire upon the nonsense and follies of his age. His passion for the chase could hardly be styled an enjoyment; it was rather a madness, furnishing an absolute sovereign with the excitements of battle, without its bloodshed or wasteful expenses. In fact, there was a touch of mischievous insanity, something very like a laughing devil, in every lineament of his character. His country felt immensely indebted to him for his exertions in military matters; but here again, although the most parsimonious monarch in Europe, he spent 300,000 crowns annually on a brigade of giants, called his ‘tall regiment.’ For such recruits as were above six feet high, he afforded large allowances monthly, and even violated the rights of independent nations in procuring them. All that could be said was, that his savagery had a spice more of the gentleman about it, than that of his contemporary, Peter the Great, had. But he seemed an animal much more than a potentate, and a miser more than a monarch. He carried economy so far, that when he got a good coat, he would wear linen sleeves in his cabinet, to preserve the cuffs as long as possible. He compelled his consort to find him powder and shot out of her slender revenues, letting her have whatever game might be killed in every battue, as a sort of compensating per-

quisite. With the exception of conjugal infidelity, he revelled and grovelled in the coarsest vices; and when upon his death-bed, a faithful pastor had pointed out his flagrant transgressions, his incessant exclamation interrupted the catalogue, that 'for not having committed adultery, the Almighty must forgive him all the rest!' He had grown dropsical and corpulent long before he expired, so that his waistcoat measured four ells in width, whilst his weight could not have been far short of Daniel Lambert's! His few real virtues were, a close attention to public business when not inebriated; remarkable habits of early rising; plainness and simplicity in personal demeanour and appearance; generous regard for liberty of conscience; and on the whole, an exertion of his authority for the welfare of his subjects.

Such was the father of Frederick the Great; nor may we wonder that between sire and son there should be engendered the most perfect antipathy, in that season of heyday and youth, when passions are stronger than reason, and presumption than even the passions. The parent was vulgar and violent, devoted to soldiership and tobacco; the young prince-royal loved elegance and poetry, the society of polished women and the arts, besides having learned to play on the flute, as well as other instruments, with a success which surprised those who heard him. His mornings, upon compulsion, were moulded to the gratification of his majesty: he appeared in stiff uniform, began his military education in the ranks, and paraded before a stern eye, which had never smiled a single look of kindness on him from his infancy. But after two o'clock, he considered himself at liberty to gratify private inclinations. His jacket and sword were then cast into a corner; his hair was dressed in French fashion, which threw Frederick William into a tempest of fury whenever he beheld it; the inner curtains of his bed were withdrawn from a dozen secret bookshelves; and the admirer of the *Henriade* gave himself up, with all his heart and soul, to the muses. Stolen waters are sweet; and in these hours of palpitating intellectual enjoyment, selfishness assumed her sceptre, and formed his mind. The works he thus brooded over, in loneliness and daily resentment, were the productions of the *Philosopher of Ferney*, the author of his favourite epic, which he thought far superior to Homer, Virgil, or Tasso. Writers with analogous views might be from time to time added to his library, but all equally pregnant with poison. If from his volumes he looked out around or abroad, there was little pressed upon his reflection, which could become anything like an antidote to the evil. Those over whom he was one day to reign were slaves; his own authority would be that of a despot. Admitting his father to be less tyrannical with regard to his subjects than his family; yet the miseries of the latter touched him

at every point. His paternal tormentor, moreover, strangely mingled the sensual and the spiritual; things human with things divine. Before commencing each of those days expended in open defiance of all godliness, this singular sovereign always read a prayer from an excellent book of devotion, by Creutzberg. His attendance at church, and on the sacrament, might have almost edified our Oxford Tractarians, had his form of worship only been episcopalian, so perfectly regular and punctual was it from one month's end to another. But what conclusion could his son draw from such a mass of incongruities, except that religion was a state or family farce, a condescension on the part of strong minds, that they might the better keep weak ones in order? As the royal youth reasoned, so he acted. He became an accomplished deceiver, a hollow hypocrite, an undutiful profligate, a whited sepulchre upon principle! His parent, already by nature more than sufficiently irritable, placed no limits to his indignation. Spies and interlopers made matters worse and worse. Whispers, rumours, and misunderstandings, fanned the flames of mutual and frightful hatred into the glowing fury of a blast furnace. The prince-royal, at an age when our own monarchs are considered equal to the cares and responsibilities of government, found himself not merely a personage of the least possible importance at court, but positively treated as a child or a lunatic, being exposed to blows, insults, and mortifications, on innumerable occasions. His majesty, feeling his honour touched, both as the head of a household and a kingdom, was resolved to tame the lion, or destroy him in the fearful attempt. Affairs reached their crisis in 1730. Frederick had incurred debts to the amount of 15,000 dollars, as might easily have been foreseen. Vain were repeated proclamations, that no one should dare to lend him money; for there is a sense in which all courtiers are Parsees, nor can even the fear of death prevent them from worshipping the rising sun. The king had now beaten, kicked, and caned his successor for several mornings; but hearing that pecuniary obligations had been incurred, he sent for him to Potsdam. The following account of his misery and treatment, at this time, is from the pen of the unhappy sufferer himself:—

‘I am the most miserable of beings, never otherwise than surrounded by those who put a malicious construction upon my words and actions. The most innocent recreations are forbidden me. I dare not read; music is prohibited; and if I do ever enjoy these pleasures, it is only by stealth, and with trembling. But what has quite driven me to despair, is a circumstance that has just happened at Potsdam, which I would not tell the queen, as it would only make her uneasy. On being summoned before the king, he seized me by the hair, and flung me on the floor, along which, after exercising the

strength of his arms, on my poor body, he dragged me, in spite of all my resistance, to a window that was near, and there seemed bent upon performing the office of the mutes in the seraglio; for laying hold of the cord of the window curtain, he got it round my neck. Luckily I had time to rise; I seized both his hands, and began to cry out. A valet-de-chambre came immediately to my relief, and rescued me from his grasp. Such are the dangers to which I am daily exposed; and so desperate is my condition, that none but violent remedies can put an end to it.—Vol. i. pp. 281, 282.

There exists abundant evidence, from various independent quarters, that this was no exaggerated narrative. The abusive epithets heaped every day upon himself and sisters, especially Wilhelmine, whom he most dearly loved, and who was afterwards Margravine of Baireuth, had effaced all sense of shame and delicacy even from the ladies. A project had been started for a marriage between Frederick and his first cousin, the British Princess Amelia, daughter of our George the First; but his father, fearing it would render him either too happy, or at least more able to resist his own will, withheld his consent. The prince-royal, therefore, resolved to abscond; and, in concert with a lieutenant Katte, ventured upon the insane attempt. He was immediately foiled, and arrested for endeavouring to desert. His incensed sire demanded from him, before a circle of military officers, ‘Whither he had intended to withdraw from his parental control?’ The young prince only hesitated a moment before answering, ‘To Algiers!’ The king, little pacified by such a reply, had him tried by court-martial for life; under whose sentence, like Peter, the Russian Czar, he certainly entertained the idea at first of executing the heir-apparent, his own eldest son! But the palace and capital seemed ready to rise against him. It was well known, that he had frequently suggested the thought himself to Frederick, that were he really a young man of spirit, he would withdraw from such ill-treatment as he then had to endure. In other words, this butcher of a parent wanted to get the prince fairly within the grasp of the law, in which villanous object he had at length succeeded. The culprit was condemned to death; whilst the king dared to go home to his family, as if nothing remarkable had happened, beyond his being in a more towering passion of resentment than usual. Wilhelmine thus describes what then ensued:—

‘We all hastened to kiss his hand; but no sooner did he set eyes on me, than, inflamed with rage and fury, he turned quite black in the face, his eyes glared, and he foamed at the mouth. ‘Infamous blackguard!’ said he to me, his own daughter, and having no otherwise offended than in being deeply attached to Frederick; ‘darest thou appear in

my presence? Go—keep thy scoundrel of a brother company!’ As he thus spoke, he seized me with one hand, and gave me several blows with his fist in the face, one of which, upon the temple, was so violent, that it knocked me backwards, and I should have split my skull against a corner of the wainscot, if Madame de Sonsfeld had not caught hold of my dress. The king, unable to control himself, would have struck me again and trampled upon me, but was prevented by the queen, my brothers and sisters, and the other persons present. They surrounded me, and thus allowed time to Mesdames Kamecke and Sonsfeld to lift me up, and place me in a chair in the embrasure of a window which was close by. Seeing that I got no better, they despatched one of my sisters for a glass of water and a smelling-bottle, by means of which they somewhat revived me. I reproached them for the trouble they took with me, as death would have been infinitely preferable to life, in the then state of things”—*Ib.* i. pp. 313, 314.

This paroxysm of wrath a little relieved the air; for although the furious father vowed that he had obtained evidence enough against ‘the scoundrel Fritz and the blackguard Wilhelmine, to have both their heads off,’ the piercing shrieks of their mother, the remonstrances of more than one female then present, who appealed, as none but women know how to do, to the latent affections of nature, at length produced some perceptible effect. Seckendorf, and other foreigners of distinction, also did their utmost to avert extremities. Those members, however, of the court-martial, who had been for milder measures, could never recover afterwards the royal favour. Katte had been sentenced by them merely to be cashiered, and confined to a fortress for life; which decision the autocrat most arbitrarily annulled, and substituted a capital punishment in its stead. Frederick was conveyed to Cüstrin, there to be ignominiously treated as the most common felon, and doomed to behold with his own eyes a procession, which passed before his window, conducting to execution his unfortunate accomplice. It was long indeed before he recovered from the shock; but it sobered him so far as to bring him to some degree of severe self-examination. The poor lieutenant had ascended his scaffold with extraordinary fortitude, and having delivered to the chaplain a paper for the prince, he refused to be blindfolded, but raising his eyes to heaven, he ejaculated, ‘Into thy hands, O my God, I commend my spirit!’ after which a single stroke severed his head from his body. The paper contained a solemn appeal to Frederick, that he should abandon all his obliquities in faith and practice; that he should see and acknowledge where he was really wrong; that he should forsake the shocking doctrines of fatalism, recognising a Divine Providence in the minutest circumstances; that he should unconditionally submit to the commands or wishes of his father, and,

above all, to the mighty will of the King of kings and Lord of lords! This interesting document, drawn up in thirteen articles, under most painful circumstances, could scarcely fail to produce impressions beneficial so far as they went; nor did the worthy pastor, attending on him, neglect his more important duties. He convinced his royal charge that, although he might have been much sinned against, his career hitherto had been anything but respectable or satisfactory. To govern others well, he must be first taught himself to obey those who were for the present set over him. The king, grown calmer through what had happened, began to listen to reason. He remitted the sentence of death; instructed the chaplain, in a curious correspondence under his own hand, how to perform the part of a Mentor with regard to his pupil; released the latter, after an interval, from his arrest; received graciously an intercessory letter, written on his behalf, from the Emperor Charles the Sixth; accepted his penitential confession and submission; and no doubt ultimately succeeded in bending without breaking the spirit of his son. That son passed through the practical education of a Telemachus at Cüstrin. The habits of industry and business into which he was there severely initiated, proved of the greatest service to him in after life. As to the wisdom of this world he had opened his eyes, resolving to do his best with regard to his parents. More and more favourable reports were transmitted to Berlin respecting his monthly progress in the sciences of finance and general administration. At length, Frederick William visited him in person; forgave him cordially, in an affecting interview; satisfied his own mind that the prince was an altered man; and perhaps remembered with compunction his own cruelties and severities. The prince-royal, in fine, quite regained his ground within about a couple of years, nor, during the remainder of his reign, had this strange father any cause for complaint. Frederick came back to Berlin; fell in with almost all the paternal humours and caprices; professed himself, as in fact he proved, a perfect convert to the glories of a military life; paid great attention to public business; married just as his father bade him, although contrary to his inclinations; and, above all things, took care to enlist the tallest recruits that could be obtained by purchase or negotiation. When the nuptial festivities were concluded, the royal pair withdrew into rural retirement at Ruppin, the manor of which the king had given him. In 1734, he acquired, by a similar donation, the mansion of Rheinsberg, in a romantic situation, not far from the town, which subsequently became his favourite residence. His revenues on his restoration were not more than 3600 dollars, or 600*l.* sterling per annum; nor after his settlement with the Princess of Brunswick-Bevern, his consort, were they quite

quadrupled. Hence foreign powers, through the dangerous intervention of good-natured ambassadors, advanced him money, which involved him in perpetual intrigues, and rendered him an accomplished master in the arts of skilful concealment.

It is not difficult to perceive, that if a purgatory of trial had burnished up the outside of the cup and platter in the case of Frederick, his inward parts remained full of all manner of wickedness. As the vigilance of his custody at Cüstrin relaxed, his immoralities revived, and the germs of atheism sprouted in due, although in secret proportion. His breaches of the seventh commandment went hand in hand with an augmented disposition to sneer at fundamental and eternal verities. His correspondence to his most intimate confidants unveiled the growing heathenism of a benighted and apostate heart. Even his favourite sister, who had suffered so much with him and for him, felt the coldness of his demeanour, at their first meeting, after their mutual misfortunes. The truth was, that in the opinion of the world, he was a better and greater man every day he lived; in the judgment of Heaven, a worse and more worthless one. Wilhelmine threw her arms about his neck, bestowed on him a thousand kisses and caresses, saying the tenderest things to him; 'but he stood all the while as cold as ice, replying only in monosyllables!' There can be no real sympathy in the soul of an infidel. She had endured a longer imprisonment than he had, although both one and the other had terminated in a political marriage. Her own account of an incident which had occurred during her incarceration, strikes us as peculiarly touching and pensive.

'One day when Madame de Sonsfeld and I were at table, looking sorrowfully at one another, having nothing for dinner but broth made of water and salt, and a stew of old bones full of hairs and dirt, we heard something knocking hard against the window. We rose hastily, in surprise, to see what it was. It proved to be a rook, with a piece of bread in his beak, which, as soon as he saw us, the bird laid down on the window-sill, and flew away! The tears started into our eyes. 'Our lot is indeed deplorable,' said I to my *gouvernante*, 'since it touches animals not endued with reason; they have more compassion upon us than men, who treat us with such cruelty. Let us take this for an omen of a change in our situation.' However, there was nothing but what was perfectly natural in this affair. It was a tame rook belonging to the Margrave Albert, which had missed its way, and was seeking its lodging. My attendants, nevertheless, thought the circumstance so wonderful, that it was soon circulated all over the city, and it excited in a French colony near us such pity for my distress, that at the risk of incurring the king's resentment, they sent me every day something to eat in baskets, which they set down before my wardrobe, and which Mermann, my maid, took care to empty. This kindness,

and the zeal which they manifested in behalf of my brother, have excited in me so high an esteem for that nation, that I have made a point of relieving and patronising persons belonging to it, whenever I had an opportunity.'—*Ib.* i. pp. 354, 355.

The flames of war had broken forth again on the decease of Augustus the Second, king of Poland, in 1733; and the prince-royal, with his father, joined the army of the empire under the veteran Eugene. Little honour, however, was reaped on that occasion, for the companion of Marlborough was merely the shadow of himself, and the French took Philippsburg. The opportunity just served to introduce him to the perils and excitements of warfare. He also learned to converse with great men, his equals or superiors in ability, as also to despise the Austrians. Nothing worthy of mention now occurred until the close of May, 1740, when death summoned Frederick William to his final account. This monarch had already begun to perceive and respect the talents of his successor, and gradually had relaxed the reins, cowering rather, in fact, under the ascendancy of superior genius. He bequeathed him enormous territories, unimpaired in extent, and vastly improved in opulence and population; returning to the treasury annual revenues of something less than 7,500,000 dollars, besides having accumulated in that treasury 8,700,000 crowns, together with 1,500,000 dollars' worth of magnificent silver plate. The royal domains had been also augmented to the extent of 5,000,000, whilst a well-appointed army remained ready at his beck and nod, consisting of 72,000 men. Frederick was now eight-and-twenty; nor did he lose any time in letting all Europe know how he intended to reign. The dissolution of the emperor Charles the Sixth, on the 20th of October, without male heirs, left the Pragmatic Sanction, for which he had exhausted his exchequer, to the mercy of political tempests. Charles of Bavaria succeeded to the Germanic diadem, and Maria Theresa to Hungary, Bohemia, and the other Austrian possessions. To humble the house of Hapsburg was clearly the policy of Prussia.

Frederick forthwith claimed Silesia, consisting of seven principalities and six lordships; a rich and populous country, not heavily burthened with taxation, yet yielding an income to its governors of 3,500,000 dollars. His claims had considerable foundation, and were of some antiquity; but the great battles of Mollwitz, Czaslau, Hohenfriedburg, Sohr, and Kesselsdorf, really pleaded his cause. Austria, moreover, had never swayed her sceptre after a popular fashion, so that Breslau and its noble provinces passed for ever from the imperial family without many symptoms of regret. The conflagration still raged throughout Christendom calling itself civilized. The Queen of Hungary,

Great Britain, Russia, and Sardinia, were on one side; France, Prussia, Bavaria, Spain, and Sweden, on the other. The vizier of the Ottoman Padisha offered the Sublime Porte as a mediator to restore peace; but the proposal, perhaps meant as a sarcasm, merely excited immense admiration. The engagements of Dettingen and Fontenoy poured out human blood like water. Frederick fell in self-defence upon Saxony, and France, through her greediness, upon Holland. The treaties of Dresden and Aix-la-Chapelle at length afforded temporary termination to these disgraceful struggles. Berlin hailed her victorious monarch with open arms and grateful hearts, with shouts of applause, tears of joy, and laurel chaplets. The cognomen of GREAT was unanimously connected with his name; and, without a doubt, he had performed wonders. Soldiers in those days were the scum and offscouring of the earth. Military enlistment comprised the refuse of jails, too profligate and irreclaimable ever to think of looking back again upon the homes or decencies of society. Armies were then multitudes of thieves and murderers, with weapons in their hands, mischief always in their heads, organized to obey the word of command through the lash, the gallows, and the gauntlet. They formed mighty combinations of infernal elements—immense and fearful machines, moulded and manufactured in the valleys of Tophet, yet with which mortal sovereigns, or their ministers, dared to play. Dissension and desertion, the violence of comrades towards one another, famine, exposure, pestilence, and necessary executions, did more to thin their ranks than actual conflict in the open field. They fought for neither sentiment nor principle; yet with these homeless mercenaries, brought up in grossness and ignorance, Frederick had added Silesia to his paternal inheritance, and rendered his country almost the arbiter of at least Northern Europe. He had breathed an animating spirit of honor into men who, before his time, seemed always prepared to sell their lives and services to any prince who would pay them a few groschen, and ensure them large plunder or good quarters. His genius and valour taught them to rush across the fire of batteries into the phalanxes of an enemy; to wade through swamps or half-frozen water to reach the foe; to glide down precipices with their muskets between their legs, or ascend the steepest pathways slippery with ice and gore! He was now in the flower of mature manhood, the early summer of his best years; having wisely determined, at least for the present, to exchange the toils of warfare for the arts of peace. His person appeared well-grown and proportioned, about five feet six inches high. His face was embrowned by all the vicissitudes of atmosphere and climate attendant upon his campaigns. The features of his countenance bespoke gravity and dignity, when not lit up with the sallies of wit and humour, which his own

example elicited from his intimate associates. His eyes, remarkably animated and brilliant, played as a living index to his active and energetic mind. With a long and striking nose, beneath an ample forehead and strongly marked eyebrows, he could express the most attractive condescension, or the bitterest sarcasm. His step was quick, and his bearing royal; he rode well, and on public occasions generally appeared on horseback. When young, his head inclined somewhat to the left, like that of Alexander; but in more advanced life it turned a little to the right, perhaps from his being so fond of playing on the flute. His memory presented a capacious magazine of knowledge. In conversation, few men, and no sovereign, ever seemed more eloquent, various, or persuasive. In a word, his powers were as great as those of a thoroughly selfish person can ever be. Taken as a whole, his inner man was mighty and magnificent, rather than magnanimous or solidly eminent. It was an intellectual individuality, more than a wonderful system of things, blended within the limits of a single mind. Frederick shone in his own sphere, with an unparalleled brilliancy, in an age remarkable for stolid monarchs. His equals in station were generally blockheads or bigots, as well as profligates and tyrants. He was therefore *inter stellas Luna minores*; but he revolved on his own centre, without describing, beyond the boundaries of Prussia, any orbit of beneficence or philanthropy for the countless masses of mankind.

His soul, unhappily, had been drawn within the baneful influences of a genius even more brilliant, more atheistical, more wicked, and more supremely base, than himself. We allude, of course, to M. de Voltaire. At the very commencement of his surreptitious indulgence in literary tastes, the young scion of royalty had conceived for the productions of the Frenchman an admiration as fanciful as it was exaggerated. After the fall of Philippsburg he had contrived to obtain an interview with him; but it was not until two visits had been paid by the poet to Berlin, in 1740 and 1743, that the king at all obtained an insight into his genuine character. Before 1749, however, he had come fully to understand that this intellectual idol might be worshipped with greater advantage at a distance than near at hand. He had found out that he was fit only to be read, not to be known: but, as his majesty observed to Algarotti, in the true spirit of an infidel, 'I wish to learn his French; what need I care about his morals?' The vanity of Voltaire had been touched, in the following year, by circumstances at Paris, which induced him to offer his patron in Prussia the benefit of a third visit. Frederick took him at his word; transmitted him 2000 dollars to pay his travelling expenses; received him into his palace at Potsdam; invested him with the Cross of Merit; presented him with a key

of office as one of his chamberlains; settled on him a salary of 20,000 livres per annum; gave an annuity of 4000 more, for her life, to Madame Denis, his niece; and afforded him, over and above his splendid lodgings under the royal roof, a free table, all necessary fuel, two wax candles per diem, and a certain quantity of sugar, coffee, tea, and chocolate, monthly. The sophist had in fact bargained for all these pretty perquisites, and had obtained them. Yet such was the meanness, not to say dishonesty, of his conduct, that the king detected him in positively selling for money several of his appointments, and, amongst others, his nocturnal allowance of wax candles; whilst, in order not to be without light, he would purloin a couple or more tapers every evening from the antechamber of his host and benefactor! A lawsuit also with one Hirsch, a jew and bill-broker in the metropolis, unveiled a most disgraceful series of downright peculations, in which the petted foreigner had indulged. His malicious satires, during the entire period of his sojourn at Berlin, were aimed indiscriminately at the best and most amiable characters of the day, as well as at everything that was good, honourable, lovely, or virtuous. The malevolence of a single man darkened the whole court. Frederick himself was driven through the repeated falsehoods, jealousies, and low Gallican vanities of his guest, to write him a reproachful note concluding with these severe but appropriate words: 'You have a heart a hundred times more horrible than your genius is beautiful!' Voltaire stormed with rage and mortification on reading it. Not an epithet in the vocabulary of wounded self-love was omitted in the indecent message, which the page who brought it had to carry back to his master; but as the rejoinder concluded with an exaggerated compliment to the royal powers of versification, even the autocrat pocketed an affront which, at the expense of his morals, cast a morsel of flattery to his understanding. Not that Voltaire could be sincere in this, or anything else he uttered; for one day, when General Manstein requested him to revise and correct his memoirs, he pettishly yet wittily replied, that 'he had so much dirty linen of the king's to wash, that his must wait.' Frederick heard of this answer, and felt piqued, as well he might; for the poet had also ventured to describe the Silesian conqueror as 'a mere corporal.' Many epigrams, replete with gall and vinegar, against every member of the House of Brandenburg, were traced home to the serpent whom they were foolishly fostering in their bosom. Matters at last arrived at an open breach. Royalty recollected itself ere it became too late; and then the philosophical atheist humbled himself in the very dust, although happily in vain. The two wits parted in dudgeon. Innumerable lies were published on both sides; but whatever

may have been the culpability of the Prussian monarch, his once admired and almost deified companion must go down to all posterity with a verdict of base ingratitude branded upon his memory.

‘He was often and keenly reproached by the king with holding correspondence with the foreign ministers, and furnishing occasion for a variety of disagreeable circumstances. But the most pernicious effect produced was the change caused by him in the disposition of the king. In the hours devoted to social intercourse and relaxation, Frederick had hitherto been accustomed wholly to forget the sovereign, and to be only the friend of his friends—the thinker, the artist, the poet, the man. But after he had received such painful lessons—after he had seen his most innocent actions exposed to the most scandalous misconstruction, and expressions used by him in the social circle publicly distorted; after he was obliged to accuse persons, whose genius and talents rendered them worthy to associate with him, not only of foibles of the heart, but of detestable actions, proclaiming an utter want of principle; he then began to be mistrustful and reserved; the delightful dream of youth was over; he secluded himself more and more in his later years, and his heart, previously open to the kindest feelings, became gradually enveloped in an almost impenetrable crust. To this lamentable change the conduct of Voltaire essentially contributed.’—Vol. ii. p. 352, 353.

Nevertheless, had his majesty but just condescended to look within, by the light of a revelation, which unfortunately he dared to despise, he would have seen that no one was near so much to blame as himself. He was merely reaping as he had sown; and an Almighty Providence, for the wisest purposes, has so connected cause and effect indissolubly together, that not to love God with all the soul is the height of folly and extravagance. The omnipotent disposer of all things, meanwhile, like a divine alchemist, brought good out of evil, and turned the profane latitudinarianism of an able ruler into golden results for his own people. At the moment of mounting the throne, invested, as he found himself, with irresponsible power, he resolved notwithstanding to retain it as a trust, and therefore issued some noble ordinances relative to the administration of justice. For real constitutional freedom his subjects were not prepared; nor would he have imparted it, had they been so. He was no George Washington! But his expressions on numerous occasions were sincere to this effect:—that it behoves the sovereign agreeably to his vocation, to be in the first place the magistrate, and in the next the warrior; for that the maintenance of the laws is the sole motive which induced men to give themselves governors, this being the true origin of sovereignty. His attention turned itself accordingly to the improvement of every judicial, as well as

executive department. Torture was forthwith abolished. He determined upon a most rigid abstinence from a practice common to his predecessors, that of interfering with the decisions of legal courts, or passing sentence *de suâ voluntate*, or in *propriâ personâ*. In 1746, he proceeded to what some honest despots have projected, and one or two actually performed; namely, a complete reform. To his chancellor, Cocceius, a learned septuagenarian, descended from an ancient family of jurisconsults, his majesty committed the elaborate labour of compiling the Frederician Code. All suits and processes were to be finished within a year; which alone would render our gentlemen of the red-tape and the long robe as thin as weasels, and as pale as spectres! In Pomerania, 2400 old lawsuits came to a termination within twelve months. The tribunals were enjoined to dispense equal and impartial justice, without respect of persons, that the sighs of widows and orphans might never follow them before the judgment-seat of the Most High! Antiquated forms still survived, in several respects; yet only so far as by no means to embarrass a substitution, throughout the system, of modern clemency in the place of ancient cruelty. The old Halsgericht, which seems to have been originally the chief court, it would have been sacrilege to have annihilated. It sat in several places during the present reign, and last of all at Berlin, in the open air, with its black costumes and picturesque insignia, as the final terminator of certain criminal inquiries. Frederick may well be styled the Justinian of Prussia; nor was his legislation belied by his example. His immediate households and establishments, as also those of the other members of the royal family, exhibited models of order and economy. He expected his brothers to do what he himself daily did, that was, to exert themselves to the utmost for the benefit of the commonwealth; to require as little as possible for themselves; and to seek their true glory in well merited public approbation. In his own case, every moment had its allotted occupation. He wrote to Jordan, in 1742, as follows:—‘You are correct, my friend, in supposing that I work hard: I do so in order to live; for nothing has more resemblance to death than idleness! Of what use is it to exist, if one only vegetates?’

Very little sleep sufficed him. In summer he rose at three often, but always at four; and in winter at five. He dressed and undressed generally before a fire, except that, as to the former operation, ‘he put on his stockings, his breeches of black velvet, and his boots which were never new, never blacked, and often looking very foxy, sitting on the bed.’ Indeed, personal cleanliness rarely formed one of his characteristics. A vein of eccentricity ran through his whole mind and manners, as if to mark the hard, rough quarry, from whence he was taken. While his hair,

which he wore in a queue, was being arranged, he read his letters or distributed them amongst the secretaries of his cabinet already in attendance. 'It was not till then that he finished his toilet, washing his hands and face,' like our James the First, 'with a wet towel, and putting on the classic hat, which he never took off but at meals, or when speaking to persons of very high rank; and which, even when new, had been rubbed so soft in the crown as to look like an old one.' He usually wore in it a splendid white waving plume of ostrich feathers. The adjutants-general then made their appearance with reports and for orders; after which, his majesty proceeded to swallow several glasses of water, mixed, in later years, with distilled aniseed, and followed up by two or three cups of strong coffee, sometimes with, sometimes without milk. His flute then employed him for an hour or two, upon which he played incessantly, pacing up and down the apartment, but meanwhile also occupied in pondering all sorts of business. From nine to ten, he met his ministers, and dictated answers to all letters and petitions, which were taken down in pencil upon each respective paper. Officers of state had here no sinecure. They were obliged to be at the palace very early, in full dress, and to go through all their various affairs standing. Stellter did this, as privy-councillor of accounts, for ten years without intermission, literally dropping down dead quite suddenly at his post, on the 29th of May, 1785, just as he had reached Sans Souci! The king exclaimed, with some emotion, 'Happy he!—but business cannot pause: send Beyer to me!' This was the next minister in rotation, with whom he went forward exactly as if nothing had happened. Frequently, during the former part of the day, he would refresh himself with figs, grapes, pines, or other fine fruits, which were placed on the pier-tables around him, and of which he was exceedingly fond; especially of early cherries, for which in December, and till the middle of January, the enormous price had to be paid of two dollars a-piece! On a single day he would regale himself, or guests, on these rarities to the amount of 30% sterling money, whilst the ordinary sum allowed for the expenses of his kitchen was settled at no more than 12,000 dollars per annum. At ten o'clock, his head was smeared with pomatum and powdered, his chin shaved, and his uniform slipped on, all within the compass of very few minutes. Soon afterwards he gave the parole to the commander of the garrison, replied to the addresses or applications of his family or friends, practised concertos, took a ride on the parade, or walked, as the weather might turn out. At twelve, he dined upon eight dishes, served up in two courses, with no dessert besides abundance of fruit, and with a party of from seven to ten persons selected from visitors of distinction at the capital, or his more favoured digni-

taries, either civil or military. His guests felt at liberty to eat what they chose, and drink as much Moselle or Pontac as they might think proper; Tokay or Champagne only appeared when his majesty ordered either. His feeding was coarse, but not immoderate; conversation flowed as freely as at any private table; it lasted from one to three or four hours, according to his humour, unless also the flute again came into requisition, which often proved to be the case. All the letters prepared by his cabinet during the day were now brought for his signature, which, however, he never affixed to any document without perusing it, or making corrections, and adding marginal notes wherever they appeared necessary. In these, his epigrammatic sarcasms, reprimands, or expressions of approval, were as sharp as arrows. Literary pursuits claimed a couple of hours, from four to six, during which brief intervals alone all his works were composed: the entertaining 'History of his own Times;' the elaborate 'Memoirs of the House of Brandenburg;' and the whole of his poems. At six, the concert commenced, in which Frederick took as effective a part, or even more so, than any other amateur. Quantz and Graun were his favourite and successive capellmeisters. The royal adagio is declared by the ablest judges to have been remarkably pensive and pathetic. The concert lasted about an hour, being succeeded by supper; a delightful meal, which collected around him the heartiest and best among his genuine friends. Wit, repartee, criticism, poetry, or graver subjects, occasionally prolonged the session until midnight; but, however late he might retire, he never failed being up betimes in the morning, attending with the utmost cheerfulness and activity to the duties of his station.

Of course, the seasons, and other incidental circumstances often varied this general routine of royal engagements; and the Seven Years' War, for a considerable period, totally changed it. We shall not detain our readers with any lengthened sketch of that celebrated struggle; for the two most interesting volumes before us just land us but upon the threshold of it. The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, had left abundant loopholes for future dissatisfaction and collision. Frederick entered into designs for again drawing his sword, as an enemy to the house of Austria. Maria Theresa had often said, that she would rather have lost the gown off her back, than have been deprived of Silesia. The successful conqueror, meanwhile, had been employing his surplus revenues in augmenting his army to no less than 160,000 men, trained and improved to the highest state of discipline. His fortresses were being furnished with all necessary munitions of war, and rendered by fresh works as impregnable as possible. In 1753, he had exerted all his influence to prevent the election

of a king of the Romans. He had offended France, by expressing his supreme contempt for Louis XV. ; nor would he ever permit his ambassador to attend the levees of Madame de Pompadour, mistress of that pusillanimous sovereign. The Empress of Germany took advantage of this ; and so demeaned herself to the royal harlot, that, addressing her as 'her dear sister,' she allured her paramount influence into the Austrian scale. The Russian Elizabeth also indulged a personal antipathy to the Prussian monarch, who had alluded publicly, and without the slightest reserve, to her infamous and notorious amours. At her instigation, the chancellor Bestuchef brought about, in May, 1746, a secret treaty between the courts of St. Petersburg and Vienna ; which aimed at nothing less than the utter extirpation of the house of Brandenburg. The respective demands of England and France, with regard to America, at length applied the torch of Bellona to materials sufficiently combustible. The alliance between Prussia and France, already existing but in name, was formally to expire in June, 1756 ; long before which time, the Russians had assembled 100,000 men in Livonia, near the frontiers of Frederick ; whilst Austria was collecting an army of 80,000 more in Bohemia and Moravia, strengthening her regiments everywhere, drawing a cordon around Silesia, and forming fortified camps upon its very borders. Money had purchased for the court of Berlin a perfect acquaintance with the most secret designs of its antagonists. Its monarch, therefore, determined on striking the first blow. He entered at once the Saxon electorate, won the victories of Lowositz and Prague ; and compensated for the calamity of Kollin, at Rossbach, and Lissa. His successes were great, but his reverses were tremendous. Never since the conflict between Spain and Holland had forces been more unequally matched. Frederick proved to his desolated country, what the love of liberty did to the United Provinces, or the first William Pitt to Great Britain. Seven hundred thousand troops, contributed by Russia, Austria, and France, with their subsidiary allies in combination, had been opposed to 260,000, marching under the banners of the Black Eagle. There was, indeed, an ignoble moment amidst the abysses of his difficulties, when his ablest generals had fallen, when Sweden had joined his enemies, when the Russians had captured Memel, the French Hanover, and the Austrians both Breslau and Berlin,—that he gravely contemplated suicide. But better counsels prevailed. He rose with the pressure of his misfortunes ; and by a masterly manœuvre, similar to that made by Epaminondas at Leuctra, he retrieved his losses, overthrew one marshal after another, baffled the wisest designs of the hostile alliance, and finally triumphed. The resolute resistance which he thenceforward maintained, the

military grandeur of his enterprises, the strategic skilfulness, mental fortitude, and personal courage displayed by him, throughout those memorable campaigns, attracted universal applause. England assisted him with subsidies; and proved herself his steadiest patron. During 1758 and 1759, Pomerania, the Marks, and the Silesian provinces, were literally swept with the besom of devastation. Foreign soldiery of the most savage description quartered themselves in Prussian palaces. The battle of Kunersdorf seemed a victory, however, which might have again restored all, had not Frederick, whose energy on this occasion degenerated into gross presumption, aimed at what was clearly beyond his reach, and thereby changed it into his most sanguinary disaster. His valour in the field none could doubt, when here, in the thickest of the conflict, he had two horses killed under him, and his clothes penetrated in several places with musket-balls. Never, moreover, did the resources of his genius shine out with such dazzling lustre as after this adverse stroke; for, aided by the dissensions of his opponents, which he had contributed to produce, he covered his capital to perfection, and kept victorious foes at bay, as though the laurels had been all on his own side. In 1760 and 1761, he lived through an analogous succession of alternate misfortune and superiority—his territories bleeding at every pore; and throughout the former of these years, having occasion for all his ingenuity, so that he trusted to his tactics almost more than his firelocks. Such extraordinary triumphs and reverses, history, in her ample and varied pages, could rarely exhibit. Even when Peter the Third had succeeded Elizabeth at St. Petersburg, to be quickly removed in his turn through fresh revolutions on the banks of the Neva, Frederick at one moment having achieved the very summit of his hopes, was dragged by circumstances at the next to the very brink of destruction, yet nevertheless made such marvellous use of favourable interpositions, whenever they did occur, that he altogether recovered Silesia and Saxony, ravaged the frontiers of Bohemia, sent detachments to Bamberg and Nuremberg, and spread terror to the gates of Ratisbon. At last, positive exhaustion rendered all parties anxious for a pacification; which was arranged at Versailles, on the 10th of February, 1763, between Great Britain, France, and Spain; and five days later at Hubertsburg, between Austria and Prussia. This famous contest, which had armed half Europe against Frederick and Great Britain, during which it was calculated that 500,000 combatants had fallen, after all produced little else than a replacement of matters upon their original footing. Prussia procured a guarantee for keeping all her conquests. In addition to her indefatigable monarch having impressed Germany and France with the fullest opinion as to

the indestructibility of his power, he had been furnished with an opportunity of approving himself the most consummate commander of his age, animated by an unconquerable spirit of military heroism, and endued with one of the coolest heads and coldest hearts in Christendom.

Returning to his capital, after an absence of nearly six years, he applied himself, with all his talents and perseverance, to the internal improvement of his kingdom. The ten years of repose consequent upon his Silesian wars, as also the still more protracted period now opening before him, encouraged from day to day his devotedness to those pursuits which render a state wealthy, potent, happy, and flourishing. He rebuilt the towns and hamlets which had been destroyed; and remunerated all who could make out fair claims for compensation. Agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, absorbed by turns his attention. With Cicero, he regarded husbandmen as the most useful class in society: tillage and colonization he therefore patronized *con amore*. In the electorate of Brandenburg alone, no less than 1317 enormous wastes had lain utterly uncultivated since the treaty of Westphalia; his generosity and paternal care quickly covered them with a prosperous population. He erected, throughout the course of his reign, 600 new villages, upon the most comfortable scale; having transplanted into them 42,600 foreign families, or about 215,000 souls, exclusive of similar establishments founded on private estates by Prussian gentlemen and landowners, for which they received from their sovereign more than a million of dollars in presents, aids, and remitted payments. He vastly improved, moreover, the breeds of cattle, as well as farming operations generally. The native sheep were crossed with the Spanish merino, for the first time in Germany. The cultivation of mulberry-trees, silk-worms, tobacco, herbs for dyeing, artificial grasses, green crops for manure, the introduction of stall-feeding, the consolidation of the loose sands upon the Marks, by sowing them with pine-seed and planting them with hedges, may all be traced in Prussia to his exertions and example. He encouraged all new methods and processes; and sent experienced agriculturists to travel at his own expense through England, Holland, and other countries, that they might learn how to superintend the royal domains, or invite skilful foreigners to assist them. Rich ecclesiastical and monastic foundations were induced to rear vines, oaks, and potatoes; to keep bees; to separate their long-woolled flocks from others; and to import East Friesland cows. Berlin took the lead with regard to the potatoe: enormous sums were expended by the crown, in overcoming popular prejudices against it, and at length spreading it over Pomerania and Silesia. Horticulture also lifted up its head; advancing

gradually, yet successfully, from the useful to the ornamental and more luxurious departments of that delightful pursuit. The fondness of his majesty for fruit promoted the growth of even melons and pine-apples. Ambassadors at foreign and distant courts had to transmit suckers and seeds to the king. Major Zegelin, between the years 1760 and 1770, often sent from Constantinople large white fig-trees of Damascus, several from Smyrna and Tauria, orange-trees of the best sorts wherever they could be procured, famous Aleppo water-melons, and the like. So, again, with respect to manufactures, Frederick found his realms in a state of infancy; but he left them in one of manhood:—such were unknown, for example, as those of silk, velvet, crape, gauze, cotton, porcelain, mirrors, gold and silver-leaf, catgut, watches, snuff, and establishments for wax-bleaching, and sugar-boiling; to say nothing of productions which fell under the heads of leather, iron, steel, needles, sail-cloths, metal-buttons, starch, and paper.

‘In many places there was not a sufficient number of persons of different professions, such as tanners, soap-boilers, cutlers, and dyers; nay, so extinct was the spirit of enterprise in Prussian subjects, that businesses requiring a capital of only a few hundred or a thousand dollars, for instance, the making of common tobacco-pipes, marble and gold-paper, wafers, vinegar, white lead, corks, or snuff-boxes, found no speculators. The manufacturers, who were in business, had no notion of extending their concerns. Thus Frederick first directed the attention of the looking-glass manufacturers to the making of pocket-mirrors, which had an extensive sale; and the glass-blowers, to the production of physic-phials. Under these circumstances, if the king wished to animate his country by industry, he had no way left but to stimulate manufactures and trade by all possible means; by premiums, gratuities, privileges, advances of ready money, and thus to infuse new life into them. According to Rodenbeck, the Electoral Mark alone received assistance in this way to the amount of two millions and a half of dollars, between the years 1740 and 1780; and the same writer gives a list of seventy-one establishments, of different kinds, which were either founded by Frederick, or received assistance from him. Though it was not until after the Seven Years’ War that manufactures and industry became flourishing, still the foundation of their prosperity had been laid at an earlier period. In short, wherever industry and trade were to be set in motion by encouragement, there new sources were opened; and such was the increase of the prosperity of the country, that without any augmentation of the taxes, and exclusively of the produce of Silesia, the revenue was increased by 1,200,000 dollars; whilst at the same time, the population in all the provinces had risen to 5,000,000; consequently, as the king adds in his history, ‘Since nothing is more certain than that the number of subjects constitutes the wealth of the state, Prussia might be considered twice as strong as she was in the last years of the reign of Frederick William the First.’—*Ib.* pp. 385—387.

With regard to the royal advances in the science of political economy, much could not be expected. His plans were thoroughly conservative; whilst his disinterestedness and able government made his kingdom and people prosper in spite of prohibitions, monopolies, bounties, and restrictions. It must also be remembered, that circumstances wore a very different aspect, at the middle of the last century, to what they wear at present. It is the lapse of a century which has effected, in combination with other causes, those changes which have brought besotted aristocracies and famishing millions to their approaching crisis of collision. His Grace the Duke of Buckingham can never put back the fingers of the great clock of time. What is unpardonable in our days might, apparently, have much to plead on its behalf, when supply of food seemed so strongly to outstrip a demand for it. Frederick possessed only glimpses of plain, homely truths, which are now perfectly well understood by men in fustian jackets able to lecture at mechanics' institutions. He defined wealth to be the accumulation of specie, and felt strongly swayed by the old notions about balances of trade, which experience and better knowledge have long exploded. It was the benevolent intention and positive disinterestedness of this infidel potentate, which should put to the blush many of our princely nobles, who make large professions of their attachment to genuine Christianity, in religious or senatorial assemblies, exhibiting all the while the profanest selfishness of paganism in their practice! The monarch of Berlin did his best to consult not class interests, but those of the entire community. He facilitated inland traffic, by the construction of judiciously managed canals; by drainages, on a colossal scale, of whole districts; and by founding the port of Swinemunde on the Baltic. He established also the Asiatic and African commercial companies; rendering Embden, which he had acquired as the harbour of East Friesland, an effective source of advantage to the maritime commerce of his subjects. If we turn from these homelier, yet important matters, to the more elegant arts of life, there never existed a sovereign who endeavoured more to advance and foster a general taste throughout his dominions, for the sublime and beautiful. Architecture, painting, sculpture, and more especially music, received almost more than encouragement. He idolized the last, in the person of Quantz, the celebrated flute-player. This eminent musician is said to have played the tyrant over the king, just as the artist himself was the slave of his wife, and she of a petted lap-dog. A curious riddle was once proposed by C. P. E. Bach, to a pleasant party, before commencing a concerto: 'What is the most powerful animal in the territories of his majesty?' When nobody could resolve it, Bach said, 'This formidable creature is Madame

Quantz's lap-dog. Such is its power, that Madame Q. herself is afraid of it; Quantz is afraid of Madame Q.; and Frederick, the greatest monarch in the world, is afraid of Quantz! The king laughed heartily when he heard this anecdote; for no one could be more fond than he was of the canine species.

The summer months were devoted principally to his reviews; for he always regarded the army as the real foundation of his power. Within a short interval, after the peace of Hubertsburg, his regular forces amounted to 200,000 men! These he carefully inspected, from time to time, not only at Berlin and Potsdam, but in the more distant provincial districts. Not, however, that his annual progresses were by any means confined to military objects; but, on the contrary, they afforded him the means of surveying his entire territories in their length and breadth, just as a spectator might examine minutely the circle of a panorama. On such occasions, all civil officers, from the highest to the lowest, were expected to furnish him with elaborate reports of their various administrations. He would also call about him tradesmen, in every line of business, from whose practical information any useful hints might be derived. His objects always were, as he would himself observe, 'to prevent the strong from oppressing the weak; or sometimes to mitigate sentences seeming, on further consideration, rather too severe; besides having opportunities of being serviceable to persons of whose existence he was ignorant. This supervision made judges and officers attentive, and prevented cruel or too rigorous proceedings.' All the time occupied by these tours in the provinces, Frederick devoted so exclusively to business, that while engaged in them he would never write so much as a letter to his friends. He read, however, in his carriage; and when the jolting of the vehicle, owing to the bad state of the roads, was too violent for that, he would commit to memory, even after he was sixty, the finest passages of the poets. French authors formed the principal sources of such recreation; for of the Roman classics he knew little, and of Greek hardly a word. Yet he would quote Latin sometimes, and with no slight aptitude, whenever the occasion fairly appeared to require it. With regard to his foreign policy, he altogether acted upon the celebrated maxim of Virgil:—

'Torva læna lupum sequitur; lupus ipse capellam,
Florentem cytisum sequitur lasciva capella;
Et te sequor, Alexi,—trahit sua quemque voluptas!'

In one word, recognising no internal code of morals for himself, he indulged his parental care of Prussia, by gratifying her ambition, as well as his own, with the plunder of other nations. The infamy of conceiving, and in part executing, the partition of

Poland, will follow his name with the shadow and brand of diabolism to all posterity. His admirers may style him the Great Frederick, but history has enrolled him as a mighty robber, eminent amongst the political highwaymen of mankind. From the death of Augustus the Third, in 1763-4, he fastened the gaze of a vulture upon the prey from afar. Under pretence of preventing a pestilence from entering his kingdom, he drew a powerful cordon of troops along the Polish frontier. He then proceeded to extort a tribute from the governor of what was called Great Poland, as a compensation for certain expenses which he said had been incurred by him through the defective condition of its police. He then tore 12,000 families of Poles from their native land to augment the population of his colonies in the Mark, and in Pomerania. He went on to coin gold and silver money, under the title of King and Republic of Poland, of far less than their nominal value; and compelled all those, from whom his subjects made purchases, to receive this base, or, at least depreciated, issue in payment; whilst he would take nothing, at his royal treasury, but the good old coinage of the former sovereigns, for the stores which he had accumulated. He acted out the ancient fable of the Wolf and the Lamb to perfection, considering the weak created merely as meat for the strong. At length, on the 26th September, 1772, Russia, Austria, and Frederick constituted themselves conservators of an independent state, prostrated through circumstances at their feet, by sharing out the spoil amongst themselves. The last of these modern triumvirs condescended to go through the solemn farce of publishing a cool philosophical paper, in the face of indignant Europe, reciting certain grounds, reasons, and claims; as also endeavouring to attract general attention to his extreme moderation on the occasion. He then quietly appropriated the whole of Polish Prussia, together with the district of the Netz; by which transaction his territories were rounded, and rendered continuous, from Glatz to Memel, comprehending the fertile provinces of Culm, Elbing, and Marienburg. He thus also became master of the grand cathedral of Wermeland, which gave him an annual income of 300,000 dollars; besides obtaining the only mouths of the Vistula still navigable. All the inhabitants of these parts had to take oaths of allegiance to their new autocrat within fourteen days. Other portions of plunder, which Frederick afterwards was compelled to disgorge, had first to undergo a squeezing process. The flocks were driven away, the forests cut down, the magazines emptied, and the most necessary implements carried off, after, too, every tax and impost had been raised and paid by premeditated anticipation. 'It pleased the Almighty,' exclaims honest Von Müller, 'to manifest the

morality of sovereigns.' Had the Prussian ever read the *Battle of the Frogs and Mice*, by Homer, he would, perhaps, have remembered that striking expression of the heathen poet, *ΕΧΕΙ ΘΕΟΣ ΕΝΔΙΚΟΝ ΟΜΜΑ!* At any more solemn precept of revelation he would have doubtless only sneered, unless indeed he might find it convenient to use it against other malefactors than himself; for his knowledge of the text of the inspired volume was remarkable. It could, therefore, in no way, be averred that he transgressed ignorantly. None were more loud than himself against the unjust pretensions of the Emperor Joseph, when the latter took possession of Bavaria; for he conducted in person the bloodless campaign of 1778, which terminated in the treaty of Teschen. The three last of his public acts were the projection of the Armed Neutrality in 1780, the establishment of the Germanic Union in 1785, and a treaty of amity and commerce with the United States of America, in the ensuing year.

He was now verging towards extreme old age, although in full enjoyment of his mental powers. A dropsy, however, pressed upon him long before he would acknowledge its existence, and gradually undermined his constitution. He, nevertheless, continued his attention to public business without the smallest interruption. In fact, what else had he to sustain him? He would admit a physician only for a few minutes, just to give directions with respect to his disorder, as a sort of interlude between civil and military matters. No change in his course of life occurred until within a fortnight of his dissolution; being at last so swollen, that he could no longer move without much assistance. Day and night were now spent in his chair of torment, for he suffered fearfully; yet to those around, he made no sign, either of impatience or uneasiness; continuing as usual to converse upon every conceivable topic except the right one, and without ever once alluding directly or indirectly to the state of his health. As respects the wicked, there are often *no bands in their death*; nor were there any here! The catalepsy of the heart remained undisturbed. On the 16th of August, 1786, he was deprived of sense while his friends were reading to him translations from Plutarch and Cicero; and on the morning of the 17th he expired without any convulsive motion, in the seventy-fifth year of his life and the forty-seventh of his reign. His decease occurred at his favourite palace of Sans Souci, where there still hangs the watch, which he wound up every evening with his own hand, pointing to the moment when he departed hence, at which it is related to have stopped! We believe there is no question as to the truth of this remarkable coincidence, since, of course, it could have been nothing more. He had degenerated almost into a parsimonious economist. Doctor Moore declares, that the

whole royal wardrobe was shewn him at Potsdam, which consisted but of two blue coats, faced with red, the lining of one a little torn; a couple of yellow waistcoats, a good deal spoiled through the use of Spanish snuff; three pairs of breeches, of the same frightful colour; and a suit of blue velvet, embroidered with silver, for grand occasions. His bedchamber was beautifully furnished, and provided with the appearance of a rich and royal couch; but, in reality, he always slept on a hard mattress in a concealed bedstead. He took immoderate quantities of Spanish snuff, out of a large golden box, adorned with valuable diamonds. He never cohabited with his queen, although not failing in public and ceremonious respect, both to her and the queen-mother, so long as she lived. His dogs seem to have occupied that place in his natural sympathies, which was intended by the Almighty Creator of man to be illustrated with the domestic relations. Sir Walter Scott could have scarcely caressed his tame animals with more affection than Frederick the Great manifested towards his Italian greyhounds, for whose special use he kept small leathern balls in his apartments, perhaps to divert their attention from the handsome furniture around. If it was for the latter purpose, his intentions were frustrated, for the favourites served his chairs and sofas *à la mode Polonoise*, gnawing off the beautiful coverings, and tearing the tapestry in every direction. He is said to have made very low bows, and to have increased his stooping demeanour in later life, through the habitual practice of such excessive inclinations. For female society he shewed little taste, and but rarely invited ladies to his private parties.

His literary compositions will always enjoy a certain value, since a sovereign, and that so distinguished a one, was their author. They possess, moreover, many intrinsic excellences of style, originality, perspicuity, arrangement, and imagination. Not many have written so well as the Philosopher of Sans Souci, which was the description under which he desired to pass in the world of letters; confining this eulogium to the external character of his works, and, of course, not implying the remotest approbation of their general tendency. It is a melancholy truth, that he seems to have believed neither in the immortality of the soul, nor in the responsibility of man to his Maker. How much further his infidelity went, it might be difficult to define with accuracy; but denying all revelation, it is probable that his pride and folly fluctuated between deism and atheism according to circumstances, and often, perhaps, according to the caprice of the hour. He had trusted in his own heart and his own understanding, and so became a fool, in the spiritual sense, before men and angels. There is no occasion, however, with regard to a character of this cast, for imitating that peculiar section in what is called the

religious world, which imagines that the cause of truth can ever be served by either inventing or propagating calumny. The editors of the "Edinburgh Encyclopædia," in general a most noble and truthful work, have asserted, as many others have done before and since, that Frederick never bestowed a smile of favour upon the relatives of lieutenant Katte, or upon another family named Wreech, who had befriended him during his imprisonment at Ciistrin. With respect to the former, amongst his earliest acts on ascending the throne, he promoted the father of his unfortunate accomplice to be a field-marshal; creating him, moreover, a count of the kingdom. All the other connexions of his poor friend enjoyed his uninterrupted patronage. As respects Baron Wreech and his household, who resided at Tamsel, in the neighbourhood of the fortress to which the prince-royal was banished, the facts are these:—Frederick was allured into their circle by the charms of the ladies, and their love of music; but the father winked at, if he did not favour, certain criminalities between his royal highness and the females. In fact, he submitted to dishonour with his eyes open, drawing, as it were, a bill of good hope upon the future, to be returned with ample interest when his youthful guest should have become his sovereign. After that event had taken place, his expectations met with precisely what they deserved—most merited contempt. The new sovereign might have been ungrateful; yet the profligate nobleman herein was rightly served. Thiebault, who tells the story to inculpate the king as much as possible, further mentions that a sum of 6000 dollars, borrowed by the prince of the baron, was never repaid. If so, it was indeed an act of gross dishonesty; but we can only say, that with regard to other claims of this sort, restitution seems to have been afforded in the most scrupulous and conscientious manner. His own interests were identified with his doing so; and his treasures on the decease of his father, as we have seen, were immense. Even his calumniators allow, that "wisdom, justice, and beneficence marked the first actions of his reign;" and what could have been more unpopular, besides being unnecessary, than to seem slow in meeting obligations incurred during his minority? Our sole object, in these observations, is the maintenance of strict impartiality. There were spots and blemishes enough throughout his character and administration, without the insertion of surreptitious ones. It has been justly observed, that, as a ruler, he displayed more personal ability than political wisdom. He was an autocrat to the backbone; in some respects a species of spurious Cæsar; a kind of precursor to the Napoleon of another generation. He intermeddled far too much in details. His mind possessed vastness, power, and capacity; but there appeared

an undue proportion of little things, as compared with great ones, in it. It was lit up with the tapers of human intellect, instead of being illuminated with the sun of true religion, or warmed with a love, or even an admiration for its Divine Author. He therefore stooped often to disreputable conduct, as well as now and then to personal violence. His smiles were brightest towards those who were no better than atheistical blasphemers, although venturing to pass off their impieties under the names of science and philosophy. ‘His general spirit, in short, was selfish and unfeeling; for whilst wishing for the praise of virtue, he was ready to sacrifice every consideration to the love of fame, or, more especially, military renown. His intellectual powers, however immense, were at least of that inferior order which can submit to be guided by profligacies of principle, and seek assistance from dishonourable means. His abilities thus often appeared far greater than they were in reality; because, when wisdom failed, he had recourse to wickedness; and he accomplished objects which would have baffled others, not because they were weaker, but because they were better men!’ His crown, and talents, and, perhaps, his overrated reputation, have sometimes served to shed a meretricious splendour upon the efforts of the French Encyclopædiasts to banish worth and genuine loveliness from the world we live in. But Frederick and his companions in literary fame have already begun to pay the penalty of their presumption. They preferred darkness to light, and now know the consequences:—

*Ibant obscuri solâ sub nocte per umbram
Perque domos Ditis vacuas, et inania regna !*

We cannot close these volumes without expressing our gratitude to both their author and editor for the pleasure which they have afforded us. They are pregnant with interest to the lovers of history and anecdote. Their successors will be, no doubt, equally welcome; and should a future opportunity be afforded us we shall be glad, through their able assistance, to furnish our readers with an outline of what Prussia has been since the days of Frederick the Great—what state she is in at the present time—and what may be predicated of her proper line of policy in that eventful drama which we cannot but think will, ere long, open upon the world.

Art. VI. *The National Crisis—Debate on Sir Robert Peel's proposition regarding the Corn Laws.*

WHEN Baron Rothschild, the autocrat of 'Change, was examined before a Committee of the House of Commons, the members declared that he had converted the sober business of the mart into a high theme for poetry. As the "great one of the city," in simple merchant phrase, stretched out before the senate his map of the traffic of England, the unambitious circumstantiality of the counting-house rose into the truest eloquence of description, and he imparted to the "plain facts" of our commercial greatness an intensity of interest which might almost entitle them to the appellation of the statesman's romance. He called England the centre of the world—the place where the "ends of the earth" were literally "met together"—the heart of the human race, whose pulsations regulated the social constitution of man. He declared that when England flourished, the world prospered, and that the slightest shock to her commercial stability was disastrous to humanity at large. He traced with searching and calculating finger the radiations of each operation of our exchange to the confines of distant states, and accounted for the movements of the world by pointing to the transactions of our merchants. So universal is the conviction of this ubiquitous influence, that the news from England regulate commercial business at the antipodes—while Britain is made the barometer of trade upon every mart—and the world's traffickers consult it each morning to see what weather-gear they shall wear for the day. Nor is it in this alone that Britain becomes the lawgiver of nations—she is not only the commercial regulator of mankind, but the oracle of universal legislation. Her example is quoted by statesmen as the sufficing reason for their measures. The governors of kingdoms become her servile imitators, and for good or for evil her conduct is the rule of action for civilized communities.

It is not, however, by these circumstances alone that our country has been called to the throne of "the great globe itself, and all which it inherits." She has undertaken the responsibilities of conquest, discovery, and colonization—she governs an empire on which the sun never sets, and numbers among her immediate subjects tribes of every clime, complexion, and degree. Nay, not contented with assuming the duties and venturing upon the discharge of the functions of this solemn, this literally awful power, she mingles in the politics, the treaties, and the wars of independent states, and everywhere interferes in the regulation of the ba-

lance of power among the nations. She even aspires to be their arbitress in morals and religion as in affairs of civil polity. The same ship which bears our merchandise to the tropics, carries with it the missionary—the herald of civilization, to the kingdoms which sit in darkness.

Will it be believed? The rulers of this mighty people are even now bent upon the practice of the maxim, that the safety of a state lies in independence of foreigners, and that the unrestricted cultivation of mutual intercourse and reciprocal reliance is the pitfall of communities. She on whose “Rialto” are daily congregated the swart traffickers of Cairo, the grave Turk, the supple Italian, and melancholy Hindoo—where each day a handful of merchants meet, exchange a few words, and straightway the world is set in motion—and in the vicinities of which some half-a-score of brokers settle the government of an empire embracing a population of one hundred and twenty millions of souls—yes, it is she whose governors deliberately talk of segregating her interests from those of her neighbours, and separating her fortunes from the common fate of the world. Many of her rulers, with the power of legislation in their hands, but with no sense of their responsibilities, and either ignorant of or indifferent to the solemn incumbency of their trust, would pronounce a general sentence of international nonintercourse; and would insist, that in place of throwing ourselves with generous abandonment upon a confiding faith in the action of mutual good offices to touch the great human heart, and exhibiting in our example an unhesitating trust in the efficacy of the exchange of peculiar advantages to secure peace on earth and good will among the children of men, we should circumscribe our sympathies within the territorial limits of our geographical position, and

“Give up to the few what was meant for mankind.”

It is this same plea for our independence of foreigners to which, on a careful analysis, all the arguments preferred in support of the corn laws may be ultimately reduced; and the modern inhabitants of England, like the ancient Britons, find, when compelled by famine to seek food by importation, that they are driven from the sea by coast-guards and revenue-cutters, and when they fall back upon the land, they are starved by a monopoly which can only command high prices by a systematic diminution of production. The proverbial good sense of the people has at last enabled them to discover that independence of the home grower is much more necessary to their own security than the wall of separation which legislation builds up betwixt them and the continental farmer; and that protection to the consumer against the rapacity of the domestic producer is much more imperatively and

reasonably, although much less clamorously, called for, than protection to what is facetiously styled "native agriculture," and "domestic industry," but which might more appropriately be designated "native mortgages," and "domestic rents." They have not failed to see that without wages the great mass of the community could get no food, even although our granaries were full to overflowing—that they are entirely dependent for the supply of the raw material, and mainly dependent for the sale of the manufactured article upon those foreign nations without whose custom they could earn no wages whatever; and they observe, that even for food itself we must rely upon continental producers for a rapidly increasing importation every year, to meet an existing permanent deficiency of nearly two and a half millions of quarters, and an increasing demand of three hundred and sixty thousand additional annual consumers. Nor are they slow to discover that if there be any reality in the fears of the nonintercourse philosophers, for a country which can never produce food adequate to the domestic consumption, systematically to prevent the importation of surplus stores in time of peace, is to leave her with empty granaries, unprepared for war, and to force her, in the contingency of a supervening failure in the domestic crop, to throw herself for mercy at the feet of her enemy. Regarding our restrictive policy as the means of compelling us to depend almost exclusively for subsistence upon the produce of one soil and climate, and those the most uncertain in the world, they know that, if these fail us, all fails us; while if we drew our supplies from every region of the earth, our dependence upon all would render us independent of any one in particular; and our vast capital, languishing for legitimate investment, would, with open ports, make us the corn merchants of the world, England the great central granary of nations, and our island the storehouse of abundance which might bid defiance to all revivals of the "continental system," or the fulminations of Berlin decrees. Pointing also to the experience of the past, they demand of these "difficulty-makers" if we ever depended upon supplies which failed us?—if the quarrels of kings ever interrupted the intercourse of merchants?—if we have ever wanted cotton, silk, timber, flax, tallow, or oil, when we had money to pay for them? or ever procured food from the home producer, when we had not?—if the Chinese war has stopped the imports of tea? or the Milan decree prevented us from drawing large stores of grain from the very heart of Napoleon's own dominions? Above all, the people have become alive to the fact, that the peculiar nature of the protected commodity renders the danger of foreign dependence for its regular supply altogether chimerical; that it is the product of every soil, of every climate, of every people, under the canopy—that as all nations

sell it, the terms of its purchase are in the hands of the consumer, who, if by the accident of war he is shut out of fifty markets, knows that there yet remain open to him a thousand more.

Conclusive as these answers are to the doubts, suggestions, and arguments of those who start the objection of foreign dependence, as a practical difficulty in the way of unrestricted commercial intercourse, the national discussion of this subject has been the means of establishing in the public mind the recognition of the most exalted and catholic principles for the settlement of questions of civil government. Society begins to make the discovery, that the Author of all things has permitted man, by the established harmonics of the universe, to pass over the surface of the deep, with a precision of direction the most perfect, and made the vast ocean, and the rivers, which seem at first sight to separate the inhabitants of the globe, truly to form the great highways of nations, and to secure, and even prompt the mutual intercourse of the family of man; and Christians whisper to each other,—Is not the finger of God himself here, pointing out to us, in the vast tables of the world, the inscription of his great law of common fatherhood, and his proclamation, that he had made of one blood all nations to dwell on the face of the whole earth? They discover that religion may be recognised in the practice of states, as well as in the lives of individuals; that we have not arrived at the solution of the question of mutual intercourse by merely determining its probable effects in the case of our own community; that nations no more than private citizens are suffered to exist for themselves alone; that God and nature recognise none of the fantastical divisions into which men have chosen to segregate themselves; and that if Providence hath called us to the van of civilization, it is not that we may secure for ourselves an exclusive triumph, but that we may lead the whole human race to the victory of civilization over barbarism, and misery, and crime. The moral and religious community of Britain begins to remember that Providence has, in conferring upon her exalted rank, laid upon her also solemn responsibilities; that she cannot, if she would, separate her fortunes from the general destinies of man; and that every act of her people, not only affects directly the interests of mankind at large, but is adopted and imitated by other states. At this moment the eyes of the whole world are upon us. Let England but set the glorious example of emancipating commerce from her chains, and proclaiming the law of human brotherhood, and “nation shall no longer rise against nation, neither shall there be war any more.” But if, in place of proclaiming such a jubilee of trade, we rivet the fetters of restriction, and perpetuate the sentence of international isolation, “the villany which we

teach, others will execute, and it shall go hard but they shall better the instruction."

The less catholic and more domestic aspects of this question have, by the obstinate rapacity of the landed interest, been forced into a not less interesting and momentous shape. Five years before the passing of the Reform Bill, Sir Robert Peel, calculating upon the national characteristic of profound veneration for rank and birth, ventured to enforce the necessity of maintaining a Corn Law, on the ground that "it was part of the constitutional policy of this country to maintain the aristocracy and magistracy as essential parts of the community." Both parties seem by tacit consent to avoid all handling of this plea, most probably upon the principle, that what is first in their thoughts is the last on their lips. Men's minds are instinctively taking the direction of the inquiry whether the institution of privileged classes in this country is worth the money it costs to maintain them, or indeed, whether they are worth any money at all? The dissenter discovers that the Bread Tax, which by mere force of law has doubled the price of food, has thereby converted the *tithes* of the church into *fifths*. The people begin to look grimly at the peerage, to ask what the order means, to consider whether its very existence be not an irreverent attempt to set up an artificial rank in direct opposition to that greatness of soul on which Nature has set her stamp; and to demand whether that fantastic trick of state-craft called lord-making, be not a vile counterfeit, which commands society to do homage to the poor minions of earthly kings, at the expense of the respect which is due to those alone upon whom God has conferred his own great patent of spiritual nobility. And even some of the worshippers of these wooden gods—who perceive the most clearly that the consideration of the Corn Law involves the question of the very existence of an aristocracy in anything save in name—also begin to find out that there is only the choice betwixt the gradual dissipation of the political power, and social influence of the second estate, or the utter and speedy ruin of the nation. The easy impudence with which the question of the Corn Laws was at first laughed off by the pensionaries of the monopoly, changed with the progress of the agitation into blustering impatience, and a swaggering confidence in the strength of parliamentary majorities.—Ridicule, threats, slander, ribaldry, have all been tried—hired disturbers and secret agents, chartist allies and socialist stipendiaries, have been unscrupulously employed—bribery, intimidation, patronage, and promises have carried the willing tool of monopoly triumphantly into power—and in the very moment of victory the confession is made, not less solemnly by the dominant faction than by the party of the people, that, in the lifetime

of the oldest, a crisis so big with the fate of existing institutions, and so important to the prospects and ultimate forms of society, has never been experienced. Those who once talked learnedly of the elasticity of British commerce, now express their fears that too protracted a strain upon it has broken the spring. The confidence in our manufacturing superiority is shaken in the most sanguine of our merchants. The credit of the producers of our staple goods is shaken to the centre, and England is going back, while the rest of Europe is making rapid advances in mercantile activity and enterprise. A serious check has been given to population—the per centage of mortality has fearfully increased, not merely in the manufacturing districts, but in the rural parishes—the habits of the people are becoming degraded—incendiary fires are rapidly increasing in the predial sections of the country—crime and poor rates have grown in a proportion and with a rapidity which threatens the disruption of social order—cases of death by famine are of almost daily occurrence—the streets are encumbered with beggars—the substance of the country is wasted on a population which she cannot profitably employ—she is living on her capital, and producing no profits, while the public revenue is steadily and materially sinking below the necessary expenditure. All parties, how diverse soever their general opinions, are forced to the acknowledgment that something must be instantly done to meet the exigencies of the country; and even those who but lately were clamorous for a fixed duty, now declare their solemn conviction that the manufacturing interest can no longer sustain the burden of any restriction whatever, and that it has become problematical whether even with an immediately free trade we can recover the ground which has been lost. The effect of the Corn Law of 1815 has been to abstract from the means of the people of Great Britain an annual sum, variously estimated by Mr. J. D. Hume, late Chief Secretary of the Board of Trade, and Mr. James M'Gregor, his successor, at from fifty to one hundred millions sterling. When it is considered that, even calculating the consumption of the community at no higher an average than the workhouse dietary, the bread tax exacts 1s. 1*d.* per head per week, from the entire population, or 78,866,666*l.* 13s. per annum; and that the corn consumed in beer, and by cattle, is taxed at least 12,000,000*l.* more; the probability is, that Mr. M'Gregor's estimate amounts nearest to the fact. But even if Mr. Hume's more moderated calculation be in preference adopted, the twenty-six years of peer-rate must have drained the resources of the country of the enormous sum of one thousand three hundred millions sterling. If it be considered that the people had annually to meet the demands of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to an equal extent,

the statesman may well be filled with astonishment at the industrial power of a nation which could not merely maintain its own social position in the van of civilized communities, but could produce a surplusage, to be literally given away without the reception of any equivalent whatever, of the almost incredible value of 2,600,000,000*l.* of sterling money in the short period of a quarter of a century. Nor is it the least part of this stupendous work, that all this vast treasure was the produce of the sheer hard labour of the British community. Our boasted agriculture, to which paltry interest squires ask us to sacrifice every other source of wealth, was so far from contributing its own share that it could not, propped and crutched up as it has been by legislative enactments at the expense of every other interest, even furnish the population with the barest necessaries of life, and had to be assisted in this humble task by foreign importations (paid for of course by manufactures) to the extent of more than one-tenth of the whole demand. Posterity indeed will learn with astonishment, that of the produce of that soil which country gentlemen declare to be the sustaining prop of the nation's greatness, and the chief element of her prosperity, we could not spare for export even one solitary bushel, but had to eke out its deficiencies by an annual Continental supply of upwards of two millions of quarters. It will be still more surprised to discover that our manufacturing skill and industry, and those alone, paid for every luxury, comfort, secondary necessary in food and raiment, material of clothing, ay, even seeds and manures of the land, imported from abroad; nor will the wonder of future generations be abated, when, in the face of a fact which so clearly proves that to our mechanical skill we owe all that distinguishes civilization from barbarism, they read in the pages of the most distinguished recognised organs of the landed interest, a proposal to "raze to the ground half our overgrown metropolis," and the declaration of a settled conviction, that "England would be as great and powerful, and all useful Englishmen would be as rich as they are, though one ruin should engulf all the manufacturing towns and districts in Great Britam." They will cast their eyes over the following list of annual imports :

Barilla, Bark, Butter and Cheese .	cwts.	1,200,000
Coffee and Cocoa	lbs.	48,000,000
Dye Stuffs	„	55,000,000
Eggs	number	84,000,000
Flax	cwts.	1,626,000
Fruits	„	600,000
Gloves	pairs	1,157,738
Hemp, Hides, Mahogany, Molasses,	cwts.	2,200,000

Metals	cwts.	1,300,000
Oil	gallons	3,000,000
Opium, Quicksilver, Rice, Nitre	lbs.	300,000
Seeds	bushels	4,000,000
Silk	lbs.	6,500,000
Skins	number	3,000,000
Spices	lbs.	6,000,000
Spirits	gallons	8,000,000
Sugar	cwts.	5,000,000
Tallow and Tar	,,	1,500,000
Tea	lbs.	40,413,714
Timber	loads	1,000,000
Tobacco	lbs.	32,000,000
Turpentine	cwts.	430,000
Wine	gallons	8,500,000
Cotton Wool	lbs.	508,000,000
Sheep's and Lambs' Wool	,,	52,600,000

When they have learnt that British manufactures have been gladly accepted by communities of necessarily every variety of climate and social condition, for all this vast amount and diversity of merchandise, they will smile at the unreasonable fears of those who predicted that regular importations of corn would drain the country of its bullion, and they will ask — “ Does the earth yield, with less labour and cost, coffee, sugar, tea, flax, hemp, seeds, spices, wines, spirits, oils, dyes, and fruits, than wheat, rye, oats, or barley? Are the luxuries of life reared in *every* quarter of the globe, and bread stuffs only in a *few* favoured spots, that the nations will send us all the delicacies of existence in barter for our manufactures, while no people can be found who will take them in exchange for that staff of life which every soil produces and every climate brings to maturity? And they will conclude, that the world which eagerly took our woollens for *wines*, would not insist upon having gold only for *grain*; and that the nations which willingly accepted tabinets and twills for tea and tallow, broad-cloths for barilla and butter, and calicoes for coffee, cocoa, and cheese, would not sternly refuse to take payment for quarters of wheat in any other return than pounds sterling.

Against the incubus of this Pelion of taxation and monopoly of a hundred annual millions, besides ten millions more for the differential duties on timber, sugar, and coffee, the nation bore up right manfully. The extensive application of the powers of steam, the discovery of the spinning-jenny and the power-loom, the organization of the factory system, and the full development of our vast mineral riches, combined with the untiring industry of the most skilful and persevering labouring population in the world, resulted in a productive power that might be considered almost super-human. Invention was racked, ingenuity, almost miraculous,

year by year brought machinery to a delicacy and precision of manipulation, which the nicest care of the most delicate hand could not accomplish, and to a variety of function that seemed like thought itself. In every department—cotton, cutlery, woollen, hardware, pottery, linen, silk, and lace, calico-printing and machine-making, the same rapid progress to perfection was exhibited, and steam navigation brought our American customers nearer to us than Edinburgh had once been to London. But all in vain! The weaver laboured longer hours for shorter wages and still dearer food; the manufacturer found in extending production only diminishing profits; the capitalist saw increasing risks and a declining per centage; while the merchant became alarmed as he found rival manufacturers encountering us in neutral markets, and at last successfully competing with British goods in our own. The Canadian timber monopoly gradually undermined our trade with the lumber countries of the north of Europe; market after market in the corn-growing kingdoms of the Continent fell away from us; until at last we were dispossessed of all our oldest and best customers, and find ourselves at the present moment deprived of every market we held in 1815, and enjoying the custom of those states only which have other articles of produce besides food to give us in exchange for our manufactures. No nation with less enterprise, energy, and industry than the British could have made head for even a single year against such terrible exhaustion of her resources; and the intolerable interference with her commercial activity, in the shape of tariffs, restrictions, monopolies, and protective duties, has at last fairly over-mastered even her courageous heart. The ridiculous pretence for the support of the Corn Laws, that they encouraged the employment of the peasantry, was fully exploded by population returns, which shewed, that while 978,000 families found employment in agriculture in 1821, only 961,000 were employed in 1831, although the population had increased fifteen per cent. The factory had yielded that demand for labour which the bread tax was annually diminishing in the predial districts, and absorbed besides many annual thousands of the destitute Irish peasantry, while, under the influences of machinery, both crime and pauperism were found to be considerably less than in the rural sections of the country. But all this has at last come to an end: the Bread Tax has fairly vanquished British ingenuity and industry. The busy hum of the mill is silenced by monopoly; the power-loom is powerless; the spinning-jenny has stopped her spindles; the throstles have ceased their cheerful music; the smoke-clouds no longer crown the tall chimney's head; and the great giant steam-engine himself no longer flings abroad his huge fantastic arms, which now hang powerless by his

side, while he at last confesses himself fairly conquered by the Corn Law. Grim Death alone blesses the Bread Tax for increased employment, and points his skeleton finger, with a grin, to the bills of mortality, where we may read that, in 1820, the deaths in England were one in fifty-eight; from 1826 to 1830, one in fifty-one; and for 1839 and 1840, the average was one in forty-five; while we may learn, from the same source, that in the eight principal manufacturing counties the rate of increase in deaths has been 17·7 per cent, and in the eight great agricultural counties, the advance was no less than 19·4. Meanwhile it has been observed, that the "protectors of native agriculture" have systematically appropriated, by successive enclosure bills, the common lands of the common people; that a process of wholesale extermination against the Celtic and Catholic peasantry of Scotland and Ireland has been extensively practised by the self-styled "champions of domestic industry;" and that by the universal adoption of the large-farm system, all the small yeomanry of the kingdom have been dispossessed of their humble holdings by those who love to be saluted by the title of "the farmers' friends."

It is now about ten years since Mr. Robert Hyde Greg, the largest cotton-spinner in the world, first became struck with the circumstance that while every year a much larger quantity of labour was expended, and goods produced, than the year before, no greater sum of money was procured for each large increase of production. He soon became convinced that there must exist in this country some master-key to prices, and he rapidly succeeded in tracing it to the price of food. He found that the cotton market was affected by rain or sunshine as regularly as the corn market, and that the rise and fall of calico most obsequiously followed the contingent vicissitudes of Mark Lane. He discovered that just in the proportion that bread was dear, manufactures were reduced in price, and that the moment abundant harvests made grain cheap, trade became brisk, and the profits of the manufacturer advanced. He was then at no loss to find out that, the less his customers were obliged to pay for bread, the more must necessarily be left in their pockets for the purchase of his goods; and by tracing the history of manufactures in this country, he detected an invariable correspondence betwixt commercial prosperity and abundant and therefore cheap food. He very readily perceived that, as the first care and the indispensable necessity of every man is to have, before every other thing, enough to eat, the Corn Law, which gave the landowners the power of regulating the supply of the necessaries of life, gave them most effectually the means of diverting the whole stream of national wealth into their own pockets; and that so long as

they could prevent any enlargement of the quantity of food to be supplied to the people, to increase the productive power of manufacturing industry would not at all call into existence a greater supply of provisions to be exchanged for the additional quantity of manufactures, but would only force the weaver to part with more calico for no more corn. He saw that so long as a Corn Law existed, an increase of wealth would not create an increase of food, but would only force the consumer to part with more of his money for less wheat as the number of consumers multiplied—nay, he observed that charity itself was rendered entirely abortive by a Bread Tax; for that, as the donations and subscriptions would not bring any more grain into the country, to give the poor greater means of paying was but to enable the producer to exact a higher price. Impressed with the soundness of these views, he brought them under the notice of his brethren on 'Change, but he could get nobody to listen to him but Messrs. J. B. Smith, (afterwards president of the famous Anti Corn-Law League,) and Cobden, now M.P. for Stockport. In a short time, a circumstance occurred which, while it entirely established the correctness of his conclusions, rendered it exceedingly difficult to recommend them to the attention of others. The harvest of 1832 was abundant; prices fell, and trade became prosperous. That of 1833 was still better; the people laid out what they saved in the price of bread in the purchase of more clothes, and the home trade rapidly advanced. Prices of food fell still further in 1834, and those of clothing rose. In 1835 and 1836, the crops were so abundant, and the cost of provisions so much lower than they had ever been before during the century, that some were even exported to the United States, herself the great granary of the world; and in strict accordance with descending prices for grain, the demand for manufactures increased beyond all precedent; new mills were built; old ones were worked both night and day; cheap bread enabled the weavers to withdraw their wives and children from the mills; the demand for labour rose, and with it wages also, insomuch that several thousands of the poor peasantry of Bucks and Wiltshire emigrated into the manufacturing districts. All were busy and prosperous, and no one would listen to the prophet of evil. The rapid rise in the revenue, which higher wages and cheaper food enabled the population to effect by their increased means of consuming taxable commodities, while it at once put to flight the squire-doctrine that dear bread paid the taxes, at the same time rendered the inducements to legislate upon the subject, at the spring-tide of government prosperity, altogether hopeless. The first check came with the failure in the harvest of 1836; the shock was repeated more severely by the bad crop of 1837; and

in 1838, the rise in prices was so great, and the pressure on trade so severe, that Mr. Greg had many more listeners on 'Change, while, instead of being thought a bore to others, he became bored in turn. The germ of an Anti Corn-Law Association was formed in Manchester; and, encouraged by the success of the Anti-Slavery Society, Mr. Smith entertained the hope that the same means might produce like results, and that the lecturer might once more rouse a spirit in the people, which neither government nor opposition would be enabled to resist. The success of the first experiment brought many to his assistance; and at last, the League sprang into existence. A sum of 8000*l.* was speedily subscribed to commence operations, and the fundamental rules of action confirmed. These were, that the League should demand nothing short of total and immediate repeal—that repeal should be advocated on the principle of justice, humanity, religion, and sound policy—and that no political question should on any account whatever be suffered to mingle in their deliberations. It is to an undeviating adherence to these rules that the League principally owes its success. In March, 1839, the deputies held their first parliament in Palace Yard. It is one of the singular features of the times that they have been erecting an *imperium in imperio*, and have kept their sessions as regularly as their rivals in St. Stephen's, than whom they have at this moment a much greater power over the people of England; and it is not too much to say, that they are much more truly the representatives of the interests, the intelligence, and the wealth of the country. On the 10th January, 1839, their first lecture was given; and besides hosts of amateurs, they have regularly kept in full employment six, and sometimes eight, official expounders of their principles. Under their auspices have been delivered nearly ten thousand lectures, to probably not fewer than four millions of auditors, and about five millions of tracts have been distributed. Their organization became so extensive, that in the second year of their existence, they gave a banquet to four thousand of their influential supporters and six thousand of the working-classes, on the very site, strange to say, of the Manchester massacre, where the people, under Henry Hunt, had assembled to petition against the Corn Laws.

In the history of civilization there is perhaps nothing more interesting than the progress of the cause espoused by the League. They have simply assumed that truth, justice, and humanity, must find their way to the hearts of men. They have sent the lecturer "abroad" to plead for industry, liberty, and the poor. Monopoly has never dared to meet him; and when it has ventured to take the field, it has been compelled to fly amid the universal execrations of the people. In the short space of three

years the number of petitioners against the Corn Law has increased from 347,000 to 1,756,563, while its defenders have dwindled down from 430,000 to a "discerning few" of seventy-eight individuals. From all quarters, friends flock to the standard of free trade. Nearly a thousand associations are regularly in correspondence with the League. The number of deputies to London has increased from one hundred and fifty to eight hundred and thirty. Their principles have engaged in their interest the women of England, who have earned for them a fund of 10,000*l.* for the future campaign. But perhaps the most important crisis in their history is that which is marked by the assembly of the great Manchester conference of ministers. This council of seven hundred, gathered from the extremities of Caithness, Cape Clear, and Land's End, stands nearly alone in the annals, not only of England, but of the world. Ambassadors from the desolate to the sympathies of the prosperous; pilgrims from the regions of famine and despair to the holy shrine of national humanity, emerging from the "loopholes of retreat" into the thoroughfare of a "naughty world," in defiance of the denunciations of interested monopoly; and cheered upon their way only by the blessings of those that are ready to perish, and the life-giving strength of the sweet sense of duty, these good and reverend men, in the zeal with which in this distinctive act of their lives they have fulfilled the second great commandment, have done more to lead the people to that love of God which is the source of all religion than ten thousand homilies, or a Peru of ecclesiastical endowments. In one venerable congress of mercy, this nation hath preferred its generous "plea for the poor," and sent the genuine representatives of its mind and heart to the great conclave of humanity; and noble as was the purpose of their pilgrimage, it was excelled by the manner of pursuing the object of their mission. Nay, vast as were the results, and sacred as was the end, they sought and accomplished, yet, in our view, it sinks to a place second in importance to the lesson taught by the conduct of their embassy. For the first time in the history of, perhaps, even religion itself, this conference presented the moral miracle of the assemblage of seven hundred ministers, without one solitary schismatic, every form of creed, and one common power of brotherly kindness and charity, all shades of literal dissidence knit in the unity of the spirit of philanthropy, and the bond of social peace. There might be seen the Catholic priest and the Protestant divine, in honour preferring one another; the Unitarian and the Calvinist rising above the mists of theological antagonism, and the Presbyterian extending to the Episcopalian the right hand of fellowship, in the blessed work of justice and humanity. And while there the ends of the

religious earth were met together, sectaries without persecution, and ecclesiastics without anathema, a soberness of statement, a judiciousness of arrangement, a solid sense, and workmanlike management of the national business, were crowned with such a conscience void of offence towards man, and breathed in an atmosphere of such perfect charity towards those whose acts they were assembled to criticise and revoke, as justly to entitle its members to the gratitude of the patriot, and the reverence of the philosopher.

We have dwelt upon this conference, because, from its assembly may be dated the most rapid and most certain progress of the cause. The members returned to their flocks fired with new zeal, and every pulpit thundered with righteous denunciation of the sinful Bread Tax. Every minister became a free-trade lecturer. The example of England was quickly followed by the dissenting clergy of Scotland; the Society of Friends gradually fell into the ranks of the League, and the wives and daughters of Britain threw their irresistible influence into the contest, encouraged by the Queen herself, who, immediately on the publication of the Rev. Baptist Noel's "Plea for the Poor," appointed him her spiritual adviser. The Whig cabinet found that the League was too strong in public opinion to have its demands any longer resisted, and it did not hesitate to peril its existence upon the question of the Corn Law, which, six months before, it had refused to entertain, and with which the prime minister had declared it would be madness to interfere. Nor has the result of the elections given the slightest check to the progressive power of the League. The tide of public opinion, which forced the Whigs from their inactivity, is already flowing upward to the chin of successful Toryism; and in spite of a majority of ninety-one nominees of the aristocracy, sent to parliament for the express purpose of "nailing their colours to the mast," the very first act of the landowners' government is to propose, amid many shambling explanations and unintelligible apologies, what they call an extensive reduction in the food tax, with the declaration, as a rider, that they only stop short at their present point in the conviction that they must very soon go a great deal further. Indeed, in the best informed quarters it is very confidently asserted, that the measure adopted by the cabinet, on account of which the Duke of Buckingham resigned his place at the council-board, amounted to a virtual reduction of the sliding scale, which would have produced an average duty of 8s. per quarter; and that it was only in consequence of the "tremendous pother o'er their heads" raised by his Grace, that, so late as Wednesday morning, the "lame and impotent conclusion" of Wednesday night was forced upon the premier. The anxious disclamation of finality made by the

home secretary, and the support given to the measure as it stands by the votes of the "nine Muses" of his Grace in the Commons, undoubtedly makes this the most probable solution of the enigma of the Duke's retirement.*

In three words, the ministers' scheme is merely an attempt to improve the details of the existing law, and to maintain its principles by the mere hocus-pocus tricks of statesmen to produce a make-believe distinction, which shall have no real difference. To conciliate his party, he had to assure them that no material reduction would be the result of his plan; to propitiate the opposition, he bade them observe how extensive was his measure of relief. A political Macheath, he felt himself alternately worried by both his victims—compelled by turns to whisper in the ear of each his attachment to her and his aversion for the rival, and at last to sing, "How happy could I be with either," at the very time he would gladly have escaped from both. He admitted the universal distress—he declared that Corn Laws had nothing to do with it—yet a change in the Corn Laws was his only remedy. He traced the miseries of the people to over-production, machinery, and joint-stock banks, but very deliberately left these where he found them, and fell most zealously to the business which, according to his own assurance, might, for any practical purpose, be either postponed or never done at all. Like the drunkard who blames, for his morning headache, the fish, or soup, or pudding, or anything rather than the punch, the premier attributes the starvation of the people, not to a want of food, but to too many banks; and the decline of trade, not to the loss of customers, but to the increase of goods. All the while not one human being believes that he himself is caught in the flimsy cobweb he has woven for the gad-flies around him. Men of sense and honesty are ashamed to see the national understanding insulted by ministerial equivocations, at which a Westminster-

* The rapidity of the progress of the free-trade movement in the House of Commons, is, perhaps, unparalleled in the history of any great question, and quite keeps pace with its advance out of doors. Thirteen short years ago, Joseph Hume proposed a duty of 20s. per quarter, and was honoured with the support of only twelve votes. In the elapse of that short period, the chosen of the landowners proposes, and carries triumphantly, a more liberal measure than that which was rejected almost unanimously; and he does so against a powerful opposition, based on the objection, not that he has gone too far, but not nearly far enough. The latest division (1840) before the present, gave 177 votes in favour of a motion for inquiry into the effects of the corn-laws. The votes in favour of Lord John Russell's last amendment advanced to 226, being an increase of forty-nine votes in eighteen months, as the result of the Queen's appeal to the country, equal to twenty-five on a division. Such is the power of public opinion, even in the face of 1,500,000*l.* spent in bribes, the intimidation of the aristocracy, and the patronage of government.

Hall witness, who wears straws on his shoe, would blush and wonder. To analyze the premier's speech, in the hope of discovering the grounds of his legislation, would be to search for that which he himself never intended should be found. "His reasons are like two grains of wheat in a bushel of chaff, you may search all day ere you find them, and when you do, they are not worth the pains." His introduction to his measure of "awful importance," only established his competency to "speak an infinite deal of nothing, more than any man in all Illyria."

The scheme of the cabinet is eminently characteristic of its leader's mind. It is made for the hour, and gambles upon the chances of contingencies. We are assured by the *cognoscenti* of Mark Lane, that it will still enable them to "work the averages" with a much smaller outlay of capital, and therefore at less risk. Its distinctive difference from the old law is, that it establishes a limit to the amount of duty, which formerly ranged from 1s. per quarter up to 85s. 8d. Of course its effect is almost purely conjectural, but we are assured by one of the most extensive and experienced corn-merchants in the kingdom, that practically, the scale will operate as a fixed duty of 20s. per quarter on wheat, 11s. on barley, 8s. on oats, and 11s. 6d. on rye, peas, and beans. It is his opinion that very large importations may be made at the maximum duty, and a considerable revenue be at once secured. It is certainly not to be forgotten that the tendency of the scale being to diminish disproportionately the home protection on the inferior corns, it must also have the effect of driving the farmer to extend his cultivation of wheat. This is particularly to be expected in Scotland and Ireland. The home grower has indeed the option of falling back upon the grazing trade; but if, as is believed, such facilities for the importation of stock, meat, and dairy produce are contemplated by the cabinet as will effectually put the British grazier upon his mettle, even pasturage may become less profitable than wheat-growing, and thus the farmer may be compelled, for his own sake, to increase materially the production of the staple necessary of the poor, and, as a consequence, to diminish its price. Indeed, upon the whole, the expectation of "practical men" is, that the new scale may effect a permanent reduction in the average cost of wheat of from 7s. to 10s. per quarter. It is certainly worthy of observation, that the announcement of the government measure has, notwithstanding the notorious deficiency of the harvest and the acknowledged necessity for large importations, produced a downward tendency in the markets, and that the prices of Irish provisions have been somewhat affected. If it be true, which we do not mean either to affirm or deny, that the new tariff will occasion a fall of 10s. per quarter, there can be no doubt that a temporary

revival of trade will be the result. This will give the repealers fresh spirit, and induce the cry of agricultural distress. If the occasion be improved to agitate the rural districts when the fall begins sensibly to operate, repeal may be nearer than the squirearchy look for. Sundry expressions dropped during the debates from the cabinet, which would lead to the conclusion that Sir Robert Peel looked for relief from financial difficulty from the very quarter indicated by the late ministry; and that the whole philosophy of his tariff would be to encourage importation for revenue. The documents laid on the table of the house seem to prove that foreign wheat may be imported in considerable quantity at 40s. per quarter. At 56s. the proposed duty is 16s., which would exactly square the prices of foreign and home-grown corn, while a considerable amount of duty might be realized for the exchequer. If the duties on the importation of provisions be at all moderate, and the alterations in the differential duties on timber, sugar, and coffee should be extensive, it is not to be denied that for the present the premier's ways and means would be clear before him; that the temporary settlement of the question by instalment may give confidence, and therefore stimulus to commercial enterprise; that cheaper food will revive the home trade, and enlarged importations extend the foreign, besides helping to pay American debts; and that should a favourable harvest for spring corn (it is hardly to be expected either for quantity or quality for winter wheat) help still further to awaken commerce from its lethargy, Sir Robert may have a Masaniello reign as a "heaven-born minister," destined in all probability to be deposed by his own supporters, the farmer's friends, and like Actæon to be worried by the very dogs of his own pack. Nay, stranger things have happened, than that he should be rescued by commerce from the fangs of agriculture, and ultimately become the free-trade statesman! If so—where will the Whigs be? Above all, where the Church? Her sons are even now gathering their black brows! The tithes commutation act made their revenues depend upon fixed quantities and septennial averages. Where are they to look for compensation, for the lower pivot of the scale? We believe they will work their loss out in Ernulphic excommunications against an anti-Pusey premier who meets the call for new churches by an inquiry about the direction from which the money is to come.

We have been informed that the new markets, proposed to be included in the averages, contain rather a large proportion of those at which the finer and dearer wheats are sold; but the tenacity with which the landowners cling to that part of the measure, would rather induce us to suspect that its adoption

would have the effect of lowering the averages. In our view, however, the peculiarity of the scale, which fixes a manageable maximum duty, may make this a matter of less consequence than at present it appears to be. It is our deliberate opinion, that our demand may so stimulate production abroad as ultimately to furnish our markets with foreign wheat at the same price which prevailed in Holland before she adopted a Corn Law—viz. 30*s.* 6*d.* per quarter. When that time shall have arrived all “working of the averages” will be effectually prevented, and wheat may be imported at all times under a scale, which has at least this to recommend it, that henceforth England will be a *certain* market for all wheat, which will yield a profit when sold at 35*s.* per quarter.

Meanwhile, let us congratulate the country that it has adopted a principle of measurement for this question which is not at all affected by the contingent or speculative results of the “new move,” and that therefore it is not to be diverted from the enforcement of its demands by the temporary relief resulting from quack remedies, or the sudden activity of the body politic from the operation of fortuitous causes. Economical philosophy has taught the people that bread cannot be made cheap without first of all being made plentiful, and that it can only be made dear by so contriving it that there shall always be less meat than there are mouths. Hence dearness, which is the object of the law, is indifferently used in the common language of the people for scarcity or *dearth*. When monopoly, adopting the well-known stratagem of pick-pockets, raises the cry of “Stop thief!” against machinery, science points to Ireland, where there is none, bids it compare the condition of the Corn-Law-protected Hibernian peasant with that of the artisan of Belgium, where the steam-engine is universal, or of the factory girls of Lowell, where bread is cheaper than anywhere in the world—and calls upon it to remember that during the last four years the employment of the spinning-jenny and power-loom had materially decreased, but the demand for human labour had not advanced, but had retrograded along with it. When the heavy burdens on land are pleaded by the squire, he is asked if the bread-tax is then to be understood as an expedient for reimbursing him out of the public purse for the payment of his own taxes—if he has not repealed taxes innumerable on agriculture, exempted himself from the probate, auction, insurance, and window duties, and paid the land-tax on the rental of 1690 instead of 1842, evading thus ten annual millions of the imposts, with which he is charged by the statute? When he urges that the revenue cannot be paid without the Corn Law, it is rejoined that there was, and always must have been, a surplus re-

venue when bread was cheap, and that there is an annual deficiency of nearly four millions under the auspices of high Mark-lane prices,* while it is demanded if the nation be the better enabled to pay fifty millions to the Exchequer, by being, first of all, robbed of fifty millions by the landowners? The dependence of the home trade on the Corn Law is met by the fact, that, in proportion as food rises in price, the home trade falls; and that, during the two last years of dear bread, the production of manufactures has materially decreased, while the exports have been much enlarged—a fact which necessarily indicates a considerably diminished domestic consumption.† When the over-issues of the banks are

* Price of wheat in 1835, 39s. 4d. per quarter.				
Surplus revenue in 1835	..	..	..	£1,600,000
Price of wheat in 1841, 64s. 4d. per quarter.				
Deficiency of revenue in 1841	..	..	..	2,400,000

Total failure of revenue by an advance of 15s. per quarter .. 4,000,000

† The quantity of cotton-wool entered for home consumption for the year ended 5th January, 1839, was 460,765,013 lbs—price of wheat .. 64s. 7d.
For Ditto, 1840, 355,781,960 „—ditto ditto .. 70s. 8d.

Deficiency	104,983,053	Excess	6s. 1d.
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But although a fourth less cotton was manufactured, (a complete negative to the cry of over-production,) even that smaller quantity could not be consumed at home; and more was exported, while less had been produced—viz.,—Exports of cotton goods and yarn in 1840 £24,552,129
Ditto ditto ditto in 1839 24,147,726

404,403

The circular of the cotton-brokers brings up the account to a still later date, and establishes the proof of the aggravation of the dangerous symptoms from perseverance in the same treatment.

“ It appears, from the returns, that the quantity of cotton-wool entered for consumption in the years 1840 and 1841, was as follows :—

1840	..	..	..	..	1,274,729 bales.
1841	..	..	..	..	1,118,717 „

Decrease in the latter year.. 156,012

“ We learn also, that the exports of cotton goods and yarns for the year 1841, have exceeded those of 1840, by the following quantities :—

Increased exports of yarns	..	8,208,908 lbs.
” ” thread	..	2,038,400 „
Increased exports of printed calico	25,077,132 yards.	
” ” plain calico	65,106,416	”

“ We find, by the above statement, that although during the last year, as compared with 1840, there was a diminished consumption of raw cotton, to the extent of 3000 bales a week, yet the exports of yarns and cotton goods, but particularly of the latter, were greater in the latter than in the preceding or any previous year, thus demonstrating the important fact, that the whole of the enormous decrease in our cotton manufacture has been owing to the falling off in the demand for the home trade, the truth of which could, we fear, be painfully corroborated by those through whose hands this trade has passed.”

assigned as the reason for the deceptive prosperity of 1835, the *money-maniacs* are reminded that the cheapness of food set at liberty for employment in trade nearly thirty millions of money, saved in the price of bread; and that the tightness of money at present is not the result of the Threadneedle-street screw, but the effect of the absorption of nearly forty millions of the national floating capital, formerly employed in business, and now withdrawn from commercial circulation, to be thrown away upon squires and the bread-tax. And when, bringing up the rear, the premier shambles out his apology by attributing the miseries of the people to over-production, he is reminded that he governs a country where there are nearly twice as many backs as there are shirts;* and that it is not over-production, but under-consumption, that is hastening the degradation of the physical habits, and the depravity of the morals, of the nation he undertakes to rule.

And even although this were not so, but otherwise, conscience whispers that a fixed duty is a fixed injustice, and the sturdy spirit of an independent people prompts the cry—"We will have no sliding scale but that which slides down to nothing." The day of compromise is past. The time when politicians might have bargained for moderation in iniquity, has now fortunately gone by. The nation has taken its final stand upon the impregnable position of simple justice. The cause is now safe from the perils of parliamentary pettifoggery. It is no longer the jousting-list of party politics, but the battle-ground of truth and humanity.

The ministers of religion have lifted the cause out of a question of more or less robbery into one of principle; and in this the laity will faithfully maintain their spiritual instructors. The benevolent now demand that not a farthing shall remain of the tax upon Lazarus' crumb, and there can be no negotiation betwixt such men and titled skeleton makers. The patriot declares a duty on food a mark of feudal serfship, and calls upon freemen to obliterate even the vestige of it from the laws as a national disgrace. The merchant and manufacturer begin to doubt whether

* The preceding note proves statistically what no one who sees the fustian rags which scantily exclude "the winter's flaw" from millions of our people could fail to know from individual experience. A Buckinghamshire peasant, examined before the League, declared that nearly all the clothes of the rural population were procured by begging cast-off garments from the parish "Lady Bountifuls;" and that he had worn the same pair of pantaloons for thirty-three years! With respect to Ireland, De Beaumont observes—"In many poor hovels there is often only one complete suit between two individuals, and hence the priest of the parish is almost always compelled to say several masses on the Sunday. When one of the family has heard an early mass, he returns home, strips off his clothes, and gives them to the other, who goes then to hear the second mass." Alas! the charge of over-production is a bitter and a sorry jest.

even immediate repeal will enable them to recover the ground they have lost; and Swing answers the claim preferred for the peasantry in flaming hay-ricks and blazing barns. Day unto day utters speech against a transference of the nation's trust from God to acts of parliament. Night unto night teaches knowledge concerning the sin of restrictions upon the industry and intercourse of the various sections of the human family. Nature, truth, religion, refuse to bate one atom of their rights, or to suffer one jot or tittle of their divine law to pass away until all shall be fulfilled. To this end they ask for no parliamentary grant—no legislative authority—the help of no government influence. To qualify the people for the task of legislation they have set about teaching themselves. Voluntary contributions and unprompted zeal have done it all. The community, from the top of its head to the sole of its foot, is being inoculated with knowledge and intelligence, and the people at large have become volunteer students in political economy. A plan has been adopted for accomplishing a bloodless revolution, unparalleled in the annals of the world. An enormous oligarchy 'beat the people in pieces.' No swords are drawn—no words of menace uttered—no attorney-general has even a pretext for indictment. The rostrum is erected to frown down the stalls of knighthood, and the lecturer proves himself too strong for all the lords in England. Monopoly, pierced under its mailed coat, reels in the saddle; and the peerage, in their grim tourney with the preachers of liberty and right, begin to stagger. The free press and free speech of England will assuredly undermine and utterly destroy whatever is opposed to the intelligence, happiness, and moral worth of the community.

Brief Notices.

The Comedies, Histories, Tragedies, and Poems, of William Shakspeare.
 Edited by Charles Knight. Second Edition. Vol. I. London:
 Charles Knight.

FEW writers have suffered more than Shakspeare from the irreverent liberties which have been taken with his text by men who were incapable of appreciating his consummate art, or of sympathizing with the moods of his transcendent genius. The best service, therefore, that can be rendered, would be to free the poet from the officious offices which have thus been tendered him; and we hail Mr. Knight's labours as pre-eminently valuable on this ground. 'Since the publication of the posthumous edition of Malone, by Boswell, in 1821, there has been no attempt to produce a new critical edition which should sedulously

examine the ancient text, instead of revelling in conjectural emendation,—should avail itself of any improved facilities for illustrating the author,—exhibit something of what had been done to that end in foreign countries:—and, above all, casting aside the ignorant spirit of all that species of commentary which sought more to show the cleverness of a depreciating criticism than the confiding humility of a reverential love, should represent the altered spirit of our literary tastes during the last quarter of a century.’ Such were the views, and such the spirit with which, in the summer of 1838, Mr. Knight announced his Pictorial edition of Shakspeare. That work is now advanced nearly to its completion, and furnishes ample evidence of the fidelity and pre-eminent success with which he has discharged his editorial obligations. The lovers of Shakspeare have felt that the great poetic genius of their country has at length found a commentator who “approached nearer to their sympathies than any previous English editor,” and they have consequently welcomed his labours with a cordiality rarely evinced. It is impossible to speak in exaggerated terms of the manner in which Mr. Knight has executed his task. His admiration and reverence for the genius of his author have been happily blended with habits of research and a faculty of nice discrimination pre-eminently adapted to the successful discharge of his undertaking; and have, in consequence, left little to be done by any who may hereafter venture to tread in his footsteps.

The volume now before us constitutes the first of a Library Edition, designed to exhibit the text of Shakspeare in as correct and perfected a form as the state of our literature permits. Such an edition, comprising the latest elucidations of our great dramatist, has long been a *desideratum*, and we rejoice that Mr. Knight has undertaken to supply it. Those wood engravings which furnish a better illustration of Shakspeare than any verbal explanation could do, will be retained in this edition, though it will not be *Pictorial* in the former sense of the term. The Life of Shakspeare, together with the Introductory matter of the former edition, will be included; and the work will be printed in a large and handsome type, with such notes as are important to the illustration of the text. The edition will consist of twelve monthly volumes, in demy octavo, and is wisely published at a price which will bring it within the reach of most readers.

The Harmony of Protestant Confessions; exhibiting the Faith of the Churches of Christ, reformed after the pure and holy doctrine of the Gospel, throughout Europe. Translated from the Latin. A new edition, revised and considerably enlarged. By the Rev. Peter Hall, M.A. London: John J. Shaw.

This is a highly seasonable publication, which cannot fail to be welcomed by a large class of readers. The revival of the popish controversy will necessitate a recurrence to topics which have been too long neglected; and Mr. Hall, in the preparation of the present volume, has rendered a service to the cause of religious truth, for

which he is entitled to the thanks of all Protestant sects. *The Harmony of Confessions* was first published in Latin, at Geneva, in the year 1581, and was shortly afterwards translated into English, having been printed at Cambridge, in 1586. The second and only other English edition, appeared in London, 1643. Both of these editions contained the Confession of the Church of Scotland, which had not been included in the original work. Mr. Hall at first contemplated little more than a reprint of one of the English versions, but on an examination of them, and a comparison with the original, they were found so frequently to deviate from the latter, as to entail on him the necessity of undertaking much more than he originally designed. "Having begun, therefore, by collating the two editions of the English together, so far as to ascertain that the latter was simply a repetition of the former, errors of the press included, he next proceeded to collate the English with the Latin, altering none but actual departures from the original, and endeavouring, in all such alterations, to preserve the style and manner of the original."

The Scotch Confession, of 1581, which appears as an appendix in the former English editions, is now introduced into the body of the work, whilst the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, the Westminster Confession, Archbishop Usher's Articles, and those of the Synod of Dort, are added by way of Appendix. We thank Mr. Hall for the labour he has expended on the work, which we strongly recommend to our readers, and especially to those who are engaged in the Christian ministry, as indispensable to a thorough knowledge of the momentous questions which are evidently destined again to engage the serious attention of the churches of our country.

England in the Nineteenth Century. Northern Division, Parts I. and II. Southern Division, Parts I. and II. London: How and Parsons.

The Castles and Abbeys of England. By William Beattie, M.D. Part I. London: Mortimer and Haselden.

The former of these publications promises to be one of the most valuable of the illustrated works which have recently issued from the English press. It is designed to supply a body of pictorial topography which shall unite views and descriptions of the picturesque in nature, with the wonderful in art. Each county is to be described from personal observation, and the illustrations, with which the work will abound, are to be combined with the records of a former age only to such an extent as will explain existing facts. The agricultural and manufacturing systems of different counties are to be noted, with such details as will accurately exhibit their several characters and put the reader in possession of information which every Englishman should acquire. The pictorial embellishments of the work, which are to be numerous, will embrace every kind of subject which can contribute to the utility or the interest of the publication, and will be executed, if we may judge from the four parts now before us, in a style of singular beauty. At the conclusion of each county, the topographical and sta-

tistical information relating to it, which is now spread through many volumes, will be collected in a tabular form, and will furnish a most valuable body of references on a vast variety of topics. The work is to be issued in half-crown monthly parts, each part to contain forty-eight pages of letter-press in imperial octavo, with from twenty to thirty woodcuts and one engraving on steel, illustrative of the more attractive landscapes of the county. The proprietors have wisely resolved to publish two parts each month,—one pertaining to a county noted for its natural beauties—the other, for some branch of national manufacture. The parts now before us are devoted to Cornwall and Lancashire; the former of which will be extended to five, and the latter to six parts. The editorship of the work has been entrusted to Mr. Reddie, who will be assisted by other gentlemen competently acquainted with the several departments assigned to them. We strongly recommend the work to the patronage of our readers, as combining to a greater extent than any other, “descriptions of scenery and antiquities, with living manners and characteristics.” We shall report progress from time to time.

The “*Casles and Abbeys of England*,” under the editorship of Dr. Beattie, will enter more fully into details respecting one section of the topics included in the former work. Only one part of it has yet appeared, which presents a favourable specimen both of typography and illustration, that, if sustained, will not fail to command the patronage of the public. The work is printed in imperial octavo, and will be published periodically, in parts, at 2s. 6d each.

Diary and Letters of Madame D'Arblay, author of “*Evelina*,” “*Cecilia*,” &c. Edited by her Niece. Vol. I, 1778 to 1783. London: Henry Colburn.

We must defer until next month any extended notice of this work, and content ourselves for the present with recommending it to our readers as one of the most entertaining books which the prolific press of Mr. Colburn has for many years sent forth. It introduces us to many old acquaintances whose very gossip is interesting, and whose mental habits and social life reflect the spirit of the literary circle of their day more accurately than can be gathered from the lasting productions of their genius.

A Critical Commentary and Paraphrase on the Old and New Testaments and the Apocrypha. By Patrick, Lowth, Arnald, Whitby, and Lowman. A new edition, with the text printed at large, in four volumes, royal 8vo. London: Thomas Tegg.

The merits of this work are too well known to require that at any length we should state them now. Patrick is one of the most sensible and useful of our English commentators, and Whitby one of the most acute and learned. Lowman was esteemed by Doddridge the best extant in his time on the Revelation; Lowth, on the Prophets, is judicious and more spiritual than either; while Arnald's Commentary

on the Apocrypha is the only one in our language. They all belong to the same theological school, but the Arminianism is most apparent in Whitby. Instead of six volumes folio, as the set makes in the original edition, the reader may now possess it in four handsome royal octavo volumes, with the addition of the sacred text. It is a well-executed reprint of a very valuable work.

London—Interiors, with their Costumes and Ceremonies; from Drawings made by permission of the Public Officers, Proprietors, and Trustees of the Metropolitan Buildings. Parts I. to V. London: George Virtue.

This work cannot fail to be a great favourite with the public, as it possesses, in addition to the numerous attractions of an illustrated work, the great charm of novelty. It will be found both useful and entertaining—exhibiting at once the emblems of our civilization and “the mute witnesses of the past.” We have had several works devoted to the exterior of our public buildings, but the present has no rival, so far as our knowledge extends. It is to appear in monthly parts, each part to contain two highly-finished engravings on steel, and every plate is to exhibit not merely the interior aspect of the building, but the particular ceremony or business to which it is devoted. The five numbers already issued contain: Guildhall—Installation of the Lord Mayor; Jewish Synagogue, Great St. Helen’s; Freemasons’ Hall—Dinner of the Royal Humane Society; Long Room in the Custom House; Egyptian Hall—the Wilson Banquet; King’s College—on occasion of the Distribution of Prizes; The House of Lords—Her Majesty Opening the Session; British Museum—Reading Room; Exeter Hall—the Great Anti-Slavery meeting; Court of Common Council.

The plates are, for the most part, admirable representations both of the architecture of the buildings and of the ceremonies and costumes, which on particular occasions they exhibit: and the low price at which the work is produced must ensure for it a general acceptance amongst all classes.

Literary Intelligence.

In the Press.

Preparing for publication, and to be ready early in March, The Essay on Missions. By the Rev. Richard Winter Hamilton, to which the Second Prize in a recent competition was adjudged.

New Missionary Work on Southern Africa. By the Rev. B. Moffat.

Just Published.

Historical Sketches, Speeches, and Characters. By the Rev. George Croly, LL.D.

Charles Knight’s Library Edition of Shakspeare. Vol. I. Comedies.

Ecclesiastica; or, the Church, her Schools, and her Clergy. By Edward Mahon Roose, of Lincoln’s Inn, Esq.

The Kings of the East; an Exposition of the Prophecies, determining, from Scripture and from History, the Power for whom the mystical Euphrates

is being dried up. With an Explanation of certain other Prophecies concerning the Restoration of Israel.

Eight Letters concerning the Blessed Trinity. By John Wallis, D.D. A New Edition, with the Author's last revisions and corrections; together with a Preface and Notes, by Thomas Flintoff.

Memoir of the Life of Richard Phillips.

The Crown or the Tiara? Considerations on the present condition of the Waldenses. Addressed to the Statesmen of civilized Europe.

What to Teach, and How to Teach it, so that the Child may become a wise and good Man. By Henry Mayhew. Part I. The Cultivation of the Intellect.

A Dictionary of Science, Literature, and Art, &c. By W. T. Brand, F.R.S.L. Part X.

Zaida: a Tale of Granada, and Minor Poems. By Lewis Evans, Author of the 'Pleasures of Benevolence.'

Pictorial Edition of Shakspeare. Titus Andronicus. Part XL.

Religion and her Name: a Metrical Tract. With Notes. By John Search.

The Daughters of England: their Position in Society, Character, and Responsibilities. By Mrs. Ellis.

The Castles and Abbeys of England. By W. Beattie, M.D. Part I.

England in the Nineteenth Century, Northern Division; Part II. Lancashire, Southern Division; Part III. Cornwall.

Diary and Letters of Madame D'Arblay. Edited by her Niece. Vol. I., 1778 to 1780.

Rational Reading Lessons. By the Author of 'Diversions of Hollycot,' &c.

Connexion of Sacred and Profane History. By D. Davidson

Illustrations of Scripture, from the Geography, Natural History, and Manners and Customs of the East. By the late Professor George Paxton, D.D. Third Edition. Vol. II.

The Pocket Biblical Dictionary, condensed from Calmet, Brown, Clark, Jones, &c. By D. Davidson. New Edition.

Edinburgh Cabinet Library. Mesopotamia and Assyria. By J. B. Fraser, Esq.

Ovid's Epistles in English Verse. With some Original Poems. By Miss Emma Garland.

General History of the World, from the Earliest Times to the Year 1831. By Charles Von Rotteck, LL.D. Translated from the German, and continued to 1840. 4 vols. 8vo.

Journal of a Tour in Greece and the Ionian Islands. By William Mure, of Caldwell. 2 vols. 12mo.

A Visit to the United States in 1841. By Joseph Sturge.

Babbicombe; or, Visions of Memory. With other Poems. By Matthew Bridges.

Agricultural Tour in the United States and Upper Canada. With Miscellaneous Notices. By Captain Barclay, of Ury.

Hydropathy; or, the Cold Water Cure, as Prescribed by Vincent Priessnitz, at Graefenberg, Silesia, Austria. By R. T. Claridge.

Four Addresses to the Young, delivered at Macclesfield. By the late R. S. M'All, LL.D.

Letters on Emigration, containing a few Remarks on the Benefits likely to be derived by the adoption of a National System of Emigration.

Winkle's Views on the Danube. No. I.

London Interiors, with their Costumes and Ceremonies. Part V.

Canadian Scenery Illustrated. Uniform with American Scenery, &c. From Drawings by W. H. Bartlett. Part 21.

The Scenery and Antiquities of Ireland, from Drawings made expressly for the work. By W. H. Bartlett. Part 12.

Fox's Book of Martyrs. Edited by the Rev. John Cumming, M.A. Part 11.

THE
ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR APRIL, 1842.

Art. I. *Theopneustia. The Plenary Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures. From the French of L. Gaussen.* London: S. Bagster and Sons. 1841.

No question in theological literature has been more fruitful in subtle and learned discussion than that of the inspiration of the Scriptures. It could hardly have been otherwise; for this question is preliminary to every controversy on the principles of the Christian faith.

Many doctrines of Scripture, having their foundations in received truths of natural theology, commend themselves to the instructed as carrying to perfection those views of the works and government of God, which are presumed to be discoverable by the human mind without supernatural information; so that, if the sacred books had contained no other doctrines than these, it might have been deemed sufficient to rest their authority on the same grounds with that of any other wise and good writings on the same subjects, only attributing to the former a higher degree of authority proportioned to their superior clearness, copiousness, or force. Even on this supposition, the question would arise—How came it to pass that these Hebrew writers so far excelled the moral teachers that had preceded them in other Eastern nations, or even in the palmy days of Greece, and have left nothing to be discovered or expected in the progress of letters and civilization ever since? There is no method of accounting for this superiority but that which is supplied by the writers themselves; and which is perfectly satisfactory, if the narratives inwoven with their writings are historically true. By whatever tests we try other histories, these are proved to be true, with this plain differ-

ence, that they are supported by kinds and degrees of evidence with which no other ancient history will bear comparison. The facts, then, of which these venerable witnesses assure us are such as to warrant the persuasion that their wisdom is, as they declare, from God, not merely as all wisdom is ultimately from him, but directly and exclusively by revelation. Let their manner of stating these facts be set down as a peculiarity of Hebrew idiom. All their idioms, explained by sound philology, resolve themselves into the singular history of the people; for 'custom in language bears a close analogy to chance in physics; each of them is a name for unerring causes, which we want either the ability or the inclination to apprehend.'

Taking, therefore, the lowest ground as to the contents of the Scriptures, there must have been, as the writers affirm, divine communications of the spiritual theology, pure morals, and sublime devotion, by which these writings leave all others at so unapproachable a distance. But this is not our ground, when we touch the inspiration of the Scriptures. The doctrines to which we have referred are intermingled in these writings with others which had never occurred before to the wisest men, and which indeed carry us so far beyond the ordinary spheres of human thought, that they are plainly undiscoverable without a revelation; and for aught that we can see, incapable of proof without a miracle.

These higher doctrines are not only pre-eminently, but authoritatively, *the* doctrines of the holy Scriptures.

No wise man believes a doctrine without a reason for believing it stronger, in his judgment, than any apparent reason for rejecting it; and in whatever degree it disturbs his previous modes of thinking, in that degree will he be careful to test the reason which is offered to him for receiving it. Should any controversy arise on the credibility of the doctrine, the attention of both parties in the controversy will, of necessity, be employed on the character of this reason.

Such, precisely, is the case to which we are now referring. The Scriptures represent the Supreme Being as sustaining relations and performing works, which, apart from the Scriptures, never entered into the thoughts of men; and there is a controversy among men appealing alike to the Scriptures, respecting these peculiar representations. On the one side, it is held that these peculiarities are to be explained in agreement with notions previously acquired; and on the other, that they are to be dealt with as truths which are new to us, requiring our belief for a new reason, which new reason is the divine authority of the Revealer.

We see no plausible reason for discarding the peculiar doctrines of the Scriptures, irrespectively of our belief in their in-

piration. To our minds, we confess, these doctrines are so sublime, so harmonious with the history and the wants of man, so congenial with our deeper courses of thought, so interwoven with our purest moral sentiments, so conducive to our noblest devotion, and so consolatory in our bitterest griefs, that we cannot but regard them as of inestimable worth and beauty. The occurrence of such doctrines in the Scriptures is to us the weightiest evidence of their celestial origin. But whatever may be the soundness of this mode of reasoning, the divine authority of these doctrines is placed beyond all controversy, when it can be shewn that the writings which contain them are inspired.

Then what *is* inspiration?

From some expressions of both ancient and modern Christian writers we should be led to infer that, in their opinion, inspiration is altogether verbal; that the sacred writers were passive instruments in committing to writing the revelations of heaven; or that, at the most, they were but *amanuenses* putting down the words as they were dictated to them by the Divine Spirit. It is chiefly by images of this nature that attempts have been made to illustrate what is meant by inspiration; and to this point a large portion of the argument for inspiration has been directed.

M. Gausсен says, in the attractive work which is here translated, ‘that every line was *dictated* as he would dictate to a pupil a treatise on geometry; or as Pascal might have dictated one of his *Provincial Letters* to a mechanic, or to an abbess; or as Newton might have employed a child to write the fortieth proposition of the *Principia*—a domestic to write the next—whilst he might have dictated the other pages to Barrow or Halley.’ And, after vividly describing the incomparable performance of the organist of the cathedral at Fribourg, he adds—‘Just so the eternal God, mighty in harmony of purpose, has successively laid the finger of his Spirit on the key chosen.’ In these representations he follows the example of earlier authors. Athenagoras elegantly compares the sacred writers to a stringed instrument, attuned by the Holy Ghost to send forth the divine harmony of eternal life. Justin Martyr, too, describes them as presenting themselves to the action of the Holy Spirit, in order that his divine touch might use the human lyre to reveal to us the knowledge of the mysteries of heaven.

It may be convenient to speak or write thus figuratively in the current language of popular addresses; but the slightest reflection is enough to shew that such a mode of describing inspiration is exceedingly inaccurate. A human mind employing human language is as different an instrument of communication from a lyre or an organ as can be well conceived. Nor is there any analogy between the case of dictation, which M. Gausсен supposes, and

the compositions in our sacred books. He who describes what he saw, or heard, or felt, in language which embodies all the 'individualities' of his mind and character, is not in a situation at all resembling that of a child, a servant, or a philosopher, to whom the *words* of the *Principia* might have been dictated. We must be permitted to express our regret, that in grave and valuable treatises occasion should be given for producing erroneous impressions, and by means of such impressions, awakening prejudice against the doctrine of inspiration itself.

Abandoning so limited and fanciful a style of describing inspiration, there is no difficulty in apprehending it as the *immediate divine guidance of the writers to say all that God determined should be said in the way in which he would have it to be said*. The guidance is divine—not human. It is total—not partial. It is spiritual—not organic. It secures truth; but it is divine truth. What is said, is said to us by messengers using their own language; but it is said in the words which God has chosen *thus* to employ. In writings which are inspired, we have more than human genius and wisdom—more than human piety and faithfulness. We have the wisdom and the faithfulness of God. We have teaching which cannot deceive, conveyed in language which God approves. Let the instruction be modified as it may by the usages of the age in which the writer lives, by the idioms of his nation, by the idiosyncrasies of his personal intellect and character, or by the kind of composition in which he is engaged, as narrative or predictive, didactic or hortatory, argumentative or symbolical, familiar or extraordinary, still it is written under a supernatural and infallible guidance, and that guidance is *θεόπνευστις*—inspiration.

It may assist some minds that have laboured under difficulties in relation to this question, to illustrate a few distinctions which we conceive to be both natural and important, and which appear to have been overlooked, or not made sufficiently prominent, in not a few of the works on inspiration which have fallen in our way.

In the first place, there is a distinction between the credibility of the Scriptures and their inspiration. He who acknowledges their inspiration regards them, of course, as credible in the highest possible degree, inasmuch as his reason for believing them is the declaration of God himself. But it is not necessary to perceive their inspiration in order to be convinced of their historical truth. There is every element of historical credibility in the Four Gospels, and in the Acts of the Apostles, independently of any judgment that may be formed of their inspiration. Indeed, the veracity of the writers must be made out on some lower grounds before we can adduce their statements in proof of either

their own inspiration or that of any writer or speaker mentioned by them. Having proved that the authority of historical truth belongs to the records, we are then on safe ground for examining the evidence which they contain of the inspiration of the Scriptures. When we are satisfied with this evidence, our conviction ascends through reliance on human testimony to faith in the revelation of God.

There is a second distinction between the personal illumination of the writer and the divine inspiration of his writings. A prophet might be miraculously enlightened to discern truths beyond the natural reach of the human intellect; and either himself or another might commit that truth to writing without inspiration. On the other hand, a sacred writer might know many things by his own observation, by approved documents, by faithful report from others, by the recollection or consciousness of his own acts and feelings; and yet he might be inspired to communicate this knowledge in his own language and natural manner for the instruction of others. The remembrance of this distinction would prevent many of the misconceptions, and most of the confusion, of some advocates of inspiration; while it would go far to solve nearly all the objections to this doctrine on the part of those by whom it is denied. We are often told, with due polemic seriousness, that no inspiration was needed for the apostle Paul to give the salutations and familiar directions contained in his epistles. Now, granting that for these salutations and directions it was not necessary that he should be miraculously enlightened—that they were not supernaturally revealed to him as the doctrines and institutions of the gospel were, it does not follow, of necessity, that in giving these salutations and directions he was not inspired. The inspiration relates, not to the acquisition of the knowledge, but to the written communication of it for the guidance of others. It may be said that this *might* have been done without inspiration. Certainly; but this is no proof that it *was* done without inspiration. In other parts of his writings there may be proofs to the contrary.

Thirdly, we distinguish our belief in the *fact* of inspiration from any theories that may be formed respecting its modes or degrees. One man may believe that the inspiration of the Scriptures is, in all circumstances, the absolute dictation of the exact words which were written. Another may judge that this is the case in some parts, but not in others. A third may be of opinion that the substance of the communications was supernaturally given, and then left to the natural workings of the mind so taught to express it in its own language. A fourth may think that there was, in the act of writing, a restraining power to prevent such mistakes as would arise from the natural imperfections of

the writer. A fifth may advocate a supernatural invigoration and positive direction given to the natural faculties. A sixth may revise the foregoing opinions, and gather from them all a comprehensive principle, applying the particular opinions respectively to the varied communications of the sacred volume.

Now we submit that none of these opinions should be identified with either the rejection or the admission of inspiration *as a fact*. All the classes of theorists referred to may most religiously believe, that in the entire holy Scriptures we have the word of God as well as the word of man, and may most conscientiously defer to the authority of every part of these records as infallible and divine. He who does this is, surely, a believer in the plenary inspiration of the Scriptures, whatever opinion he may hold as to the mode or degree of spiritual illumination by which the act of writing was preceded.

Fourthly, there is a distinction between our persuasion that the Scriptures are inspired, and our ability to *recognise* the inspiration by internal signs. Many parts of Scripture are so spiritual, so holy, so sublime, so full of the indications of a present Deity, that the devout reader can scarcely fail to study them with the impression that it is indeed God who is teaching him. The other parts of Scripture—its narratives, its genealogies, its brief notices of persons, places, and comparatively unimportant circumstances—are confessedly not of this character. In these parts we may not, at first, have the same impression of divinity as in the others. But this difference does not destroy the inspiration of any of the parts, neither does it weaken the persuasion, founded on other facts and statements, that the whole is inspired. This is a question of evidence addressed to the judgment, not of appeals made to the imagination or the feelings. When this evidence has been examined, and the result is a belief in the inspiration of all the Scripture, the same reverential feeling may be excited by all the communications of the holy volume, just as the same adoration of wisdom and goodness is awakened by the contemplation of a feather, or of an oak, by the structure of an insect, or by the courses of the stars.

There is yet a fifth distinction on which we are disposed to dwell, from a conviction of its special value in the elucidation of this subject. It is the distinction between a belief in the inspiration of the Scriptures which is the result of just reasoning from a comparison of separate facts, and a belief in the same inspiration which rests on the assertion of a previously-admitted divine authority. It cannot be unknown to any of our readers that the inspiration of the Hebrew Scriptures is to the Christian church an article of faith—faith in the declarations of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of his apostles. Believing that the New Testa-

ment contains the words of our Saviour, and that his apostles were commissioned by him to teach all nations, we have the fullest assurance that whatever he or any of his apostles has said of the ancient Scriptures must be true, and that we are authorized to receive it on the ground of their declaration. Finding, then, that they refer to the ancient Scriptures,—to particular parts, and to the entire collection,—as the ‘word of God,’ the ‘oracles of God,’ ‘given by inspiration of God,’ Christians have no hesitation in receiving the Old Testament, according to the known canon at the time of our Saviour, as inspired.

With regard to the entire New Testament, however, we seem to have no similar declarations. It is thought by some, we know, that the final verses of the Apocalypse are of this nature. For those who so regard those verses, that testimony of Jesus bears the same relation to the entire Scriptures which his previous declarations and those of his apostles bear to the Old Testament. But in the judgment of many thoughtful and well-instructed Christians, the verses alluded to are confined in their reference to the Apocalypse itself, though, of course, their principle applies to every other inspired writing. In either case there is no express enunciation of the fact that all the New Testament is inspired, analogous to that which we hold in reference to the entire Old Testament. Notwithstanding this difference, there may be sufficient reasons for believing that the Scriptures, including the New Testament with the Old, are all inspired of God. If it is true that they are inspired, and if we have the means of knowing that they are, it is certainly our duty to use those means, and having so used them as to arrive at the truth, that truth demands and sanctions our reverence for the divine authority of the whole Scripture. The kind of process by which we reach the conviction cannot nullify the practical consequences resulting from it when we have reached it. If, without such a process as we should recommend, the plenary inspiration of the Scriptures is held, for whatever reasons, all the moral consequences of this truth are binding on him who so believes it. On the contrary, if the inquiry which would lead to this truth is neglected, and the truth itself denied, it is no justification of this denial to plead that the doctrine is not explicitly revealed in some one simple and authoritative declaration: no man has a right to prescribe the manner in which the evidence of sacred truth shall be laid before him. The plain declaration, by competent authority, that the whole New Testament is inspired, would of course be ample ground for receiving it as such, and this reception would be an element of our religious faith. Yet, without such a declaration, there may be satisfactory reasons for holding this doctrine, as a

truth deduced from a calm and rational examination of the Scriptures.

There are other distinctions on which we might have enlarged. Those which have been advanced are respectfully suggested to the consideration of persons who have thought, or who are disposed to think, on this very important question.

In M. Gausсен's able work, some of these distinctions have been happily observed, whilst others, *especially the last*, have not received from him their due measure of attention. He has taken admirable pains to separate the illumination, feelings, and character of the authors, from the inspiration of the writings. He has converted some of the objections against inspiration into splendid proofs of its reality. He has solved many of the difficulties supposed to arise from translations, various readings, and alleged contradictions. He has successfully vindicated the sacred writings from the charge of containing statements opposed to the truths of physical science. And he has evinced a respectable degree of research, acuteness of observation, and facility of analytic reasoning, in the treatment of most of these points. His composition is also enlivened by a warm tone of colouring which engages our good opinion of his talents and character, and which will strongly predispose the greater part of his readers towards his arguments. With him the inspiration of the Scriptures is no cold speculation, but a living faith; not a theological dogma, but a practical principle.

'We have asserted that it is God who speaks to us; but, cast into earthly mould, it is also man: it is man; but it is also God. Oh! admirable word of my God! cast, so to speak, in human mould, like the eternal Word. Yes,—God sent it down to us, full of grace and truth; similar to human words in every respect, error and sin excepted. Admirable and divine Word!—but replete with humanity,—gracious Word of my God! Yes, in order that we might understand it, mortal lips must be employed to tell of human things; and to win us, the characteristics of our thoughts, and all the expression of our emotions must be clothed upon, because God knoweth our frame. But recognise it to be the Word of the Lord, 'quick and powerful, sharper than any two-edged sword,' and the most simple among us, understanding it, can say, like Cleopas and his companion,—'Have we not felt our hearts burn within us, while it has spoken to us?'

'How greatly does this abounding humanity, and all this personality with which the divinity of the Scriptures is invested, charm us; reminding us that the Saviour of our souls, whose touching voice they are, himself bears a human heart on the throne of God, although seated on high, where angels serve and for ever adore him! It is thus, also, that they present to us not only that double character of variety and unity, which has ever adorned all the other works of God, as Creator

of heaven and earth; but, moreover, that intermingling of familiarity with authority; of sympathy with greatness; of practical details with mysterious majesty; and of humanity with divinity, which are manifested in all the dispensations of the same God, as the Redeemer and Shepherd of his church. In like manner the Father of mercies, when speaking in his prophets, was pleased not only to employ their manner as well as their voice; their style as well as their pen; but also often to bring into use their faculties of judging and feeling. At one time, to exhibit to us his divine sympathy, he has seen fit to combine their own recollections, their human convictions, their personal experience and devout emotions, in the words which he dictated to them; and at another, for the purpose of manifesting to us his sovereign intervention, he has preferred to dispense with this *unnecessary* association of their memory, affections, and intelligence.

'Such ought to be the Word of God—like Emmanuel—full of grace and truth; at once in the bosom of God and in the heart of man; powerful and sympathizing; celestial and human; exalted, yet humble; imposing and familiar; God and man! This bears no resemblance to the God of rationalists.'—pp. 62—64.

Our gratification in reading such passages is disturbed by indications of mental habits which are not the most favourable to the discussion of the great question to which his pages are devoted. We are unwilling to indulge in what might look like captious criticism on a work which we so greatly admire; yet we must not conceal from our readers a few of the indications to which we have adverted.

The sentences are sometimes tinged with a dogmatic harshness which we should have been glad to dispense with, and which we are sure might have been avoided without at all obscuring the clearness of the doctrine, or enfeebling the vigour of the argument.—A particular and popular theory of inspiration is laid down, and all other theories are treated as either denials of the fact, or as evasions of the truth. In this spirit, certain modes of regarding inspiration by others are scouted with unsparing severity, although similar modes of regarding it are adopted in other portions of the volume.—He condemns all attempts at shewing wherein inspiration consists, whilst the greater part of the essay is an exhibition of what he considers it to be. He makes statements as if peculiar to his theory, which would be cheerfully responded to by many who, after fair examination, are unable to embrace it.—He very erroneously represents views of inspiration *derived from the actual contents of Scripture*, as an *à priori* theory of what inspiration must be.—He confounds the mode in which men communicate their thoughts to one another, with what he appropriately designates, 'the mysterious power'—'the inexplicable power, by which the Divine Spirit guided the authors of the sacred volume to the words which they em-

ployed.'—He takes for granted, instead of proving, that the inspiration of the whole New Testament is affirmed by the writers as a doctrine of our faith.—His arrangement and his general tone betray a mind so full of an exclusive theory, and so anxious for its reception, as nearly to disqualify him for the free discussion of all the particulars which that theory comprises, or of the reasonings by which other writers, holding equally with himself the plenary inspiration of the Scriptures, have vindicated a more comprehensive view of what is meant by inspiration than that which he propounds.

While M. Gaussen has, by his own acknowledgment, been greatly assisted by Dr. Rudelbach, and by the popular writings of Mr. Haldane and Mr. Carson, (alluding in passing terms of censure to other English writers,) he has not noticed, and we are inclined to suspect has not read, the learned and disquisitive lectures of Dr. Henderson, published in London five years ago, well known in Germany and in America, and we had supposed also in Switzerland. In those lectures the semi-infidel rationalism of Le Clerc, Semler, De Wette, Paulus, and their numerous disciples, is refuted with equal skill and scholarship; and at the same time the 'antiquated hypothesis' to which M. Gaussen is now lending the attractions of his genius is shewn to be neither required by the language of Scripture nor supported by the facts of the case.*

This hypothesis is—the verbal inspiration of the entire Scriptures. If by this theory is meant that every word of Scripture was *dictated* to the sacred writer so as to leave no scope, in writing, to the operations of his intellect, his memory, his reason, or his choice of words and phrases, then, according to our apprehension, the theory is at variance with the declarations of the sacred writers; it is contradicted by the internal character of their writings, as compared with each other; it is inconsistent with itself; and it destroys one proof of the genuineness of the writings,—thus indirectly weakening, so far as it goes, the evidence of the fact which it professes to explain.

No believer in inspiration denies that large portions of Scripture contain the very words of God miraculously communicated to the writers; but the same reason which induces this belief forbids a similar conclusion in reference to other portions of the same writings. If the doctrine of inspiration is to be *intelligently* held, our belief must result from a serious examination of what the Scriptures teach respecting their own origin, and, as part of this examination, a judicious comparison of cases that are clearly analogous to each other. But the examination would be vitiated

* Eclectic Review, February, 1837.

if we entered on it with a pre-conceived opinion of what inspiration is ; for that is *the point to be ascertained*. To investigate that point is the part at once of manly reason and of humble piety : that reason is not manly which is not humble, neither is that piety humble which will not reason. Such an exercise of judgment must take place before we can have an enlightened and thoroughly satisfactory assurance of the inspiration of the Scriptures. If this were a matter of simply dogmatic truth resting on positive declarations, it would still be our duty to inquire what such declarations mean ; and how could we discover their meaning otherwise than by a patient study of the terms and of the connexions in which we find them ? This act of considering is not denial, it is not doubt, it is not testing the doctrine by our reason ; it is seeking to know what the doctrine is, that we may devoutly believe it and yield ourselves to all its consequences. How mischievous, then, must the tendency of such writings as would disparage our inquiries in this direction, by representing our honest endeavour as sitting in judgment on the Word of God, making ourselves oracles, and constituting our own reason as the deity of the temple, instead of worshipping HIM who fills it with his glory ! Are we not to *judge* whether the Scriptures claim to be inspired ? And are we not to form a conception of what we mean when we say that we believe them to be inspired ?

If, however, by verbal inspiration we are to understand that the words are in all cases those which the writers of the Scriptures were supernaturally guided to employ, this is fully maintained by those 'English theologians' who find no favour in the eyes of M. Gaussen.— 'We cannot suppose that when they were most at liberty, they were in no degree directed by a secret influence in the selection of words and phrases. It was of the utmost importance that the facts and observations which God intended for the instruction of mankind in all ages should be properly expressed ; and there was a danger that errors would be committed by such persons as the penmen of the Scriptures, the greater part of whom were illiterate and ignorant of the art of composition. If we had nothing to depend upon but their own skill and attention, we could have no certainty that the statements are always accurate, and our piety would be frequently disturbed by the suspicion that what is only a difficulty might be a mistake. It must be granted that even in relating what they knew, what they had seen, what they had learned from the testimony of others, the sacred writers were assisted, although we should concede only that occasionally a more proper word or expression was suggested to them than would have occurred to themselves ; and, consequently, the style was not

strictly their own, but was a style corrected and improved, and different from what they would have spontaneously used.*

‘It was essential,’ says Dr. Pye Smith, ‘that they should have constantly present to their minds perfect notions of the whole and of every part, and that they should be enabled to clothe these notions in words the best adapted to the purpose.’† ‘There is no portion of that holy book,’ says Dr. Henderson, ‘which was written independently of miraculous influence . . . The whole volume is divinely inspired. Every part is to be received in the light in which it has been presented by the Holy Spirit; and it is to be applied to the holy purposes for which He has caused it to be written In the minute as well as in the great, in matters which relate to civil life and personal comfort, as well as in those which respect the soul and the world to come, the Divine wisdom is apparent; so that in contemplating the most inconsiderable of them, we are compelled to say:— ‘This also cometh forth from the Lord of Hosts, who is wonderful in council and excellent in working.’‡

‘When these writings come to be perused,’ says Dr. Doddridge, in his ‘Dissertation on the Inspiration of the Scripture,’ ‘it is evident to me that honest and worthy men would never have pretended to have written in such a manner if they had not been conscious of superior direction, and extraordinary divine influence I cannot conceive that any reader will be so unreasonable as to imagine these things could have been written with any exactness by the apostles, if they had not been miraculously assisted in recording them I hope I have by this time convinced my readers that it is agreeable to the other circumstances of the apostles’ story, and to the promises which our Lord so largely and so frequently made to them, (and the frequent repetition of the promise strongly insinuates the importance of it,) to suppose that they were, indeed, favoured with a *full* inspiration in their writings.’

Now, if we understand M. Gausсен, the views of Drs. Doddridge, Dick, Smith, and Henderson, do not differ substantially from his own. He acknowledges that ‘the energy of inspiration was not felt in equal degree by each of them;’ that ‘their experience was not uniform;’ and that it is ‘God who speaks, who relates, ordains, or reveals, by their instrumentality, and for this purpose employs, *in various degrees*, their personality. If the words are always those of men, because written by men, they are also the words of God, because it is he who *oversees, employs, and guides* them.’

* Dr. Dick’s Lectures, vol. i. lec. xi. p. 204, (published 1834.)

† Scrip. Test., vol. i. p. 97. (Third edition.)

‡ Lectures on Inspiration, pp. 385—387.

Seeing, then, that there is this substantial agreement between the views of inspiration held by the 'English theologians' and those of M. Gausсен, we question the accuracy (might we not add, the fairness?) of the following observations:—

'It is the volume which is inspired, and which is so entirely. This assurance ought to suffice us. Three classes of persons in these last times, without disavowing the divine nature of Christianity, and without pretending to except against the authority of the Scriptures, have felt themselves at liberty to reject this doctrine. The first of these has disowned even the *existence* of this action of the Holy Spirit; the second has denied its *universality*; and the third its *plenitude* . . . The third (as M. Twesten in Germany, and several English theologians)* extends, it is true, the notion of a Theopneustia to all parts of the Bible, but not in equal degree to all, (nicht gleichmässig.) According to their view, inspiration would indeed be universal, but would be unequal, often imperfect, accompanied with harmless errors, and meted out according to the nature of the passages of which they constitute themselves more or less the judges. Several among them, especially in England, have gone so far as to specify four degrees of divine inspiration . . . All these distinctions are, in our view, chimerical; the Bible itself does not authorize them; the church, during the first eight centuries of the Christian era, knew nothing of them; and we believe them to be erroneous and fraught with evil. Our design, in this treatise, as opposed to these three systems, is to prove the EXISTENCE, UNIVERSALITY, AND PLENITUDE of Theopneustia.'—pp. 27—29.

We have not at the moment the opportunity of examining M. Twesten's work,† for the purpose of shewing how far his opinions deserve the censure passed on them in this passage. We shall merely say that M. Twesten is greatly esteemed, as associated with Tholuck, Hahn, and others, in effecting a most happy revolution on behalf of evangelical truth in the theological literature of Germany; though he is not entirely free from the speculative tendencies of the German mind, and of the schools in which he has been trained. His views of inspiration, however, are too evangelical and profound to be so summarily classed with the *opponents* of the plenary inspiration of the Scriptures. But of our own writers we will say, with M. Gausсен's permission, that they have taught an inspiration of the Scriptures as plenary as that for which he contends, and that in teaching it they display a calmness of thought, a sagacity of discrimination, and a strength of argument, which we are tempted to claim as the national characteristics of English theology on this as on every other question.

* 'Drs. Pye Smith, Dick, and Wilson.'

† Vorlesung über die Dogmatik.

But let us turn to the great divines of Switzerland. M. Gausсен must be presumed to be familiar with the writings of Francis Turretin, since he adopts a citation from his 'Institutio Theologiæ Elencticæ' as the motto of his title-page. Now Turretin expressly says, 'that Scripture proves itself to be divine, not only by an authoritative appeal to testimony,—which, however successfully it may be used in reasoning with Christians who profess to receive the Scriptures, cannot be urged against those who reject them,—but also by reasonings founded on the indubitable proofs of divinity which God has impressed on the Scriptures as on all his works But,' he afterwards adds, 'it must not be supposed that these tokens of divinity shine forth *alike and in the same degree* in all the books of Scripture; for as one star differs from another star in brightness, so some books emit fuller and more dazzling rays of light, and others fewer and feebler, according as they are more or less necessary to the church, and contain doctrines of more or less moment: so that the gospels and the Pauline epistles glow with far richer splendour than the book of Ruth or of Esther,' &c.*

Another celebrated Swiss divine, Joh. Frid. Stapfer, admonishes his readers that they must 'distinguish the things written in the Scriptures by *immediate* inspiration of the Holy Spirit from those which are committed to writing only by the *direction* of the Holy Spirit: to the former class belong all the peculiar doctrines of salvation, which, as they could not be discovered by the principles of reason, could not be made known but by revelation; to the latter class belong all those truths which, though previously known, required to be inculcated on man, both to arouse him to a sense of his duty and to convince him of his need of a revealed salvation; the same class also includes the historical facts connected with the illustration and proof of revealed doctrines, and pointing out the various steps of revelation, in the bestowments of grace, and in the ministrations of the church, all of which require to be known, for the fuller explanation of divine truth.'†

A third divine of Switzerland, B. Pictet, suggests, as a caution lest we should be deceived in the matter of the inspiration of the sacred books, 'Il n'est pas nécessaire de supposer que l'Esprit de Dieu a toujours dicté aux prophètes et aux apôtres tous les mots dont ils se sont servis, et qu'il leur a appris tout ce qu'ils écriraient. Il suffit qu'ils n'ont rien écrit, que par la direction immédiate de l'Esprit de Dieu, en sorte que cet Esprit n'a jamais permis, qu'ils aient erre dans ce qu'ils ont écrit. *Agobard*,

* *Institutio Theologiæ Elencticæ*, loc. ii. quæ. iv.

† *Inst. Theol. Pol.*, tom. ii. p. 859. See also tom. iii. 269.

auteur du IX siècle, dans sa réponse à Frédigise, dit, que *c'est une absurdité de croire que le Saint Esprit ait inspiré les termes et les mots . . .* Cependant c'étoit l'Esprit qui les empêchoit de tomber dans aucune erreur, non pas même dans les moindres choses.*

Our object in making these citations is merely to shew that the ablest defenders of the inspiration of Scripture in *Switzerland* agree with the evangelical doctors of Germany, and especially of England, in maintaining the views which M. Gaussen professes to oppose, and which he, apparently, confounds with other views on this subject from which they are not less distant than himself. We make no apology for entering on this topic: we have deemed it an act of critical duty, both to our readers and to a class of writers by whom we are laid under deep obligations for their luminous exposition of a doctrine so fundamental to our faith.

Let us now pass on to the kinds of proof by which the doctrine of inspiration is supported. As the main design of M. Gaussen's volume is to impugn some opinions of those who acknowledge the inspiration of the Scriptures, it was scarcely to be expected, perhaps, that the proofs would receive the careful attention which we should otherwise have looked for in a treatise on the Plenary Inspiration of the Scriptures. His method is to shew:—

'*First*, that all Scripture is Theopneustic; *secondly*, that all prophetic words are given from God; *thirdly*, that all the Scriptures of the Old Testament are prophetic; *fourthly*, that all the Scriptures of the New Testament are prophetic; and *fifthly*, that the example of the apostles and of their Master attests, that in their estimation, all the words of the Holy Books are given by God.'—Chap. vi. pp. 370—431.

It strikes us that ingenious as this plan is,—and acceptable as it will be, on the whole, to readers who, like ourselves, are already satisfied on this subject,—it is one which, we fear, will fail to clear the doubts of the sceptical, to solve the difficulties of humble inquirers, or to refute the objections of those by whom the doctrine is denied.

The *first* proof is, in fact, a mere statement of the thing to be proved. It is, indeed, a statement made by an apostle. But the limits of the statement are not defined; the amount of its meaning is not decided; and no principles either of interpretation or of theological reasoning are suggested, as they might have been with great advantage, for shewing the bearing of this explicit declaration on the writings of the New Testament. From the wording of his *second* proof, 'that all prophetic words are given by God,' we are bound in fairness to observe that there is to us an appearance of *équivoque* in the structure of the

† La Théologie Chrétienne, tom. prem. l. i. c. xvi.

argument. '*Prophetic words*' are at once supposed to mean *words which foretel future events*; and most of the passages quoted by M. Gausсен are of this description. But he avails himself of the well-known comprehensive meaning of the word '*prophecy*,' as used in Scripture, to define its *generic* signification as '*words of God put into the mouths of men.*' We object to the definition as an assumption, as too limited and artificial: but waiving this, it appears to us that the author's theory of uniform verbal inspiration has tempted him to a mode of reasoning which is more clever than convincing, imposing, but not solid. This will be seen more plainly by following him to his *next* proposition, '*All the Scriptures of the Old Testament are prophetic.*'—That all Scripture of the Old Testament is prophetic in that sense in which a large portion of it is prophetic would not, of course, be pretended; but neither can it be maintained that all Scripture of the Old Testament consists of '*words of God put into the mouths of men.*' This is what we mean by the appearance of *équivoque*. It may be true—we believe it is true—that the Scriptures of the Old Testament are prophetic, for they have all been given to us by the direction of the Holy Spirit; but it is not true,—that is, we are neither taught in Scripture, nor, in our judgment, warranted to conclude from what it does teach—that all Scripture consists of '*the words of God put into the mouths of men.*'

When the author announces as his *fourth* proposition '*that all the Scriptures of the New Testament are prophetic,*' he seems not to have weighed the import of what he says in the first sentence:—'*Scripture invariably places the writers of the New Testament in the same rank with the prophets of the Old.*' This language plainly implies that the writers of the New Testament are very often mentioned in Scripture—mentioned *as writers*—(for the argument, let it be observed, is most anxiously confined by M. Gausсен to *inspired writings*)—mentioned as the writings of the prophets who wrote the Old Testament are mentioned. This certainly is not the fact. It is true that Peter classes the Epistles of Paul with '*the other Scriptures,*' and himself with '*the holy prophets.*' It is also true that the mission of the apostles, the promises made to them, the gifts conferred on them, and the rank assigned to them, prove them to be superior to the prophets of the former dispensation. But M. Gausсен has not quoted one simple direct averment of the inspiration of the *whole New Testament* at all resembling the quoted averments of the inspiration of the entire Old Testament. He has indeed surprised us by the following assertion:—

'It is, therefore, with the consent, and under the prophetic rule of these apostles, authorized to bind and loose, and to be, after Christ, the

twelve foundations of the universal church, that the canon of the Scriptures has been formed; and it is from them that the new people of God have received the 'living oracles' to transmit them to us.'—p. 407.

In what *passage of the New Testament* are we told that the canon of the Scriptures was thus formed?—The *last* argument is, 'That the example of the apostles and of their Master attests that, in their estimation, all the words of the holy books are given by God.' We entertain no doubt whatever that the '*inspiration*' of the holy books forming the Old Testament is attested by the manner in which they are referred to as a whole, and cited in numberless passages, both by the apostles and by their Master. But their references and citations do not prove that all the words were given in the unvaried style of dictation, which is held forth in this volume as being of the essence of the Theopneustia; nor does their example give one direct assertion of the inspiration of the *whole* New Testament.

Holding, as we do, the plenary inspiration of the holy Scriptures, we shall briefly point out some of those facts, in the comparison of which this doctrine is fully and rationally proved.

Jesus Christ was 'a teacher sent from God.' This Divine Teacher having promised to certain disciples that they should receive the Holy Ghost, to qualify them as his witnesses, and as the teachers of his truth to all nations, they, on the ground of his repeated promise, claimed divine authority for their oral and written instructions; and the validity of their claim was sustained by their miracles, by their character, and by the wisdom of their doctrine. In all their writings, veracity, fidelity, accuracy, are professed, and professed, obviously, because they were conscious of writing under the guidance of the promised Spirit, whose peculiar presence with them was constantly declared by their miracles. Again;—the references in the epistles to the facts of our Saviour's history are so made, as designedly to authenticate the gospels; and the writers of these gospels give their narrations with a *natural air of certainty* which wise and holy men would not—and which everything in their character, history, and writings demonstrates they did not—groundlessly assume. All the arguments, therefore, which prove that the books of the New Testament are historically true, go to prove that they were given by the inspiration of that Spirit which had been promised to the writers.

The supposed distinction between the writings of Mark or Luke, and those of the other New Testament writers, is of no importance in this question; for these histories are as authentic as any other parts of Scripture, and they contain the same internal marks of inspiration. That the writers were not apostles did not disqualify them for being inspired historians; while their

association with the apostles is a strong presumption that they were partakers of the *χαρίσματα*—the prophetic spirit, so largely bestowed in the apostolic age; and there are internal as well as historical evidences that their narratives received the sanction of Peter and Paul.

The reverence displayed by the apostles for the sacred writings of the Old Testament was such that they would have been restrained by piety, honesty, and good sense, from placing their own writings on a level with them, without being assured that the same divine inspiration was common to them all. The comparison of any part of the New Testament with other writings of the same age, nation, or language,—with Josephus, for example, or Philo, or Hermas, or Clement, or any of the Rabbins,—will easily convince the reader of the immeasurable superiority of the former, which superiority is accounted for by their inspiration, and in no other way.

The reception of these writings as inspired,* by the early Christian churches, is a proof that they were so regarded by the persons best qualified to judge. It is a great mistake to suppose that the decree of the Council of Laodicea, or of any other body, *constituted* the canonicity of the particular books of the New Testament. These decisions resulted from the previous judgment of *separate churches*, which had learned from the apostles in what light these books were to be regarded. The hesitation of some churches to receive some books is a sufficient proof of their scrupulous caution in so sacred an affair; while the reception of *each*, by one church or another, is a satisfactory exhibition of the well-defined grounds on which they were all eventually acknowledged to be inspired by all the churches.

Freely as we have animadverted on M. Gausсен's adopted theory, on his indiscriminate censure of all who differ from him, and on some of the imperfections of his reasoning,—and repudiating as we do a certain vein of imaginative sentiment, which, we confess, is not exactly to our taste, in a disquisition on so profound a question,—we do not the less readily hail him as a fellow-labourer in the great field of European evangelization. We have been much edified by his glowing appeals to the believing heart. We go entirely with him in his reverential homage to the authority of Scripture. We should be glad to see his volume, somewhat modified and abridged, take its place with his friend D'Aubigné's 'Histoire de la Reformation,' among the popular translations of the day. We

* Τὰς γραφὰς ἀληθείς ῥήσεις Πνεύματος τοῦ Ἁγίου.—Clem. ad Cor. Ep. I. ME'.
 Οὗτος ἀψευδέστατος
 κανὼν ἀν ἐν τῶν θεόπνευστῶν γραφῶν.—Greg. Naz. Op., Tom. i.
 Πᾶσα γραφή ἡμῶν Χριστιανῶν θεόπνευστος ἐστίν.—Athan. Syn. Scrip.
 Πιστευθέντα τε θεῖα εἶναι βιβλία.—Athan. Ep. ad Ruf.

strongly recommend the study of it to those who are tempted by the freedom of German rationalism, and to those, also, who are fettered by the *servitude* which is so widely spreading through the land under the high pretensions of Anglican theology.

We shall not be suspected of a wish to underrate sacred criticism. Our pages uniformly testify our ardent desire for its more perfect cultivation, not only by professed theologians, but by all educated persons. We affect no sympathy with the undiscerning English prejudice against all German writers on these subjects, nor with the blindfold accusations of neology against all who apply to the language of Scripture the only principles by which language can at all be expounded. Yet we must conscientiously record our protest—whatever be its weight—against the dreamy philosophy, the unsound principles, the shallow reasoning, the overloaded, ostentatious, and perverted scholarship, and the irreverent levity, with which so many German theologues have violated every law of evidence, while they wound and shock every sentiment of religion.

On the other hand, we have no aversion to ‘the Fathers.’ We owe to them some of our brightest, and not a few of our *saddest*, hours of leisure. We are ready to contribute any little influence we have towards a just appreciation of them. But we are at a loss for language strong enough to express our resentment of the audacious impiety that would place them on a level with the inspired writings, or our pity for the drivelling superstition that would submit to them as expounders from whom there must be no appeal.

For these reasons, we bid most hearty welcome to every enlightened attempt to arouse the thoughtful among us to THE PECULIAR GLORY OF THE SCRIPTURES. Since these holy writings are inspired of God, to them we are required to bow, and to them only, as the authorized instructions of the gospel, so that every controversy in religion shall be determined, every principle adjusted, and every preconception overruled, by their faithfully-expounded meaning. With all diligence, let that meaning be sought; let Criticism bring all her lights to guide us to the text; let Hermeneutics apply the principles of language to enable us to understand that text; let the judgments of all writers, of all ages, from the Roman Clement to this day, be freely handled, and learnedly examined, to rectify, if it may be, the vague mistakes of popular tradition, or to explode the cramped interpretations of dogmatic theologians. But, with all this, and above all, let the spirit of unfeigned and disciplined humility pour out the fervent prayer for ‘the wisdom which is from above.’ It is only thus, in the patient and devout use of all these means, that the minds of men will be led into ‘the mind of the Spirit,’ and all the truth

of God will be the entire creed of the whole church. Happy and honoured in our esteem is he who, like M. Gaussen, consecrates his genius, casting his living seed upon the stream of time, to the hastening on of so blessed a consummation. To that consummation, we soberly believe, all the great controversies of this disputing age are tending. We would abide its coming, holding our convictions earnestly, and desiring, as becomes Christian believers, to unite the docility of children with the intelligence of men and the constancy of martyrs.

Art. II. *Notes of a Traveller on the Social and Political State of France, Prussia, Switzerland, Italy, and other parts of Europe, during the present Century.* By Samuel Laing, Esq. London: Longman and Co. 1842. pp. 496.

THE author of this interesting volume has already earned an ample reputation for sagacity and discernment. He may almost be said to have founded a new and improved school of travellers, who, like himself, will roam up and down Europe, with a crucible in one hand, and a portable furnace in the other. Our tourists have been hitherto accustomed to content themselves with the outsides of things; and the all-prolific press still teems with deluges of pencillings by the way, and first impressions. But those who go abroad henceforward, with an honest view either to improve themselves, or benefit others, must become more and more utilitarians. Not that they need adopt philosophical airs, or the jargon of Jeremy Bentham; but they must search as well as see; they must analyze as well as describe; they must store their journals with ideas as well as pretty writing: in other words, if they wish to be read, they must give out knowledge, and that, too, in as intelligent a manner as possible. *Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci.* This will have to be their motto and rationale. The volumes published by Mr. Laing, on Norway and Sweden, have effected positive good for Europe. In the former he unveiled, what had remained almost unknown, the liberal constitution of a million of mountaineers, thinly scattered over cold but interesting regions, from the Sound to the Icy Seas: in the latter, he has instructed the successors of Gustavus Adolphus and Charles the Twelfth, that aristocratic influences and institutions are amongst the most demoralizing in the world; and that privileged governing classes are so many patented nuisances. Much patriotic indignation having been displayed by his excellency Count Björnstierna, the Swedish minister in London, at a vast quantity of plain truth being told relative to his own government and country, diplomatic magnates are now

turning their eyes towards the light—some with surprise, and others with indignation. The successful and ingenious writer, who has accomplished such a good work with regard to the Scandinavian peninsula, appears once more before the public, with the results of his observation upon several of the central and southern climes of our quarter of the globe. 'Taking historical events, statistical facts, and his own remarks in various tours, as a basis, he proceeds from that basis straightforward to his conclusions in political or social economy, regardless of the theories, authorities, or opinions that may be jostled out of the road; or of the establishments, classes, or personages, whose assumed merits, or false lustre, may be rubbed off in the collision and shock with truth and just principle.'

The curtain draws up over the land of cheese and butter, wide trousers and enormous petticoats—of fens, fogs, canals, and willow-trees: in one word—Holland. Its apparent flatness gives occasion to some just remarks upon the scale of the sublime, in any country, depending very much on the angle of its elevation. Our author threw across the seven dull Dutch provinces the glances of a practical philosopher, in passing not hastily through them. Their spires, bright farm-houses, and windows gleaming in the sunshine, (that is to say, whenever Phœbus has his own way,) at once attracted notice. It is curious enough, however, to observe how differently we are affected by expansion in the horizontal, and that in a perpendicular plane. Therein lies the distinction between the Netherlands and Switzerland; between Zealand or Overysell, and Mont Blanc or Chimborazo. But if Holland may not boast of the grand, or more impressive picturesque, her foregrounds present plenty of snug, compact, harmonious home scenery, with everything within and without in character; besides abundance of historical and political associations. That 'God made the country and man the town,' is nowhere so perfectly illustrated. The Mynheers are great amateurs of the romantic and rural in nature. Their garden-houses are decorated with such titles as, 'My Delight, my Sweet Solitude, or my Darling Felicity;' and though these epithets are literally stuck up, in glittering letters of gilt or tin, upon the fronts of wooden boxes only twelve feet square, yet they record, after a Dutch fashion, that voice of truth, which comes up warm from the heart of man, and which all acknowledge, when Cowper, or any other poet like him, dwells upon the subject. Holland, moreover, constitutes the land of chivalry as to the middle classes! Burke may smile, or turn in his grave, if he pleases; yet the assertion just made is true. Grocers, fishcurers, and shipowners, raised their native sand-banks and marshes into a power, which pulled Spain by the beard, and shewed the haughty

nobles of absolute monarchies what freedom and commerce could perform. Yet the curses of those aristocrats, who gnashed their teeth in vain three hundred years ago, seem at length to have fallen upon the deserted streets of Delft, Leyden, and Haerlem. Their greatness, in fact, was founded upon commercial prosperity and capital, rather than upon productive industry. Holland became proud and opulent as a broker between nation and nation. There existed no mass of native population, through which wealth might circulate, so as to reproduce that which ministers to human wants and gratifications. Markets may be established anywhere, but not manufactures. These last depend upon soil, locality, and natural circumstances. 'Human character, also, in the large, is formed by human employment, and is only removable with it. The busy, active, industrious spirit of a population, trained to quick work, and the energetic exertion of every power in the competition of a manufacturing country, is an unchangeable moral element in its national prosperity, founded upon productive industry.' The lower classes in the Seven United Provinces very slightly participated in the golden tide of trade, which set into the Zuyder Zee, during the sixteenth and the first quarter of the seventeenth century. Merchants grew into princes, without their boors or peasants emancipating themselves from slavery or serfdom. Hence the principle of exclusiveness remained as a dry-rot in their social system. Dutch capital is found everywhere; but Dutch prosperity, in the national sense, has dwindled into a dream or a recollection. *Fuit Ilium et ingens gloria!* The quays and canals of Amsterdam and Rotterdam still swarm with portly proprietors and starving paupers. The colonies formed for the benefit of the last, appear not altogether to have answered their purpose; nor yet to have quite failed. They have, perhaps, sympathized not a little with their founder and patron, his majesty William the First. Royalty is not popular, even at the Hague. Its *prestige* seemed wanting amidst a people habituated to take tradesmanlike views of everything. The ex-king aggravated this evil, if it be one, by acting as a sovereign amongst traders, and a trader amongst sovereigns. He fell upon his subjects, also, like the log in the fable, thrown out of heaven by Jupiter, to be lord and governor to a pond of croakers. He landed at Schevening, in 1813, with his portmanteau, and a bunch of orange ribbands at his breast; and retired from business in 1841, the richest individual in Europe, worth, it is said, above 20,000,000*l.* sterling! Contempt and envy are, therefore, the eggs he has left behind him, which may produce an awkward brood to his family in future. It is justly conceived, that they ought to play the part and pageantry of a crown for little or

nothing, upon a stage where their own coffers have grown full, and those of the public exchequer empty. Taxation, it is clear, cannot be pushed further than within about five-sevenths of the expenditure. At no distant day a composition will have to be made between Holland and her creditors. Common people must then be plucked and pceled; whilst the royal gander may probably waddle away without the requisition of a quill or a guilder to disturb his self-complacency. There can be neither love nor respect under such circumstances:

‘Sordidus ac dives, populi contemnere voces
Sic solitus. Populus me sibilat: at mihi plaudo
Ipse domi, simul ac nummos contemplor in arcâ!’

Mr. Laing supposes that Belgium and Holland will have to come together again, under a federal union: the second possessing capital and colonies, and the first manufacturing industry, with many productive capabilities, but without outlets or markets. Should the two states remain too long separate, the provinces of Belgium bid fair to be absorbed by France, and those of Holland either by Prussia, or the German commercial league.

Travellers generally pass from Brussels to Paris; along which road there is much to observe, but little to describe. The landscape is a wearisome expanse of tillage land, without hills or valleys, lakes or streams. ‘La Belle France is in truth a Calmuck beauty; her flat pancake of a face, destitute of feature, projection, or dimple, and not being even tattooed with lines and cross-lines of hedges, walls, and ditches.’ We need not say that this by no means applies to all departments; but few things have more interested us than the ingenious account Mr. Laing favours us with, touching the origin of that green network of hedgerows, which spreads so smilingly over the fairer surface of our own country. He justly conceives that it must have been the work of a nation of small proprietors, long employed upon the cultivation of their own fields, at some part of the period between the withdrawal of the Romans and the Norman Conquest. Our author sees and feels eye to eye with ourselves, as to the mischiefs of aristocracy, and the hereditary principle of primogeniture. He scatters to the four winds of heaven all the dolorous predictions of Arthur Young, the Edinburgh Reviewers, poor Cobbett, and Doctor Chalmers. The last comes under his lash most severely, for his well-known doctrines as a political economist; nor can anything by the pen of man, as it appears to us, be made plainer, than that feudalism, in all its ramifications, is at once unnatural and highly injurious to mankind; whilst the new system of property, which has been now working for half a century amongst our continental neighbours, has enabled the same

territorial surface to support a population in considerable affluence, greater by one-third in numbers than that which just contrived to keep soul and body together upon it, before the mighty changes of the Revolution! The partition and re-partition of land has not reduced all estates to one minimum size, like the acre of the Irish cotter. Properties of all sizes and values, from 500*l.* to 50,000*l.* in price, are to be found on sale in France, exactly as in England, allowing for the less amount of wealth and capital. Aggregations by deaths of co-relatives fully balance the subdivisions incident upon the deaths of parents; so far, we mean, as to the production of results unsuitable to the welfare of society at large. That the aristocracy of France did not receive their death-warrant, when their entails and exclusive privileges disappeared before the breath of a national convention, we are far from affirming: but what we insist upon is this, that France has gained largely by the new plan. A system of small proprietorships wears a very different aspect from one of small tenancies. The latter is Ireland, with her paupers and potatoes; the former is France, with industry on the move, with her good substantial houses building in every village, with her minor landowners locating themselves on their estates as so many multiplied centres of domestic civilization, with her middle classes rising rapidly into notice and influence, with her rivers covered with steam-boats, and her exports as well as imports augmenting. Much, indeed, remains to be done; for although the French have obtained political freedom, they are not as yet in the full enjoyment of civil liberty. The old law of succession, with respect to freehold property was with them what it still is to us, the grand pillar of the oligarchy. Upon it rested all the arrangements of the ancient régime; an old court, an established clergy, a profligate nobility, all now prostrated in the dust, to be the materials of better institutions, under which millions are to be fed and clothed and educated, where only myriads or thousands were before. Meanwhile property diffused has necessarily introduced much greater respect than ever existed before, for what constitutes the *meum* and *tuum* of individuals, or society. Our limits will not permit us to quote the ample proofs of this, which met our author at every turn; and to the correctness of which every one else can depose, who has ever strolled throughout the gay vineyards of Burgundy, Languedoc, or Provence, apart from the fashionable routes, where the airs of our vagrant conservatives have rendered our national name as odious, as the taxes levied upon it by innkeepers and couriers are vexatious and extravagant.

The people of France, we repeat it, have yet more than enough to learn; and they had much better mind their lesson too, than ruffle their spirits with needless jealousies of England, or waste

them in golden and deceitful speculations about Algeria ever becoming to them a sort of small Hindostan. They, as well as several other European nations, have nearly got rid of their aristocracy; although every now and then the Chamber of Peers plays sad pranks against the press, at the command of Louis Philippe. But a far more important feature of the case is, that functionarism has grown up into an enormous altitude, upon the ruins of antiquated castles, rusty coronets, obsolete usages now found only in the saloons of the old noblesse, and the other innumerable concomitants of feudalism. 'The abolition of hereditary aristocracy, as an influential power in the social structure, threw each successive government, under whatever name, republican, consular, imperial, or monarchical, upon one principle for support, the influence of an extensive government patronage.' Similar causes have produced similar effects in Germany; and it may be considered, that the mechanisation of all social duties in the hands of the executive forms a demoralizing element, unfavourable most certainly to the development of industry, free agency, or public spirit. Continental governments, in fact, plague or annoy their subjects, as it were, at almost every turn. They mount guard at the steps of the doorway; they stop the diligences at the barrier, or the single traveller, whenever any communal officer pleases, for their or his passport; they pry into all concerns, from honest, generally, but always from most inconvenient motives; and the care taken by the crown of its people approaches too nearly to that exercised by a bailiff towards his prisoner, who must never be let go out of sight. To an Englishman this would be intolerable; but then it must be remembered, that we enjoy, what few of the continentals as yet know much about, civil liberty. In France there are one hundred and thirty-eight thousand civil appointments under government, costing annually two hundred millions of francs; or about eight millions sterling! But this statement gives only an inadequate view of the nuisance. There is one functionary family for every forty-six families of the people; so that all this subsistence in the field of government employment too often paralyses exertion in the various spheres of private industry. The analogy holds good between families and collections of families. Where parents do everything for their children, the latter will very rarely do more than the least they possibly can do for themselves. Functionarism attracts towards itself nearly all the mind, industry, and capital, of the secondary classes, on which the wealth and prosperity of a nation are founded. Hence patronage comes to be worshipped, like an idol, by those who have been educated and trained to expect its favours. The hand of the minister at Paris may hold the stirrup of a royal horse for his

majesty to mount upon, but he holds the bridle also, even after the king has mounted. An army of clerks, secretaries, and scribes of every denomination, waits upon the beck and call of each transitory cabinet; so that the entire machinery, under which millions of Frenchmen eat, drink, sleep, read newspapers, discuss politics, or in one word live, move, and have their being, might all be thrown into inextricable confusion, through any rebellion of the bureaucracy. It is further to be observed, that in time of peace, the military service in most foreign countries differs little from the civil. Having few or no colonies to garrison, and slight rotation at home from one quarter or province to another, the military, from their being generally stationed for many years together in the same towns, at length act upon general industry or manners, much in the same way, and with the same effects, as the body of civil functionaries. 'Both together form a mass of subsistence, influence, and distinction, to be attained by other means than productive industry, and which smothers all exertion, or spirit of independence, in the industrious classes.' Our author even goes so far as to conceive that functionarism, as a colossal evil, may be effecting all the disadvantages and social detriment which flowed, during mediæval and modern times, from the feudal and monastic systems. Here we cannot agree with him; although admitting, from ocular and personal experience, that the outlines of his statement are most ably drawn. He seems, however, to have overlooked the fact, that an object very close to the eye must always appear greater than another further off, whether in prospect or retrospect. Functionarism, doubtless, inflicts many inconveniences upon society, which can be traced home peculiarly to itself; but then, after all, it is made up of popular materials; it admits of flexure and elasticity, and can be even forced to assume new or necessary forms, whenever public opinion shall demand it; the power it exercises reposes upon the admitted principles of responsibility; and should it ever act the tyrant beyond a certain point, we shall find it vanishing away at the very sentence of its condemnation, just as the castles of enchantment were feigned to disappear when the fatal trumpet was blown by the right heroes. The glory of the present age is, that knowledge rapidly disseminating itself amongst large masses of men—not ignorance, not superstition, not an ecclesiastical hierarchy, not an order of mailed barons—constitutes real, genuine, practical power. To uproot an aristocracy shakes the social earth to its centre. Its fibres have wound and threaded their way into the hearts and constitutions of a class resting upon the almost immovable rock of landed property. Its mind, language, motives, maxims, and universal conduct, affect thrones, dominations, palaces, marriages, the female sex, the revenues of

principalities, the habits of centuries. When it expires in these islands, it will be like Samson bringing down upon his head the chambers of the lords of the Philistines. The foundations of functionarism we hold to be altogether of another kind. Desolation, should that ever be its appointed destiny, might drive her plough over the length and breadth of its field, without any one asking or caring when it existed, or where it arose.

Nor even where the old mossgrown shell and framework of oligarchies have been overthrown or dismantled, are the associations all gone. Not even mind itself can annihilate mind; and the feudal spirit still lingers far too often among regenerated governments and populations. Property, delivered from its aristocratic fetters, will prove, according to Mr. Laing, the mighty liberator from despotism and prejudices, the grand check upon indiscreet marriage and propagation, the mighty patron of popular rights and social prosperity against monopoly and class legislation. Revolutions on the Continent have widely diffused it, together with those various yet useful ideas inseparable from successful industry when tasting the sweets of possession. Connected with this state of affairs must inevitably follow, in due time, an elevation of the social level, the free agency of individuals, the claims of every citizen to representation, the engendering, enlightening, and strengthening of that *vox populi*, which will teach governors to govern for the benefit of an entire community. Hence two distinct powers in society are at present advancing towards a collision, throughout France, Prussia, and Northern Germany—the power of property and royal power. The events of 1789-93 commenced a movement in Europe, of which the smallest portion, in the way of realized results, has as yet appeared. They broke up the continental populations into two strongly marked and distinct divisions. Austria, at the head of one, leads forward, or, rather, tries in vain to keep backward, the millions still living upon an aristocratic basis of government under the shadow of regal authority. There we see imperialism reposing on feudality. The other division comprises those nations which have knocked aside primogeniture and hereditary privilege; and with whom a kingly executive has only the temporary pedestal of functionarism for its support. France professes herself to be the European foundress and leader of this novel social economy; but Prussia voluntarily entered within its circle, under Prince Hardenburg, in the year 1809. That great statesman changed the subjects of his master from tenants into proprietors, by a series of admirable edicts extending as low down as June, 1821. Upon a scheme of thorough utilitarianism, recognising the principles of adjustment and compensation, he defrauded no one, whilst conferring immense benefits

upon all. 'It gave comfort and property to a population of serfs; it emancipated them from local oppression, raised their moral and physical condition, and gave them a political, although as yet unacknowledged, existence, as the most important constituent element of the social body. But here the Prussian revolution has stopped short of the French. It gave no political liberty, or influence, under any form; no representative constitution to those to whom it had given clear and distinct property; and, consequently, the feelings and requirements which the possession of property brings along with it. The people hold the property; and the crown, by its system of functionarism and its military organization, endeavours to hold all the rights and prerogatives belonging to, and morally and civilly essential to, property, even all the civil and political liberties of the proprietors of the country.' Such circumstances of antagonism can never avoid concussion for any length of time. In France, the body of proprietors have obtained a portion at least of political liberty, yet without acquiring civil freedom. Prussia stands in the absurd position of clinging fast to absolutism, after necessity has compelled her to resign all lot and participation in feudality. In plain terms, she is leaning upon mere functionarism to save herself, if she can, from being hurried along with the stream of general improvement. Her government, at all events, is doing this; and with what success may be easily foreseen. The chariot of reform was never made to roll backward, any more than a river of water, or the tide of years. Both Frederick William and Louis Philippe may endeavour to reconstruct landed and privileged aristocracies, or hierarchies in established churches, if they please; whilst time will soon teach them, as it has done their predecessors, that to weave ropes out of sand along the sea-shore, would be about as profitable a manufacture.

The Prussians call themselves a nation without traditions; and possibly this may explain some of the very exaggerated notions as to the real grandeur of their favourite, Frederick the Great. Their past history must be a collection of annals independent of each other, connected respectively with margravates, electorships, and dukedoms, all on a petty scale; affording little or no space for mighty heroes to stalk up and down in; and thereby give scope for comparison—

Νεστορα τε, χρομμον τε, Περικλυμενον τ' αγωρωχον !

In ordinary parlance, therefore, Prussia, as a name, possesses only a geographical or political meaning. Her existence has been moulded and maintained by diplomacy. Cabinets have suffered her to make large territorial acquisitions, looking upon her as an immense military organization. Yet it is sufficiently

clear, that standing armies, employed as mere machines, have no chance with troops coming against them excited and animated with heart-stirring sentiments or motives. The war, from 1794 to 1814, broke up the antiquated games so often indulged in by continental potentates, of playing chess with soldiers; and demonstrated, that where moral influences have kindled national fervour, no people can be subdued. 'The alteration, in Prussia, of the law and holding of landed property, and the subversion of the ancient feudal relations between the peasant and the nobility,—a change almost as great in the state of property, and altogether as great in the structure of society, as the revolution produced in France; the new military system, by which the people themselves became the only standing army; the new educational system, by which government has in its own hands the training of the mind and opinions of the public, through its own functionaries; the new ecclesiastical system, by which the two branches of the Protestant church, the Lutheran and Calvinist, are joined together and blended into one different from both—the Prussian church; the German custom-house union, or commercial league, centralising in Prussia the management of the commercial and manufacturing industry connected with the supply of other German populations, and raising a Prussian dominancy over the industrial pursuits of the rest of Germany; all these are so many steps towards the one great object of imbuing the Prussians with those moral influences, without which a population is not a nation, and on which their genuine greatness, and independence, and even their existence, must ultimately depend.' The Prussian military system forms one of the most important features in the social economy of the continent. It has been imitated or adopted by all the secondary European powers. Every male subject between the ages of twenty and twenty-five years, without distinction of fortune, birth, class, or intended profession, is bound to serve as a private soldier in the ranks, for a period of three successive years. Even those persons intended for the catholic priesthood are not exempted; although as a matter of extreme favour the term, in certain instances, becomes limited to twelve months. After such service, in a regiment of the line, the individual returns to his home on leave of absence, as a supernumerary, liable to be called out in case of war, until the attainment of his twenty-sixth year; after which, he is drafted into the army of reserve, which has to assemble for exercise and field manoeuvres for a fortnight always, and often a month annually. At fifty, a man passes into what is styled the land-sturm, or levy-en-masse; and which musters for so many days, in its own locality alone. But the result just goes towards rendering the whole land a camp, and the entire adult population an army!

Its apparent cheapness, in proportion to its enormous numerical strength, no doubt impresses an observer at the first sight of the affair; until he has reflected, that its cost is by no means confined to the pecuniary expenditure. In reality, this militia is a most cruel pressure upon national industry, a reckless waste of the time, and an inhuman interference with the moral habits of any enlightened or highly civilized community. The operative has the three most valuable years of his life taken from him, just when he might be best acquiring steady habits at his work, or manual dexterity at his trade; besides his fortnight, or month per annum in some battalion of reserve, subtracted from the most profitable season in the year, and connected with all the inconveniences of going from home, amidst the temptations of evil companions, or the excitements of the barrack. Our author calculates it as equivalent to a property-tax of ten per cent. upon the labour of the productive classes. Hence the low state of so many of the manufactures in Germany; whose middle classes are formed, under this hateful system of annual drills and parades, not by the rise of individuals, from those below themselves, as with us in England and Scotland, but from the gradual breaking down of the orders above them. The military organization of a whole people, after this fashion, sacrifices their civil freedom; neutralizes their prospect of obtaining political liberty; and, in one significant phrase, 'pays for the saddle without leaving a thaler to buy the horse!' It must also be remembered, that, for any offensive operations, such a machine must be effete and useless. It is neither moveable, nor disposable; as was shewn in the rather recent dismemberment of the Netherlands. Even in a defensive sense, it would be fighting against an invader with golden and silver swords. The loss of a battle would be greater to Prussia, in a political and economical view, than three or four defeats of ordinary troops. Social affairs would be more deranged; more useful life would be destroyed. Her present army involves too much intelligence, property, influence, —too many fathers, husbands, and sons of the worthiest families throughout her ten provinces, to be placed in jeopardy. If the horrible science and profession of warfare may not as yet be dispensed with, at least let them be exercised *in vili corpore*, as much as possible. Unless the next struggle in Europe be for national existence, Prussia will no longer remain amongst the five great powers. England, France, Russia, and Austria, may use to their mercenary forces the language of the centurion. The court of Berlin will regret all the millions which have been lavished upon annual reviews, should Louis Philippe, or his successors, ever think of realizing the speculations of Thiers, and rounding their dominions by the Rhine!

Meanwhile the German Commercial League is kneading together from twenty to thirty millions of people, for purposes which its projectors little intended. His late Majesty, Frederick William, never conceived an idea but that Prussia, through her Silesian and Saxon territories, with her hands too on the Baltic and the Rhenish electorates, would effectually control the movement for her own peculiar advantage. Love is represented by the ancients as being blindfolded, but self-love or selfishness would often seem to have no eyes at all. The enthusiasm of Germany has turned from the broken promises of restored sovereigns, to something like a disposition for trusting in future to its own efforts. The ball, which royal policy has for years taken infinite pains to increase from a small nucleus, now begins to roll of itself, to exhibit symptoms of governing or wishing to govern itself. How careful should autocrats be in ever meddling with federations, or encouraging the middle or lower classes to put two ideas together. A mighty object of material interest now stands out before the public mind from Pomerania to Austria. Within the present generation, on the Rhine alone, goods had to pass through twenty-seven different custom-houses, in their transit from Switzerland to Holland. Prussia, however, is already said to be a loser, as to mere commercial revenue, of 500,000 dollars per annum, through what are justly termed recent improvements by almost all Germany. Some of the lesser states may be jealous of her appearing to take steps towards mediatising them; but on the whole, an outline has been laid down before the gaze and heart of Teutonic patriotism, within which, union of national mind, and strength of national purpose, may some day or other evoke the sun of liberty from behind the shadows of despotism. This will be indeed a *post nubila Phœbus*; but the will, the opinion, the determined judgment, and the effective capital of immense mercantile establishments, have already entered into the affairs and management of the League. Berlin has now to follow, instead of leading, with regard to Dutch and British alliances touching tariffs and tolls. In due course of time, a monetary influence will help materially to extinguish the military principles of autocracy and irresponsibility in governments. Wiser and better than the old Hans Towns, it must meanwhile look less to the results of foreign trade, and more to the formation of home markets for domestic consumption. It will be by raising the condition of the peasantry and lower orders generally, that the beneficial change for posterity can alone be achieved. The trammels of warlike preparations in peace, of the functionary system at all times, and in all places, are grievances not much longer to be endured. Yet these Germans are nevertheless a very peculiar people. The

staple of their literature is imitative, with a few well-known and pre-eminent exceptions. The subsequent description will, we think, gratify our readers:—

‘Their great original authors, Goëthe, Schiller, or Richter, or our great authors, Shakspeare, Scott, and Byron, give the tunes which the crowd of German writers are whistling through the streets. This imitative turn, and the excess of literary production, influence even the material interests and character of the German people. In politics, in social economy, in religion, and perhaps even in morals and the regulation of conduct, principles and opinions seem to have no time to take root, and to influence the actual doings of men, for conviction is but loosely connected with action. The latter by no means follows the former, even when not drawn aside by prejudice, passion, or self-interest. All is speculation, not reality. Every German seems to have two worlds for himself—a world of idea, and a world of reality; and the former appears to have as little connection with the latter, as the evening of the monarch on the stage with the morning of the actor in his lodgings. This division of life into two distinct existences, this living in a world of reveries, this wide separation between ideas and realities, between thoughts and actions, common, perhaps, to all men of intellectual cultivation, is so widely diffused in Germany, that it sensibly influences its social economy. All evaporates in speculation. Books and theories, and principles, are published and read; and there the matter rests. A new set of books, theories, and principles are published, and overwhelm the first; but all this never goes beyond the world of idea, in which half their existence is passed. Improvement, reform, movement of any kind in social business or real life, either for the better or the worse, stand still, because real life is but half their existence. Leave them the other half, their ideal world to expatiate in—and that cannot be circumscribed by any kind of government—and they quietly put up with restrictions and burthens in real life, which in our social economy would not be endured. Energy of mind, and vigour of action, in the real affairs of ordinary life, are diluted and weakened by this life of dreamy speculation. We sometimes see individuals, amongst ourselves, novel-reading, romantic youths, forming a little world for themselves, from the shelves of the circulating library, and dreaming away life in it. The literature, scholarship, and wide diffusion of the culture of the imaginative faculty in Germany, are in this view actually detrimental to the social development of the German people, to their industry, material interests, and activity in ordinary affairs of a mechanical kind, and to their energy and interest in claiming and exercising civil liberty or free agency in real life.’—pp. 265, 266.

The subject of German literature stands connected with the Prussian educational system, which finds little favour in the eyes of our otherwise agreeable tourist. He admits the perfection of its machinery; whilst with almost caustic severity he reviews its results upon the moral, religious, and social condition of the

people. We were well aware, in part from personal observation, that every institution, from Stettin and Königsberg to Cologne and Coblenz, assumes something very like a regimental character; but many statements in the present volume have filled us with sorrow and dismay. They would go far, we fear, to shew that wherever state instruction, on a large or small scale, supersedes, in any considerable degree, parental tuition, (and the entire tendency of the Prussian system is to do so,) there demoralization ensues with regard to honesty, chastity, and truth. The finger of government meddling in all action and opinion, so as to control altogether individual judgment, may produce 'youths well educated, as it is called, because they can read, write, sing, are well-dressed, well-drilled, and able-bodied,' but whose self-respect amounts to little or nothing. Protestantism herself would appear to have been looked upon by Prussian monarchs and statesmen only as an engine, to be turned this way or that, according to the opinions entertained by rulers of the religious creeds which ought to be adopted by their subjects. In 1817, about eight millions, under the sceptre of Frederick William, professed Lutheranism or Calvinism in nearly equal proportions. By a proclamation of the royal will, dated the 27th of September in that year, both these professions were abolished with the same ease and quietude that an order of council would effect some lawful commercial purpose amongst ourselves; and out of their suppression was created by the same absolute will, if not wisdom, ONE EVANGELICAL CHRISTIAN CONGREGATION, to be thenceforward styled THE PRUSSIAN CHURCH! Directions with regard to the sacraments and clergy, together with an appropriate liturgy, were all ready cut and dried, and were enforced also. What would our Charles the First not have given, about two centuries ago, for such regal power, or such an obedient people as these submissive Protestant Prussians—all with arms in their hands—all able to read, and many with the Scriptures in their possession—but all cooled down 'to zero, or at least to the amalgamation point' in religion? The court and garrisons and army did exactly as they were bid. Questions which had agitated kingdoms, or thrown republics and free cities into convulsions, were now settled by a royal sign-manual. Out of 8950 Protestant congregations, 7750 neither peeped nor muttered. Verily a people in this state must have been ready for any revolution in ceremonial observances or doctrinal professions. The decrees of the Council of Trent gave sore throats to the Catholic divines of more than one papal country, before they could be swallowed at all; nor even to this hour are they thoroughly digested by those of the Gallican communion. The edictal law of a lay sovereign, issued from the

banks of the Spree, without any associations of history, theology, or antiquity, to lubricate or stretch the conscience, went down bodily, without producing a paroxysm, a twinge, or even a wry face, on the occasion. The Prussian government, however, not satisfied with this extraordinary degree of success, gave the reins to its unfortunate rage for centralising everything; and in aiming to render every trifling detail as uniform as possible, at length began to awaken a semblance of opposition. In 1822, some modest and respectful murmurs whispered disapprobation towards the new church agenda, through its being pushed too rapidly and too far. Frederick William shut his ears, and never could perceive any vestige of uprightness or sincerity in consciences that were not precisely squared to his own. Although neither a papist nor an episcopalian, the spirit of a tiara had settled upon his heart. He could not brook the slightest opposition or remonstrance on these most sacred and tender topics. The novel forms of service were introduced with armed force wherever necessary; all objections to them were crushed as treasonable or heretical; and on some poor villages in Silesia turning recusant, 'troops were quartered on the people, to be supported at their expense,' until perfect conformity assuaged the pious wrath of the modern Hildebrand. Six hundred individuals alone stood their ground for heaven by submitting to spoliation and exile. They found their way by Hamburgh and Hull to America, 'the last of religious martyrs, it is to be hoped, whom the persecution of a despot will drive to her forests.' Our readers will altogether concur with Mr. Laing in his subsequent conclusions:—

'The supremacy of the civil power over the religious concerns of a people is clearly inconsistent with any sound and pure administration of the Christian religion in Protestant countries. Now there is but one remedy for this overwhelming evil, which has been growing to a head since the Reformation. It is to vest the church power in Protestant countries, neither in the civil power or government of the country, nor in an ecclesiastical power independent of the civil power or government, which would be a state within the state, incompatible with social movement, *but in the source of all power—in the people. It is in the voluntary system, in which neither state power nor church power can interfere with the religious convictions of men, that Protestant Christianity must ultimately find its true and permanent asylum.*'
—p. 195.

But the moral, religious, and social effects of the Prussian educational system, are still further and more painfully illustrated by the cautious and careful account given us by our author of the Muckers—a fearful sect, prevalent in and about Königsberg, comprehending several individuals of high consideration in that

city, and spreading very extensively under the leadership of two established ministers of the gospel—or at least they are so termed. This hideous denomination combines lewdness with doctrinal profession, to such a degree that we forbear transferring any details to our pages. Socialism would seem comparatively virtuous alongside this revival of antiquated abominations, which paganism itself knew, in some of its adherents, how to abhor and deprecate. One turns away in disgust from such subjects to the management of the poor at Berlin, and the notions entertained by Mr. Laing upon the Corn Laws. Pauperism is said to be better treated in the Prussian capital than in any European city with a large population. Berlin, with 300,000 souls, has no poor-rates, no beggars, and no obtrusive visibility of policemen. Yet the arrangements for the care of the distressed are most efficient, both as to the reality of the relief dispensed and the suppression of mendicity, all maintained and carried on by the gratuitous services of the middle classes. The municipalities appoint directors of the poor, who, together with the clergy and a paid staff of medical men, form a commission, acting upon the district system, with infirmaries, workhouses, and dispensaries, under their immediate charge. Their funds are supplied from permanent endowments, from legacies, from payments by government for the correctional police, from charitable free contributions, from occasional donations on the part of the crown, and lastly, from the general chest of what we should call borough-taxation. Hence, it is true, these last become taxes for the destitute under another name; but then the moral effects on the recipients are very different. There is no settled fund, as amongst ourselves, amounting to millions per annum, on which the vicious, the idle, or the improvident, can calculate as their own by law. No relief is dispensed without strict investigation and permanent surveillance; nor can anything well exceed the economy in cost, when this is fairly compared with the satisfactory nature of the results to all parties. The donors are gratified, and the paupers are satisfied. Most cordially do we wish that Mr. Laing would just separate this portion of his work from the rest, elucidate it with any further details which he may think proper to afford, and publish it as a pamphlet, for the enlightenment of our senators in their discussions upon the Poor Law Reform. We are not quite so thoroughly at one with him with respect to the Corn Question. He seems to have pondered less accurately than might have been expected, the grand fact that a permanent demand for grain in this country may go far towards equalizing the prices of food on the continent with those in England, thereby taking away from foreign rivals the solitary advantage which they possess over our capitalists and manufac-

turers. Neither has his mind cleared itself from that singular delusion, that high or low wages depend upon high or low prices of wheat, instead of being mainly affected, as we venture to conceive they are, by demand and supply. Not that Mr. Laing professes himself any friend to the master grievance of our age; for, on the contrary, he deems that its abolition will produce most beneficial changes, physical, moral, and social, particularly in bringing about a natural equilibrium between all kinds of labour. He would moreover lay the axe to the root of tithe; which, as he accurately demonstrates, is the real, genuine mother of poor-rate. But he also imagines that husbandry will gradually come round to the metayer system, to a subdivision of large farms into small ones, and to a reduced scale of money prices for landed properties. To follow out his ingenious disquisitions on these matters would swell our article into a volume; nor can we do more than notice his very able account and survey of Prussia, as one national mass, made up of conflicting interests, different forms of religion, antagonistic associations, and, indeed, with most of the limbs of its body corporate thoroughly out of joint. By the Rhine he proceeded into Switzerland, animadverting on the slender traffic which floats between Basil and Bonne, the river being often without a barge for ten miles together, notwithstanding the twenty or thirty millions of civilized human beings, who may be reckoned as more or less in connexion with so magnificent a water-way. Had it been an American stream, Prince Metternich, as an imagined ambassador from Austria to the United States, would have seen it alive with floating craft of every description, instead of 'sweeping in lonely grandeur between robber castles of former days, modern fortifications, decaying towns, military and custom-house sentinels and functionaries, and beneath vine-dotted hills, around which the labouring man toils, climbs, and lives, as he did a thousand years ago, without improvement, or advance of any importance in his social condition.'

Our tourist portrays in his most graphic manner the two small populations at the two extremities of the Rhine, far apart from each other in locality, soil, climate, and means of subsistence, yet with slender moral or national dissimilitude. The Swiss are the Dutchmen of the mountains, phlegmatic, cold, unimaginative, and money-seeking, yet vigorous, determined, energetic, patriotic, and sober. The general idea is by no means a correct one, that the Swiss Cantons, from their position between three monarchies jealous of their prosperity, hold but a precarious lease of political existence. On the contrary, they possess what appears to be paradoxical, the power of weakness! Switzerland could throw a missile of fire at any time into either Italy,

Austria, or France; of which each being fearful, feels herself compelled to shew proper respect towards the Helvetic confederation. Should ever the eagle from Vienna dream of pouncing upon Zurich or Berne, it would quickly be seen who had the worst of it.

‘Vulpes ab arâ rapuit ardentem facem
Totamque flammis arborem circumdedit
Hostis dolorem damno miscens sanguinis.’

The surest defence of any territory, whose strength and prosperity lie in sitting still, consists in its being also armed with such capabilities of doing mischief. The Swiss still hire themselves out as foreign mercenaries, being the *condottieri* of modern times. Yet they intensely love their country, and return to it whenever circumstances will permit them. No one can be surprised at this, nor can we withhold the following exquisite passage:—

‘The snowy peak, the waterfall, the glacier, are but the wonders of Switzerland; her beauty is in her lakes, the blue eyes of this Alpine land. The most beautiful portion of scenery in Switzerland is, to my mind, the upper end of the lake of Geneva, from Vevay or Lausanne to Villeneuve. Scenery more sublime may be found on the lakes of Lucerne, Zug, Brienz; but in the pure unmixed sublime of natural scenery, there is a gloom, essential perhaps to it, which cannot long be sustained without a weariness of mind. Here the gay expanse of water is enlivening; and the water here is in due proportion to the landward part of the scenery—not too little, not too much, for the mountains. The climate, too, under the shelter of the high land; the vegetations of various climes upon the hill-side before the eye at once, have a charm for the mind. The margin of the lake is carved out, and built up into terrace above terrace of vineyards and Indian corn-plots; behind this narrow belt, grain-crops, orchards, grass fields, and chesnut trees have their zone; higher still, pastures and forests occupy the ground; above, rises a dense mass of pine-forest, broken by peaks of bare rock, shooting up, weather-worn and white, through this dark green mantle; and last of all, the eternal snow piled high up against the deep blue sky—all this glory of nature, this varied majesty of mountain-land, within one eye-glance! It is not surprising that this water of Geneva has seen upon its banks the most powerful minds of each succeeding generation. This land of alp and lake is indeed a mountain temple, reared for the human mind on the dull unvaried plains of Europe, to which men of every country resort, from an irresistible impulse to feel intensely, at least once in their lives, the majesty of nature. The purest of intellectual enjoyments that the material world can give, is being alone in the midst of this scenery.’
—pp. 334, 335.

Mr. Laing expends few pages upon such description, although so eminently gifted both to discern and delineate either the sub-

lime or the beautiful. He hastens to statistics, and the other practical details, which make up the daily life of that complex creature—man. With regard to population, he proves that its true and valuable increase must depend not on the mere naked number of births, but of persons born who grow up to attain a useful age. He gloats also, in a spirit of genuine philanthropy, on the air of neatness and domestic comfort which the sense of property has imprinted upon the people. Inscriptions, for instance, over gateways and gable-ends in the Simmenthal or Hasselthal, often shew that the habitation has been occupied by the same family for two hundred years; the taste of modern owners manifesting itself, after their own fashion or fancy, in new windows, or additions to the old original picturesque dwelling, ‘which, with its immense projecting roof sheltering or shading all these successive little additions, looks like a hen sitting with a brood of chickens under her wings.’ We can bear testimony, from delightful recollections, to the complete accuracy of all these statements; as also to the humorous preference which sensible travellers cannot fail expressing for Swiss women above Swiss men, throughout the cantons. ‘The hen is the better bird all over Switzerland!’ The remarks, moreover, of our tourist, upon cookery, may well reconcile us to our own truly economical habits, in the matter of feeding the outer animal. Cleanliness may, in many respects, be considered as next to godliness, however immense the distance between the two subjects. Utilitarianism, nevertheless, has not yet existed long enough in this sublunary civilized world to be altogether trustworthy, when poetry and the fine arts come upon the tapis. Hence when Mr. Laing crosses the snowy Alps, those *celeberrima mænia mundi*, we frequently have to differ from him. That the influence of painting, sculpture, and imagination, may often have been overrated by individuals, is admitted; but then the precise opposite to what is wrong is by no means consequentially what is right. Italy, as contrasted with Switzerland, is that very instance which we should always adduce to demonstrate the correctness and excellence of aiming at the *via mediâ*, with regard to the matters just mentioned. The first transalpine city which attracted any particular attention was Genoa; from whose marble moles and quays he trumpets forth sundry laudatory strains about Leith, Dundee, Aberdeen, and Liverpool. Now there can be no doubt but that Great Britain is more prosperous than Italy; or that the wet docks and steamboats of the former have done more for our species than palaces full of statues and pictures could have effected. *Neanmoins chacun à son goût!* We quite agree with him, that capital is a bank-note for so much human labour. ‘If its value is not reproduced by its outlay, the holder

of it is wasting his means, and the industrious of the country suffer a loss.'

The remarks on Naples, Vesuvius, and Pompeii, which come next in course, appear to us amongst the most truthful and important in the latter portion of the volume. His description of the finest bay in Europe, with its olives and orange-groves, its whitewalled terraces, hamlets, monasteries, vineyards, and orchards—its unparalleled sweep of coast-line, the graceful appearance and awful phenomena of the smoking volcano—might ravish into ecstasies the most enthusiastic of our native artists. No one admires or feels external nature more than Mr. Laing; and what is a matchless picture, we would ask, but an imitation, more or less excellent, of nature? He justly depicts the streets of this profligate capital as a wonderful den of human animals—beggars, thieves, idlers, assassins, monks, ladies, and military! The jabber of tongues, the cooking and eating, the filthiness and vermin, are all drawn to the life. So, too, are the effects of soil and climate, of an over-numerous throng of civil officials, of a forced church-extension system, and of an enormously paid established clergy. We commend these latter considerations, with sincere personal respect and cordiality, to Sir Robert Inglis; for our tourist shews that if the clerical staff at Glasgow could only be swollen to the Neapolitan pitch of four thousand seven hundred and eighty-three persons, which would be its proper proportion, then would the Firth of Clyde possess a city as superstitious, ignorant, lazy, and nasty, as Parthenope herself. Mr. Laing has so demolished the pretensions to pious argument of those who support grants of millions to uphold forms of religion, that Oxford will never grant him an honorary degree upon any conceivable grounds of merit whatsoever. Yet only hear him summing up the panorama, for the edification of ladies as well as gentlemen:—

'This Naples is the St. Giles of Europe. I would advise the first pedlar, who travels this road, to bring in his pack a goodly assortment of small-toothed combs;—not that the natives are civilized enough to need such machinery:—they use more summary measures, and you see them sitting all of a row, before their doors, with their heads in each others laps, in turns, and searching for—animated ideas,—but for the benefit of the English ladies who may visit Naples. A man impregnates his skin with the effluvia of tobacco and wine, and offers no such tempting pastures to the herds and flocks of his Neapolitan majesty; but a delicate English lady, in all her cleanliness and loveliness, swarming as she must be,—whew! The English lady, in fact, must leave all her delicacy at home, and all her blushes, too, except a small travelling assortment, if she intends to reside among this more than half-naked and all-alive people. The country about Naples may be an earthly paradise: but it is paradise after the fall, given up to the serpent for an habitation!'—pp. 392, 393.

With similar humour, a sort of running fire is kept up against conservatism, along the beautiful road from Capua to Terracina; and through the Pontine marshes to Rome. He admirably exposes first, and annihilates afterwards, the evils of defending things as they are, in the sense, we mean, of resisting improvement under the pretence of withstanding innovation. His account of the Campagna around what the ancients so fondly, yet so absurdly, called the Eternal City, is in his best style; that enormous, impressive plain, boundless to the gaze, without trees, or houses, or ponds, or running waters,—but one vast ocean of waving grass, thickly studded over with piles of shapeless architectural remains. For twelve or fifteen miles, the wanderer comes upon pieces of pavement, or ancient walls of bricks, built chequer-wise, interspersed with monumental inscriptions not legible, arches supporting nothing, fountains not flowing, and broken ranges of aqueducts, stretching towards the horizon, like the skeleton limbs of the Titans. No sounds or signs of industry relieve either the ear or the eye. A lark singing in the sky, or a solitary shepherd and his fierce dog, are nearly all one meets with alive. The very gates of Rome, on the side towards Alba Longa, possess the silence and solitude of the grave. Mr. Laing at length seems to have felt the magic influence of art and imagination, as well as nature, when he moralized by moonlight amidst the marvellous wreck of the Coliseum; although even here, taking care to remember that coffee, sugar, distilled liquors, cotton, and potatoes, set in motion more human activity and industry than Roman emperors ever wielded. For St. Peter's he had evidently no taste. The revenues of the Papal States he estimates at about 1,800,000*l.* per annum. The splendid ceremonial of the Passion week, the library of the Vatican, the famous horses of Monte Cavallo, the tomb of Clement XIII., lead him to an interesting comparison between ancient and modern sculpture; as also to a disquisition, not less interesting, upon the present state, and what some would term the religious philosophy, of Catholicism and Protestantism. Both the presbytery and secession in Scotland, and episcopacy and nonconformity in England, have yet much to learn, and, indeed, to unlearn, on these subjects; as we have already, in recent papers, endeavoured to impress upon the various classes of our readers. Mr. Laing mentions the curious fact, that in every street of the papal metropolis, there are, at short distances, public primary schools for the education of the children of the lower and middle classes in the neighbourhood. Rome, with a population of 158,668 souls, has 372 of these seminaries, with 482 teachers and 14,099 children in attendance. The priesthood and state functionaries well understand that mere reading and writing do not constitute

thinking. Education, in the Prussian and Italian sense of the word, may be defined as the art of teaching people not to teach themselves. Roman-catholic clergy have discovered that what they have to do in this respect is to guide absolutely what cannot be resisted immediately. They therefore, instead of the stark stalwart folly of imitating our Brahmins of the establishment, who resist all education deserving the name of national, reap the popularity of instructing the lower classes; taking good care themselves to elevate still higher than before that level of knowledge which forms the groundwork of their own professional position. *Fas est ab hoste doceri!* The flocks will follow, they conceive, the more readily for being trained, if the leaders only keep ahead of the crowd. So says our ingenious traveller; concurring as he does with us, that neither the Record nor Reformation Societies are the instruments appointed by Providence for preserving spiritual liberty in these islands.

With Florence he was greatly delighted. He found the labouring portion of the community well clothed, well lodged, well fed, and thoroughly happy; all which he principally attributes to the subdivision of property. There were in Tuscany, in 1836, to a population less than a million and a half, upwards of 130,000 landed estates. In other words, out of every century of families nearly fifty possess a portion of the soil. Hence the husbandry has become just what might be expected, assimilated to that of Switzerland and Flanders. The government also is as liberal as any Austrian government can be; the grand duke living amongst his subjects like their father, more than like their master. Yet it must never be forgotten, that one ill-educated or ill-advised sovereign might undo all the good his predecessors have ever planned or accomplished. 'Capital, commerce, manufacturing industry, the great agencies in the movement of modern society, will not trust themselves freely upon so unstable a foundation. This will ever be the impediment to any considerable progress in Prussia, Austria, or Tuscany, and all the paternally governed, but autocratic states, in the development of the industry of their people. The prosperity, national wealth, and public spirit, they aim at, *are inseparable from free institutions and legislative power lodged with the people themselves*, and independent of the life or will of an individual.' Crossing the Apennines, Mr. Laing proceeded to Bologna; and thence by Ferrara and Padua to Venice. We were struck with the correctness of his observation, that the distinctive principle of Gothic architecture is to seek its effects by extensions in the height, and that of Grecian, on the contrary, by those parallel to the horizon. Exceptions will, however, occur, as for instance, with regard to the dome; unless this be considered merely characteristic of the Roman school. Lombardy

would appear not to be so prosperous as Tuscany, although in a much better condition than the Papal or Sicilian states. The effects of an Italian climate lead to that homeless, and to us, apparently, miserable plan, of eating as many meals as possible out of doors. Operatives, from the Alps to Calabria, often seem to abjure roofs; and the blessings of Italy thus frequently become her curses. Domestic habits will never flourish so well as by the ingle-nook and the hearth-stone. Necessity, when not too stern and severe, softens into the parent of morality and civilization. Italy has no natural divisions of her social body into growers and consumers; because every habitable district grows the same products, corn, wine, oil, silk, and fruits. Each consumer is therefore a producer; neither is there much command of fire or water to set machinery in motion. The world will never behold her intent on manufactures, nor begirt with a seafaring population. All capital, industry, intelligence, civil authority, and public or private business, must centralize into the towns; each of which, within its own circle, suffices for itself, living as a large metayer family upon its own trade and means; nor being otherwise than an insulated oasis, connected as little as possible with its contemporaries in the land. Hence these cities or municipal populations have sailed out of sight of the main body of the people; a state of disunion, which may be deemed the result rather of natural than political causes. There has ever been an enormous outlay of unproductive capital. The volume concludes with some interesting notices of Milan, Como, the Austrian government generally, Lago Maggiore, the Borromean Islands, the Alps, and the social state of France, Prussia, and Italy; and we cannot forbear tendering our author very cordial thanks for the pleasure he has afforded us. Whatever falls from his pen is full of thought, and well worthy, in every way, of consideration. We have freely expressed our own opinions on the various topics which he has touched, and on which he has thrown so much light and information. His style and reputation require no encomium; the former is terse, energetic, not always polished, and now and then highly elliptical, if not almost ungrammatical; the latter is based upon the most solid foundations, penetration connected with the utmost comprehensiveness of mind, together with a spirit of patriotism, and powers of description, we should say, of the highest order. His Scotticisms, for such we presume they are, we could wish expunged. Mr. Laing is bound to write English for the three united kingdoms; and to our ears, the use of 'consumpt' for *consumption*,—of such adjectives or participles as 'clamant' for *clamorous*, of such a verb as 'slumped,' unless it is a misprint for *lumped*, sounds disagreeably. But he has no greater ad-

mirers, upon the whole, than ourselves. We almost are induced to desire for him a life of travels; until, like the wandering Jew, he shall have visited every land under heaven, and put upon record his observations respecting them. Might not his next trip be to India, now brought within six weeks of Falmouth? An octavo from him, upon each of the presidencies, would be more valuable to the East and the West, than three ordinary governor-generals! To whatever shores he may next wend his way, we trust he may enjoy the survey of them as much as he appears to have done those of the South of Europe; and that he will favour us, on his return, with as ingenious lucubrations as several in the present volume, of which we now take our leave with reluctance and gratitude.

Art. III. THE BIBLICAL CABINET. Vol. XXXII. *Annotations on some of the Messianic Psalms; from the Commentary of Rosenmüller; with the Latin Version and Notes of Dathe.* Translated by Robert Johnston; to which is prefixed an Introduction and Preface. pp. cxxiii. 320. Sm. 8vo. Thomas Clark: Edinburgh. 1841.

Vol. XXXIII. *The Biblical Geography of Asia Minor, Phœnicia, and Arabia.* By E. F. C. Rosenmüller, D.D. Translated from the German, by the Rev. N. Morren, A.M. With an Appendix, containing an abstract of the more important Geographical Illustrations of Messrs. Smith and Robinson, in their 'Biblical Researches.' pp. 363. Sm. 8vo. Clark: Edinburgh. 1841.

WE have much pleasure in introducing these two volumes of the 'Biblical Cabinet' to the notice of our readers. In excellence and usefulness they are second to none of the other volumes of that series, and are superior to most.

Of volume thirty-three, we need not to say much, as it forms only the continuation of a work of which two volumes have already appeared in the 'Cabinet.' The subject of sacred geography is one of which it is hard to say whether the importance or the difficulties be the greater. Apart from the pleasure arising from our being able to identify with localities of recent interest the scenes of the venerable and ever-attractive events of patriarchal and Jewish history, there is the same impossibility of accurately understanding the details of that history, without the helps which geography supplies, as attaches to all history whatever. It is not easy, however, in every case, to fix upon the exact localities even of the transactions which are most fully described; and, with regard to many of the places mentioned in Scripture, the attempt to ascertain their proper position on the map is truly *opus plenum aëæ*. In this department of inquiry, much learned labour

has already been expended. The names of Bochart, Reland, Bachiene, Michaelis, and others, are familiar to every Biblical student as those to whom sacred geography is under the earliest and deepest obligations. In their writings, however, there is much which is fanciful and unsatisfactory, and many points are left by them unleared. The progress of philological and exegetical science has conspired with the results obtained by personal examination, on the part of travellers, of the districts embraced within the sphere of sacred geography, to remove many of the obscurities and correct several of the errors with which the writings of the earlier inquirers are burdened. A vast mass of materials had thus been prepared, which waited only for some competent hand to arrange them in due order and proportion, and thus to present to the Biblical student an authentic guide in this department of sacred science. After one or two less successful attempts appeared the *Handbuch der Biblischen Alterthumskunde* (Manual of the Science of Biblical Antiquities) of Dr. Rosenmüller, of which the subject of Biblical Geography occupies the first four parts, and that of Biblical Natural History the remaining part. For such a work the author was eminently qualified. He brought to it a sound judgment, profound learning, and a mind exercised for the greater part of a long life in all those studies which have a bearing on the due interpretation of Scripture. The result has been the production of a work which leaves nothing to be desired in relation to those departments of sacred science of which it treats, excepting in so far as subsequent researches may throw still further light upon some points which the author has been compelled to leave in a certain degree of obscurity. It is to be regretted that the learned author did not live to complete his plan, and to do for the whole of Biblical Archæology what he has so well done for those parts of it he has taken up.

Out of this work four volumes of the 'Biblical Cabinet' have now been extracted; viz., the three on Biblical Geography, translated by Mr. Morren, and the one on Biblical Mineralogy and Botany, translated partly by Mr. Repp and partly by Mr. Morren. Having done so much, we hope the publisher will complete the work by favouring us with a translation of what yet remains, along with new title-pages, so as to enable the purchasers to bind the whole as uniform parts of the same work. Mr. Morren must be now so familiar both with the work of translation and the peculiar style of Rosenmüller, that it would be no great burden for him to undertake this task; and he has executed so admirably the parts already entrusted to him, that we are sure the work could not be in better hands. In the volume before us, the same excellences, on the part of the translator, are apparent, which distinguish its predecessors,—fidelity to his author without

the sacrifice of his vernacular idiom, and an ever-watchful care to supply to the student such additional information as may be gleaned from sources not accessible to the author, or not extant at the time he wrote. For the Biblical Geography of Asia, there is no work in our language which can be placed in competition with the volumes which Mr. Morren has, as the translator of Rosenmüller, produced; and we cordially recommend them, therefore, to all who are engaged in the study of the sacred text.

For the contents of the other volume of the 'Cabinet' now before us, we are also indebted chiefly to the younger Rosenmüller, as he continued to be called, even after he had passed threescore years and ten. Besides a translation of parts of his 'Scholia on the Psalms,' this volume contains some other contributions to the stores of the Biblical student, which we must notice in order. In the first place, we have the Translator's Preface, containing some very pertinent remarks on the importance of Hebrew learning, followed by others of less value on the neologianism of the German critics. On this latter subject, and indeed on that of German theological literature generally, we cannot compliment Mr. Johnston on the display of any very accurate or extensive information. The following, for instance, is one of his statements on this head:—'There are two faults, besetting sins of later German Biblical critics, a fondness for unnecessary emendations of the text, and for significations of words, drawn from the cognate languages, especially the Arabic.'—p. xiv. Now, if there be one thing more than another in the department of Biblical criticism by which the *later* German critics are distinguished, it is their scrupulous, almost fastidious aversion from unnecessary emendations of the sacred text. Such emendations are regarded by them as first-rate critical offences, fatal to the scholarly reputation of those by whom they are indulged; and it is for the tendency on the part of British critics to such courses that they have been most frequently censured by those of Germany. We appeal, in support of our assertion, to the volumes already translated of the 'Biblical Cabinet,' where the reader will search in vain for any traces of this alleged 'fondness for unnecessary emendations of the text.' We appeal also to the recent critical editions of the original texts of Scripture which have been produced in Germany, where the authority of documentary evidence is most scrupulously followed in determining the proper readings. If Mr. Johnston had spoken of the critics of the last century, of the Reiskes, the Houbigants, (not *Hu*bigant, by-the-bye, as he invariably spells it,) and others of their school, his observation would not have been far from the truth; though in the works of his favourite Lowth, and in those of his fol-

lowers, he might have found evidences of a rage for emendation which no continental school has equalled. Has he yet to learn, that a sturdy Swiss deemed it necessary to come forth as the champion of the Hebrew text against the criticism of Lowth, which he treated as ‘a malignant disease arising either from the critic’s greater fondness for elegances of language than for grammatical accuracy, or from his love of such fame and applause as his efforts at emendation might bring?’* Much about the same time, Theodore Frederick Stange directed his able and unsparing censures against the emendationists, first in his ‘Anticritica in locos quosdam Psalmorum a Criticis sollicitatos,’ † and afterwards in his ‘Symmikta Theologica,’ ‡ works which are still held in high repute in Germany for the soundness of judgment and learning which they display, no less than for the service they rendered in overthrowing the influence of a school to which even Michaelis had too much lent his sanction. From the date of these publications to the present time all the Biblical critics of Germany, with hardly a single respectable exception, have studiously avoided what they have stigmatized by the appellation ‘Emdirsucht,’ or, as Mr. Johnston has termed it, ‘a fondness for unnecessary emendations of the text;’ so that no charge more unjust or unfounded could have been brought against them than that which in respect of this matter he has adduced. As to the charge of fondness ‘for significations of words drawn from the cognate languages, especially the Arabic,’ every Hebrew scholar is aware that to this source we stand indebted for much valuable aid in fixing the meaning of a great number of Hebrew words, and that it is, when properly used, a safe and legitimate source to apply to for this purpose. That its value has been unduly magnified, and that it has been resorted to in cases where other and better sources were accessible, must be admitted by all who know the writings of Schultens and his school. Perhaps it was to these writings that our author referred, in the remark above quoted. If so, we must remind him that the writers of this school were the *older Dutch*, and not the *later German* critics. Other instances of Mr. Johnston’s imperfect acquaintance with foreign literature are apparent throughout the volume. Thus, Herder’s ‘Geist der Ebräischen Poesie,’ is always referred to as if it were written in Latin, by the title, ‘De Genio Poesios Hebr.,’ a title which Rosenmüller, writing in Latin, has given it appropriately enough, but which would not have been retained, we should suppose, in a professed translation

* ‘Vindiciæ S. Textus Hebræi Esaiæ Vatis adversus Roberti Lowthi Ven. Ep. Lond. Criticam.’ A Dav. Kochero, Bernæ, 1786.—Pref., p. 7.

† II. Voll. Lips. 1791, et Halæ, 1794.

‡ III. Partes, Halæ, 1802-5.

of Rosenmüller's Latin, had the translator not been ignorant of the real title of the book, and apparently also of the fact that this very work is extant in an English version.* At p. 122 the translator refers his readers to 'Gesenius's *Lectures*,' instead of 'Gesenius's *Lehrgebäude*' (System of the Hebrew Tongue). At p. 127, Kühnöl's 'Messianische Weissagungen u. s. w.' is cited by the title 'Vaticiniorum Messianorum versio et interpretatio vernacula,' which is Rosenmüller's *description* of the book, and as such ought to have been translated. In the next line, and everywhere throughout the volume, *Ruperti* is changed into *Rupert*, under the impression, we suppose, that *Ruperti* is the genitive of *Rupertus*. So also, p. 60, *Justi* is turned into *Justus*. Other instances of the same sort might be added, but we forbear. These are adduced simply for the purpose of shewing that Mr. Johnston's judgment of German critics, however confidently pronounced, is not deserving of that respect which some, with whose prejudices against them it happens to accord, may be disposed to attach to it. We must add further, that as the object of the references in question is to direct the student to fuller sources of information on the topics under discussion, it is a grave offence to cite the titles in such a way as to mislead the inquirer, or leave him without the power of identifying the work referred to.†

Mr. Johnston's Preface is followed by Hengstenberg's admirable Introduction to the Messianic Psalms, as translated by Dr. Keith, of Virginia, U. S. This translation is executed with commendable fidelity and considerable elegance; and as the proprietor of the 'Cabinet' has already given two extended extracts from it, we wish he would, in some future publication, supply his readers with the rest. We know of no work more deserving the careful perusal of every student of the Old-Testament Prophecies than Hengstenberg's *Christologie*. It contains an immense storehouse of the soundest philology and exegesis applied to a part of Scripture of the deepest interest to the Christian, but surrounded at the same time with peculiar difficulties. The part of which a translation is printed in the volume before us, though professedly occupied only in proving the Messianic character of certain of the Psalms, contains some very valuable expositions of passages

* 'The Spirit of Hebrew Poetry.' By J. G. Herder. Translated from the German, by James Marsh, Burlington, U. S. 1833; 2 vols. 12mo. See Horne's Introduction, vol. ii. part ii. p. 171.

† Mr. Johnston is not always correct even on points of British literature. Thus he confidently ascribes the article on 'Kant's Philosophy,' in the first volume of the 'Edinburgh Review,' to Sir James Macintosh. If he will consult Welsh's 'Life of Dr. Thomas Brown,' he will find that that article was furnished by the latter philosopher.

in these, the meaning of which has been controverted or felt to be obscure.*

A translation follows of Rosenmüller's Introduction to the Book of Psalms, and then of his Notes on Psalms ii., xvi., xlv., lxxii., cx. Why those on Psalm xxii. and Psalm lx., both of which are included by Hengstenberg in the number of the Messianic Psalms, have not been added, we do not very well understand. It is true that neither of these is viewed by Rosenmüller as relating to the Messiah; but as his annotations are valuable, chiefly for their philology, we do not see that this formed a reason of sufficient weight for excluding them, the more especially as the translator expresses his confidence that 'to any improper impression that might be produced by the peculiar views of Rosenmüller, Dathe's Notes and Hengstenberg's Introduction to the Messianic Psalms, will furnish a sufficient antidote.'—*Preface*, p. xiii. In Rosenmüller's notes on these two Psalms, there is nothing peculiarly offensive, and the addition of them would have given a harmony and completeness to the volume, which it now wants.

As a translator, Mr. Johnston is sufficiently free, but we have not detected any instances in which the meaning of his author has suffered from this. We think he has succeeded in giving a very faithful and readable version of Rosenmüller's Introduction and Annotations. Of the value of these to the Biblical student we need not speak. For accurate acquaintance with the structure and idioms of the Hebrew, for correct principles of hermeneutics, and for general sobriety of judgment and exegetical tact, few interpreters can be named worthy of a place by the side of this distinguished scholar. We are happy that any portion, however small, of his invaluable 'Scholia,' are by this translation placed within the reach of those whose imperfect acquaintance with Latin, or limited means, may render access to his work in the original difficult or impossible.

Appended to the translation of Rosenmüller's notes is a Latin version of the five Psalms on which the notes are made, excerpted by Mr. Johnston from the original of these notes. We do not very well see the use of this, except to swell the volume. The very fact of presenting the notes in English implies that the book is intended for those who are not familiar with Latin; and that such should be presented with a Latin version of the Psalms anno-

* The disadvantage of possessing only a part of a connected work will be frequently experienced by the reader of this volume, in consequence of the numerous references, in the part extracted, to other parts of the 'Christologie.' These should certainly have been supplied in notes, or the references to them have been omitted, as ignorance is better in such a case than unallayed curiosity.

tated on, seems to us somewhat preposterous. The same remark applies to Dathe's Version, which is given in the original Latin, followed by a translation of his notes into English, at the close of the volume. We think the whole of this might have been dispensed with, as it tends to give a piebald character to the volume, and looks like an unnecessary expanding of its bulk.

In conclusion, whilst cordially recommending both the volumes before us to our readers, we must call the attention of the publisher to the incorrect manner in which many words in Hebrew and Greek are printed, especially in Number Thirty-two. We have marked some scores of errata of this kind in this volume in the course of reading it; most of them, it is true, in the matter of accents and vowel-points; but some of them of a graver sort. Of the latter, we must specify a few, that we may not seem to advance a charge which we cannot substantiate:—

Page xl, line 10, for	עֲלֶיְכֶן	read	עֲלֵיְכֶן
— 14, 2nd fr. bot.	אֲזַרְחָ	”	אֲזַרְחָ
— 30, line 8, for	מִכְתָּם	”	מִכְתָּם
— 33, line 23, for	Ἐπιληυσίω	”	Ἐπιληυσίω.
— 34, line 21, for	Φαλμοὶ	”	Ψαλμοὶ.*
ibid. ibid. for	Φαλτήριον	”	Ψαλτήριον.
ibid. line 28, for	ψάλλειν	”	ψάλλειν.
ibid. ibid. for	το τῶ	”	τὸ τῶν.
— 64, line 16, for	הַקְּשִׁיחַ	”	הַקְּשִׁיחַ
— 109, line 8, for	παιδείας	”	παιδείας.
— 114, line 21, for	יְהוָה	”	יְהוָה
— 120, line 9, for	קִרְדָּ	”	קִרְדָּ
— 121, line 14, for	הוֹסִי	”	הוֹסִי

This brings us to the end of the second Psalm, beyond which it is not necessary to pursue our list of errata, as the above will serve for a sufficient specimen of what may be found in the notes on the other four Psalms. In the part over which we have gone, the same error is frequently repeated; in such cases, we have, with one exception, omitted to specify the error oftener than once. In the volume translated by Mr. Morren, the number of such errata is much smaller; but even there also we have noted enough to justify us in calling the attention of the publisher to the subject. Authors, living at a distance from the press, cannot attend to these minutiae with all the care that is required, and

* Repeated on the next page.

therefore must leave it in a great measure with the publisher to see that the necessary corrections are made. We are sure Mr. Clark is so thoroughly imbued with a praiseworthy desire to issue the volumes of the 'Cabinet,' with everything in the shape of *getting up* which can add to their usefulness or their attractiveness, that he will not take in ill part our having called his attention to a matter which is calculated materially to affect both the reputation and the value of his publications.

Art. IV. *A Visit to the United States in 1841.* By Joseph Sturge. 8vo. London: Hamilton and Co. Birmingham: B. Hudson.

THERE are few men for whom we entertain a more cordial esteem than for the author of this volume. The unostentatious character of his philanthropy, his transparency and deep earnestness, the unselfish consecration of his time and property to the wellbeing of his fellow men, and the beautiful spirit of Christian love, and deep sense of personal responsibility, which pervade all he says and does, have secured for him a much larger measure of affectionate respect than falls to the lot of many of his contemporaries. The career of Mr. Sturge exhibits a combination of qualities rarely found in unison. Sincerely attached to the principles and discipline of the strictest sect of our religion, he yet possesses a catholicity of spirit which identifies him with everything human, and renders him the zealous associate of other philanthropists in all confederations which, without violating his religious convictions, seek the welfare of man. Mr. Sturge, as is well known to our readers, was foremost in the great struggle which effected the abolition of slavery in our western colonies, as also in the subsequent measures, which accomplished the annihilation of its substitute. Alive to the importance of a correct exhibition of the effects of abolition, he characteristically resolved on a visit to Jamaica, in order to learn by personal experience, what were the capabilities and prospects of the enfranchised population. The result of his observations was given to the British public in an interesting volume, which was noticed in our journal at the time of its appearance.

The work now before us contains a similar narrative, undertaken in the same spirit of enlightened charity, and prosecuted with a simplicity and earnestness, which, while they betoken the hold the subject had taken on the traveller's mind, bespeak the good will and confidence of his reader. It has rarely been our lot to peruse a volume, which carried with it more convincing evidence of the honesty of the reporter, or of the candour with which judgment is pronounced on the character and actions of

the men described. Mr. Sturge's great objects in visiting the United States were, to use his own words, 'the universal abolition of slavery, and the promotion of permanent international peace.' The former of these topics is most prominent in his narrative, in the course of which, observations on other subjects of interest and importance, always sensible, and frequently deserving of grave attention, are freely interspersed. 'Nearly the whole of the narrative portion of the publication,' we are informed, 'has been sent to America to different individuals who were concerned in, or present at, the transactions related, and has been returned with a verification of the facts: so that the reader has the strongest guarantee for their accuracy.' The inferences and comments are of course Mr. Sturge's, who is quite willing they should be subjected to as rigorous an examination as is consistent with a candid construction of his statements.

Our author embarked at Portsmouth, for New York, in the 'British Queen,' on the 10th of March, 1841, and encountered during his voyage a succession of gales, which seriously endangered the safety of the vessel. It was in the same storm that the President steamer, coming in an opposite direction, was lost. 'Our escape,' says Mr. Sturge, 'under Divine Providence, must be attributed to the great strength of the vessel, which had been thoroughly repaired since her last voyage, and to the skill and indefatigable attention of the captain.' Their stock of coals being very much reduced, and the boards of the paddle-wheels having been carried away, they made for Halifax, Nova Scotia, whither they happily arrived on the evening of the 30th. After a stay of twenty-four hours, they left for New York, which they made during the night of the 3rd of April. In this city, Mr. Sturge remained some days, which were spent among the most distinguished members of the abolition cause. Of the sketches furnished, we can find room only for the following, which refers to the brothers, *Arthur and Lewis Tappan*:—

'The former was elected president of the American Anti-slavery Society on its formation, and remained at its head until the division which took place last year, when he became president of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. His name is not more a byword of reproach than a watchword of alarm throughout the slave states, and the slave holders have repeatedly set a high price upon his head by advertisement in the public papers. In the just estimation of the pro-slavery party, Arthur Tappan is ABOLITION personified; and truly the cause needs not to be ashamed of its representative, for a more deservedly honoured and estimable character it would be difficult to find. In personal deportment he is unobtrusive and silent; his sterling qualities are veiled by reserve, and are in themselves such as make the least show—clearness and judgment, prudence and great decision. He is the head of an extensive mercantile establishment, and the high esti-

mation in which he is held by his fellow citizens, notwithstanding the unpopularity of his views on slavery, is the result of a long and undeviating career of public spirit, and private integrity, and of an uninterrupted succession of acts of benevolence. During a series of years of commercial prosperity, his revenues were distributed with an unsparing hand through the various channels which promised benefit to his fellow-creatures; and in this respect, his gifts, large and frequent though they were, were probably exceeded in usefulness by the influence of his example as a man and a Christian.

‘ His brother Lewis, with the same noble and disinterested spirit in the application of his pecuniary resources, possesses the rare faculty of incessant labour; which, when combined, as in his case, with great intellectual and physical capacity, eminently qualifies for a leading position in society. He unites, in a remarkable degree, the apparently incompatible qualities of versatility and concentration; and his admirable endowments have been applied in the service of the helpless and the oppressed with corresponding success. He has been from the beginning one of the most active members of the central Anti-Slavery Committee in New York, a body that has directed the aggressive operations against slavery, on a national scale, with a display of resources, and an untiring and resolute vigour, that have attracted the admiration of all, who, sympathizing in their object, have had the privilege of watching their proceedings. Of those who have impressed the likeness of their own character on these proceedings, Lewis Tappan is one of the chief; and he has shared with his brother the most virulent attacks from the pro-slavery party. Some years ago he had the ear of a negro sent to him by post, in an insulting anonymous letter. During the past year, though marked by a severe domestic affliction, in addition to his engagements as a merchant, in partnership with his brother Arthur, and his various public and private duties as a man and as a citizen, in the performance of which I believe he is most punctual and exemplary, he has edited, almost without assistance, the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter, and has also been one of the most active members of a committee of benevolent individuals formed to watch over the interest of the Amistad captives. Besides superintending the maintenance, education, and other interests of these Africans, it was necessary to defend their cause against the whole power of the United States’ government, to raise funds for these objects, to interest foreign governments in their welfare, and, more than all, to keep them constantly before the public, not only for their own sakes, but that a portion of the sympathy and right feeling which was elicited in their favour might be reflected towards the native slave population of the country, whose claim to freedom rests upon the same ground of natural and indefeasible right. With what success this interesting cause has been prosecuted is well expressed in a single sentence by a valued transatlantic correspondent of mine, who, writing at the most critical period of the controversy, says, ‘ We, or rather Lewis Tappan, has made the whole nation look the captives in the face.’—pp. 3—5.

It has long been the honourable distinction of the Society of

Friends in this country, that they have continued, through evil report as well as through good report, the uncompromising and zealous advocates of the cause of the oppressed Africans. When the other churches of Great Britain were careless and inactive, they laboured with indefatigable zeal on behalf of the miserable outcasts, whom others refused to help or pity. Had it not been for them, the Anti-Slavery Society must have terminated its sittings in utter despair. The same enviable distinction attached to their society in America during the last century. Some years prior to the labours of the venerable Clarkson, the society was 'pervaded by a noiseless agitation on the subject of slavery, which resulted in the abandonment of the slave trade, in the liberation of their slaves, and in the adoption of a rule of discipline, excluding slave-holders from religious fellowship.' It would have been well for the interests of humanity and the purity of the church, if this noble example had been followed by other communities. Had it been so, the case of the churches of America would be vastly different from what it now is, and the world, instead of blaspheming the name of Christ, would have witnessed another demonstration of the constraining influence of his love. That her churches should be the bulwarks of slavery, as they undoubtedly are, is amongst the most anomalous and disgraceful of her features, and may well awaken the most gloomy and fearful anticipations. The decision to which the Society of Friends thus early came, was not, it must be remembered, an inoperative one; it involved the sacrifice of an immense mass of property, and closed against its members many sources of profitable occupation. 'One can scarcely avoid,' as Mr. Sturge remarks, 'looking back with regret to times, when convictions of duty had such power, when Christian principle was carried out, whatever the cost. Then, indeed, was exhibited by the American 'Friends' the fruit of a world-overcoming faith.' It is deeply to be deplored that a society, so honourably distinguished in the early history of this great question, should have failed in more recent times to do justice to their recorded 'testimony,' by carrying out the principles which their fathers avowed, to their legitimate and only consistent result. But to this we shall have occasion to advert, as we proceed. In the mean time, we transfer to our pages the following anecdote of one who may justly be designated the Granville Sharp of America, as illustrative of the spirit by which the 'Friends' of that day were distinguished:—

'The same individual related some interesting particulars of the late Elisha Tyson, of Baltimore, an abolitionist of the old school, who had rescued many negroes from illegal bondage. Dr. Fussell was an eye-witness of the following occurrence:—A poor woman had been seized by the agents of Woolfolk, the notorious Maryland slave dealer, and

was carried along the street in which Elisha Tyson lived. When they arrived opposite his house, she demanded to see 'Father Tyson.' A crowd collected about the party, and she so far moved their pity, that they insisted that her wish should be complied with. One of the men hereupon went to inform his employer, who galloped off, pistol in hand, and found Elisha Tyson standing at his own door. Woolfolk, with an oath, declared he would 'send him to hell for interfering with his *property*.' Elisha Tyson coolly exposed his breast, telling him that he dared not shoot, and that he (Woolfolk) 'was in hell already, though he did not know it.' An investigation followed; the poor woman was proved to be illegally detained, and was set at liberty. The death of Elisha Tyson was remarkable. He had received a letter detailing the particulars of the restoration of certain negroes to freedom, through his instrumentality; also informing him of their joy and happiness on their deliverance. Under the influence of a sudden and too violent emotion of delight, he fell down with the letter in his hand, and instantly expired. The affection of this grateful people was testified by thousands crowding to the house, previous to the interment, and they were permitted to view the remains of their benefactor. It is generally allowed that so bold and uncompromising an advocate of the negroes' right does not now remain in the slave states.—pp. 10, 11.

From New York, Mr. Sturge proceeded in various directions, to visit the principal cities of the free states, and was thus brought into contact with abolitionists of every grade and creed. His intercourse was mainly with the members of his own religious body, and nothing can be imagined more commendable or lovely, than the earnestness with which he sought to awaken them to a sense of their duty in relation to the bondsmen of their country. A more beautiful specimen of faithfulness and charity, of the tenderest love combined with the most earnest appeals and the most direct expostulations, we have never witnessed. It cannot but be that important results must flow from a visit characterized by such a spirit, and conducted by a wisdom which never failed.

It is well known to our readers that a division has recently taken place among the abolitionists of America. Events had been leading to it for some short time previously, but the extent of the division was not known until the spring of 1840. The union existing among American abolitionists was first disturbed by the course pursued in the 'Boston Liberator,' of which William Lloyd Garrison was the editor. The eminent services which Mr. Garrison had rendered to the anti-slavery cause, attached great importance to whatever he did in his editorial capacity, and afforded a seeming justification of those who imputed to abolitionists at large the opinions which were advocated in the columns of the 'Liberator.' 'His paper was not the special organ of any anti-slavery society, yet it was regarded by general consent of the friends and enemies of the cause, as the organ of

the anti-slavery movement. The discussion in its columns of new and startling doctrines on subjects unconnected with slavery, occasioned many of the former much uneasiness and embarrassment, while it furnished the latter with new excuses for their enmity, and with the pretence, that under cover of *abolition* lurked a design of assailing institutions and opinions justly held in regard throughout the Christian world.' The subsequent progress of the schism, which has unhappily, for a time, weakened the efforts of American abolitionism, is thus described by Mr. Sturge :—

' In the summer of 1837, Sarah and Angelina Grimke visited New England, for the purpose of advocating the cause of the slave, with whose condition they were well acquainted, being natives of South Carolina, and having been themselves at one time implicated in the system. Their original intention was to confine their public labours to audiences of their own sex, but they finally addressed promiscuous assemblies. Their intimate knowledge of the true character of slavery, their zeal, devotion, and gifts as speakers, produced a deep impression wherever they went. They met with considerable opposition from colonizationists, and also from a portion of the New England clergy, on the ground of the impropriety of their publicly addressing mixed audiences. This called forth in the 'Liberator,' which at that time, I understand, was under the patronage, though I believe not under the control, of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, a discussion of the abstract question of the entire equality of the rights and duties of the two sexes. Here was a new element of discord. In 1838, at the annual New England convention of abolitionists, a woman was, for the first time, placed on committees with men; an innovation upon the general custom of the community which excited much dissatisfaction in the minds of many.

' About this time the rightfulness of civil and church government began to be called in question, through the columns of the 'Liberator,' by its editor and correspondents. These opinions were concurrently advocated with the doctrine of non-resistance. Those who hold these opinions, while they deny that civil and ecclesiastical government are of divine authority, are yet passively submissive to the authority of the former, though they abstain from exercising the political rights of citizenship. There were not wanting those, among the opponents of abolition, to charge the anti-slavery body at large with maintaining these views, and in consequence serious embarrassments were thrown in the way of a successful prosecution of the cause. The executive committee of the society at New York were placed in a difficult position; but, as far as I am able to judge, they endeavoured to hold on the steady tenour of their way, without, on the one hand, countenancing the introduction of extraneous matters upon the anti-slavery platform, or, on the other hand, yielding to the clamour of the pro-slavery party, whether in church or state.

' In subsequent anti-slavery meetings in Boston, New York, and

elsewhere, it became manifest that there was a radical difference of opinion on the subject of political action; the non-resistant and no-government influence operating decidedly against the employment of the elective franchise in the anti-slavery cause; and the agitation of this question, as well as that of the rights of women, in their meetings, gave to them a discordant and party character, painfully contrasting with the previous peaceful and harmonious action of the societies. That some of both parties began to overlook the great subject of the slaves' emancipation, in zealous advocacy of, or opposition to, these new measures, I cannot well doubt, judging from the testimony of those, who, not fully sympathizing with either, endeavoured to bring all back to the single object of the anti-slavery association. In addition to these intestine troubles, the pro-slavery made strenuous exertions to fasten upon the society the responsibility of the opinions and proceedings of its non-resistant and no-government members. Under these circumstances, it is easy to understand the interruption, for a season, of the unity of feeling and action which had previously characterized the assemblies of the abolitionists. The actual separation in the societies took place in the spring of 1840. The members of the executive committee at New York, with one exception, seceded, and became members of the committee of the 'new organization,' under the name of the 'American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.' There are, therefore, now two central or national anti-slavery societies; the 'old organization' retaining the designation of the 'American Anti-Slavery Society.' The state societies have, for the most part, taken up a position of neutrality, or independence of both. It is important to add, that the division took place on the 'women's rights' question, and that this is the only one of the controverted points which the American Anti-Slavery Society has officially affirmed; and it is argued, on behalf of their view of this question, that since, in the original 'constitution' of the society, the term, describing its members, officers, &c., is 'persons,' that women are plainly invested with the same eligibility to appointments, and the same right to vote and act, as the other sex. I need not say how this 'constitutional' argument is met on the other side. The other new views are held by comparatively few persons, and neither anti-slavery society in America is responsible for them. In conclusion, I rejoice to be able to add, that the separation, in its effects, appears to have been a healing measure; a better and kinder feeling is beginning to pervade all classes of American abolitionists; the day of mutual crimination seems to be passing away, and there is strong reason to hope that the action of the respective societies will henceforward harmoniously tend to the same object. That such may be the result is my sincere desire. It is proper in this connexion to state, that a considerable number of active and prominent abolitionists do not entirely sympathize with either division of the anti-slavery society; and there are comparatively few who make their views, for or against the question on which the division took place, a matter of conscience.—pp. 23—26.

At Baltimore, where the internal slave trade is carried on in the most open manner, Mr. Sturge visited the establishment of

an extensive slave-dealer, which was located in one of the principal streets. He was received by the proprietor with great courtesy, and was permitted freely to inspect the premises. At the time of his visit there were only five or six negroes *in stock*, a cargo having been shipped off to New Orleans a few days before. Mr. Sturge, as was to be expected, dealt faithfully with this dealer in human flesh, but was met by the common plea, that the trade was legal, and 'that dealing in slaves was not worse than slave-holding.' In both these positions the Baltimore trader was correct, yet what intellect free from the depraving influence of the worst prejudices can fail to perceive their utter futility as a defence of this most abhorrent and criminal traffic. Even the Baltimore slave-holders themselves recoil from social intercourse with the man by whom their farms are stocked, though his style of living is in every way equal to their own. In so doing, however, they only condemn themselves, and add the guilt of hypocrisy to the foul crime of slave-holding. Mr. Sturge subsequently addressed to the Baltimore slave-trader an expostulatory letter, of the style and temper of which it is impossible to speak too highly. Compassion for the slave is beautifully mingled with solicitude for the slave-trader, who is reasoned with and entreated in a tone at once courteous and unswerving. The letter has already received a wide circulation, yet we are tempted by its worth and beauty to transfer it to our pages:—

'Since thou courteously allowed me, in company with my friend, J. G. Whittier, to visit thy slave establishment in the city of Baltimore, some weeks since, I have often felt a desire to address a few lines to thee. I need not, perhaps, say that my feelings were painfully exercised in looking over thy buildings, fitted up with bolts and bars, for the reception of human beings for sale. A sense of the misery and suffering of the unfortunate slaves who have been from time to time confined there, of their separation from home and kindred, and of the dreary prospect before them of a life of unrequited toil in the south and south-west, rested heavily upon me. I could there realize the true nature of the system of slavery. I was in a market-house for human flesh, where humanity is degraded to a level with the brute, and where children of our common Father in heaven, and for whom our blessed Redeemer offered up the atoning sacrifice of his blood, were bargained for and sold like beasts that perish; and when I regarded thee as the merchant in this dreadful traffic, and heard thee offer remarks, which might in some degree be considered as an apology for thy business, calling our attention to the cleanly state of the apartments, the wholesome provisions, &c., and especially when I heard thee declare that thou hadst been educated by a pious mother—that thou wast never addicted to swearing or other immoralities—and that thy business was a legalized one—that thou didst nothing contrary to law—and that, while in thy possession, the poor creatures were treated kindly—that families were not separated, &c.,—I was glad to perceive some evi-

dence that the nature of thy employment had not extinguished the voice of conscience within thee. In thy sentiments, and in the manner of their utterance, I thought I could see that truth had not left itself without a witness in thy breast, and that a sense of the wrongfulness of thy occupation still disturbed thee.

‘To thy remark that thy business was necessary to the system of slavery, and an essential part of it—and if slave-holding were to be justified at all, the slave-trade must be also—I certainly can offer no valid objection; for I have never been able to discover any moral difference between the planter of Virginia and the slave dealer of Baltimore, Richmond, and Washington. Each has *his part* to act in the system, and each is necessary to the other; and if the matter were not in all its bearings painfully serious, it would be amusing to witness the absurd contempt with which the slave owner of Maryland or Virginia professes to look upon the trader, whose purchase of his surplus slaves alone enables him to retain the residue in his possession; for it seems very evident that the only profitable part of the system in those states, at the present time, is the sale of the annual increase of the slaves.

‘In passing from thy premises, we looked in upon the *Triennial Convention of the Baptists of the United States*, then in session in the city of Baltimore, where I found slave-holding ministers, of high rank in the church, urging successfully the exclusion from the missionary board of that society of all those who, in principle and practice, were known to be decided abolitionists; and the results of their efforts satisfied me that the darkest picture of slavery is not to be found in the jail of the slave-trader, but rather in a convocation of professed ministers of the gospel of Christ expelling from the board of a society, formed to enlighten the heathen of other nations, all who consistently labour for the overthrow of a system which denies a knowledge of the Holy Scriptures to near three millions of heathen at home!

‘But allow me, in a spirit, as I trust, of Christian kindness, to entreat thee not to seek excuses for thy own course in the evil conduct of others. Thou hast already reached the middle period of life—the future is uncertain. By thy hopes of peace here and hereafter, let me urge thee to abandon this occupation. It is not necessary to argue its intrinsic wickedness, for thou knowest it already. I would, therefore, beseech thee to listen to that voice, which, I am persuaded, sometimes urges thee to ‘put away the evil of thy doings,’ to ‘do justice and love mercy,’ and *thus* cease to draw upon thyself the curse which fell upon those merchants of Tyre who ‘traded in the persons of men.’ That these warnings of conscience may not be longer neglected on thy part, is the sincere wish of one, who, while he abhors thy *occupation*, feels nothing but kindness and good will towards *thyself*.’—pp. 32—35.

The Baptist Triennial Convention, referred to in the foregoing letter, has earned for itself an unenviable distinction in the history of such conventions, by excluding all known abolitionists from its missionary board. This was done by a majority of 124 to 117, and this too, after an intercourse of some years with the Baptists

of England and the reception of numerous expostulatory letters from them. It remains to be seen, whether the latter will continue a correspondence which, without effecting any beneficial change in the views of American Baptists, only involves in doubt the sincerity of those of England.

We have already had occasion to notice the declension which has taken place in the sentiments and conduct of the Society of Friends on the slavery question, and Mr. Sturge has furnished ample evidence of the fact, though he expresses a hope that 'a brighter day in regard to their labours is approaching.' He speaks on this subject with evident regret, but with his characteristic honesty. There is no attempt at concealment. The facts are recorded as he found them. The whole case, so far as it came under his observation, is stated; yet it is obvious to every reader that his heart was wrung with the bitterest grief at being compelled to bear testimony against his brethren. Their anti-slavery sentiments are represented as little more than matters of tradition, the inheritance received from their fathers, which has failed to exercise any vital and germinating power over their minds. 'I fear,' remarks Mr. Sturge, 'that in many cases they have not only done nothing themselves, but by example and precept have condemned the activity of others.' In the exercise of their right as electors, they are accustomed, with few exceptions, to give their vote without reference to the sentiments of the candidate on the subject of slavery. 'At the late presidential election it is very evident that the great body of Friends who took any part in it voted for John Tyler, the slave-holder.' So decided has been their defection from the spirit of their fathers, that for the last eight years 'the collective influence of the society has,' in our author's judgment, 'been thrown into the pro-slavery scale,' and this, too, notwithstanding the existence of much right feeling 'in the breasts of probably a large majority of individual members.' To the correction of this state of things Mr. Sturge addressed himself with his wonted activity and earnestness, and we cannot doubt that the fruit of his labours will yet be seen in the improved temper and greater activity of his brethren.

'I had several conferences with 'friends' who were interested in the cause, to discuss the best mode of engaging the members of the society to unite their efforts on behalf of the oppressed and suffering slaves; and though no immediate steps were resolved on, yet I found so much good feeling in many of them, that I cannot but entertain a hope that fruit will hereafter appear. I had spent much of my time and labour in Philadelphia, particularly among that numerous and influential class with whom I am united in a common bond of religious belief, and, I trust, of Christian affection. Of the kindness and hospitality I experienced I shall ever retain a grateful recollection; yet I finally took my

leave of this city under feelings of sorrow and depression that so many of the very class of Christian professors, who once took the lead in efforts for the abolition of slavery, efforts evidently attended with the favour and sanction of the Most High, should now be discouraging and holding back their members from taking part in so righteous a cause. Among the warmest friends of the slave, sound both in feeling and sentiment, are a few venerable individuals who are now standing on the brink of the grave, and whose places among the present generation, I could not conceal from myself, there were but few fully prepared to occupy. I had found in many friends much passive anti-slavery feeling, and was, to some extent, cheered by the discovery. May a due sense of their responsibility rest upon every follower of Christ, to remember them that are in bonds and under affliction, not only with a passive, but with an active and self-denying sympathy, a sympathy that makes common cause with its object.'—p. 95.

On the whole, the impression on our author's mind is that the state of the anti-slavery cause in America is decidedly hopeful. He does not attempt to conceal the facts which make against it, nor does he found his hopes on the fond wishes of a benevolent heart. He looks at things as they are, reasons calmly on the evidence of the case, and after comparing the influences which are at work, brings out the result which we have stated.

Mr. Sturge was deputed by the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to present to the President an address from the London Convention. For this purpose he repaired to Washington, and addressed a note to the President, stating the nature of the document with which he was entrusted, and requesting permission to present it. To this communication he received no reply, nor did the President allude to it on a subsequent occasion when our author was introduced to him. Amongst the celebrated men with whom he met at Washington was Henry Clay, of Kentucky, to whom Mr. Joseph John Gurney's Letters on the state of the West Indies were addressed. Of this gentleman a more extended notice is given than is common with our author, and we extract the passage as illustrative of the character and views of a man who occupies an important political position in the United States.

‘I feel disinclined to take leave of Henry Clay without some animadversions, which, on the public character of a public man, I may offer without any breach of propriety. In early life, that is, in some part of the last century, he supported measures tending to the ‘eradication of slavery’ in Kentucky, and, at various periods since, he has indulged in cheap declamation against slavery, though he is not known to have committed himself by a solitary act of manumission. On the contrary, having commenced life with a single slave, he has industriously increased the number to upwards of seventy. As a statesman, his conduct on this question has been consistently pro-slavery. He

indefatigably negotiated for the recovery of fugitive slaves from Canada, when secretary of state, though without success. In the senate he successfully carried through the admission of Missouri into the Union, as a slave state. He has resisted a late promising movement in Kentucky in favour of emancipation; and, lastly, in one of his most elaborate speeches, made just before the late presidential election, the proceedings of the abolitionists were reviewed and condemned, and he utterly renounced all sympathy with their object. By way of apology for his early indiscretion, he observes, 'But if I had been then, or were *now*, a citizen of any of the planting states—the southern or south-western states—I should have opposed, and would continue to oppose, any scheme whatever of emancipation, gradual or immediate.'

'In this extract, and throughout the whole speech, slavery is treated as a pecuniary question, and the grand argument against abolition is the loss of property that would ensue. Joseph John Gurney, who appears to have been favourably impressed by Henry Clay's professions of liberality, his courteous bearing, and consummate address, manifested a laudable anxiety that so influential a statesman should be better informed on the point on which he seemed so much in the dark; he therefore addressed to him his excellent 'Letters on the West Indies,' of which the great argument is, that emancipation has been followed by great prosperity to the planters, and attended with abundant blessings, temporal and spiritual, to the other classes, and that the same course would necessarily be followed by the same results in the United States. He has accumulated proof upon proof of his conclusions, supplied by personal and extensive investigation in the British colonies. But Henry Clay shews no sign of conviction. Yet though he made to us the absurd remark, already quoted, on Joseph John Gurney's work, I have too high an opinion of his understanding to think him the victim of his own sophistry. He is a lawyer and a statesman; he is accustomed to weigh evidence, and to discriminate facts. I have little doubt that all my valued friend would have taught him, he knew already. He could not be ignorant of the contrast presented by his own state of Kentucky and the adjoining state of Ohio, and that the difference is solely owing to slavery. If J. J. Gurney could have shewn that abolition would soon be the high road to the president's chair, it is not improbable that he would have made an illustrious convert to anti-slavery principles. Henry Clay's celebrated speech, before alluded to, was delivered in the character of a candidate for the presidency just before the last election; it was prepared with great care, and rehearsed before-hand to a select number of his political friends. The whig party being the strongest, and he being the foremost man of that party, he might be looked upon as president-elect, if he could but conciliate the south by wiping off the cloud of abolitionism that faintly obscured his reputation. He succeeded to his heart's desire in his immediate object, but eventually, by this very speech, completely destroyed his sole chance of success, and was ultimately withdrawn from the contest. Thus does ambition overleap itself.—pp. 81—83.

Mr. Sturge's testimony respecting the means of religious in-

struction, provided in the New England-states, is entirely accordant with other impartial witnesses. Speaking of the beautiful town of Worcester, he says: 'If the entire population were to go to a place of worship at the same hour in the same day, there would be ample accommodation and room to spare.' He subsequently remarks:—

'There are few things more striking in the free states than the number and commodiousness of the places of worship. In the New England states, however general the attendance might be, none would be excluded for want of room. The other means or accompaniments of religious instruction are in the same abundance. How is it possible to evade the conclusion, that Christianity flourishes most when it is unencumbered and uncorrupted by state patronage? What favoured portion of the United Kingdom could compare its religious statistics with New England?'—p. 173.

The facts which he witnessed, notwithstanding the deduction to be made on the score of slavery, strongly excited his admiration, and led to the conviction that there is no other country where the means of temporal happiness and of religious improvement are so abundantly possessed. And all this, it must be remembered, is effected without the compulsory measures to which resort is had in this country. No conscience is violated by the interposition of the state on behalf of a particular form of faith, nor are the pecuniary resources of one sect of religionists taxed to support the opinions and discipline of another. The great principle of personal responsibility in religious matters is distinctly recognised, and Christianity is, in consequence, found to wield much of the influence which, in primitive times, made the deities of Greece and Rome tremble before her. The great anomaly in the present condition of the American church is the support she yields to slavery. This is at once her weakness and her disgrace—a fact deeply to be deplored, yet easily to be accounted for. She has, in truth, grown up amidst the depraving influences of the system, and much of her energy has been expended in preventing society attaining that rank corruption to which such a system tends. Cramped in her energies, fettered in her speech, she is only just beginning to evidence a due appreciation of her position and duties. The change, however, has commenced, and we have sufficient faith in the sound-heartedness of American Christianity to believe, that it will proceed at a rapid pace to impregnate the public mind with enlightened and virtuous resolutions on this most momentous of all practical questions.

The northern states are greatly in advance of our own country in the matter of education. It may be regarded as nearly universal throughout the population; in proof of which,

we may mention that not a single American adult of the state of Connecticut was returned at the late census as unable to read or write. The funds needed for the support of their schools are raised by self-taxation in each town or district, and the instruction afforded is admitted on all hands to comprise everything requisite for a sound and practical education of the less affluent portion of the community. The following extract from a letter, addressed to Mr. Sturge, by a member of the Society of Friends, residing in Worcester, Massachusetts, gives an accurate idea of the diffusion and practical character of the education furnished:—

‘The public schools of the place, like those throughout the state, are supported by a tax, levied on the people by themselves, in their primary assemblies or town meetings; and they are of so excellent a character, as to have driven other schools almost entirely out from amongst us. They are so numerous as to accommodate amply all the children, of suitable age to attend. They are graduated from the infant school, where the A. B. C. is taught, up to the high school for the languages and mathematics, where boys are fitted for the university, and advanced so far, if they choose, as to enter the university one or two years ahead. These schools are attended by the children of the whole population promiscuously; and, in the same class, we find the children of the governor and the ex-governor of the state, and those of their day labourers, and of parents who are so poor that their children are provided with books and stationery from the school fund. Under this system, we have no children who do not acquire sufficient school learning to qualify them for transacting all the business which is necessary in the ordinary pursuits of life. A child growing up without school learning would be an anomaly with us. All standing thus on a level as to advantages, talent is developed, wherever it happens to be; and neither wealth nor ancestral honours give any advantage in the even-handed contest which may here be waged for distinction. It is thus that we find, almost uniformly, that our first men, either in government or the professions, are the sons of comparatively poor and obscure persons. In places where the wealthier portion of the community have placed their children in select schools, they are found much less likely to excel, than when placed in contact and collision with the mass, where they are compelled to come in competition with those whose physical condition prepares them for mental labour, and whose situation in society holds forth every inducement to their exertions. To this system, which is coeval with the foundation of the state, I attribute, in a great degree, that wonderful energy of character which distinguishes the people of New England, and which has filled the world with the evidences of their enterprise.’—pp. 171, 172.

This representation refers only to one portion of the free states, and that the oldest. The more recently settled northern and western states, though necessarily less advanced, would not,

probably, suffer by a comparison of their educational statistics with those of Britain. The condition of the slave states, however, is vastly different. The curse of God rests upon them, as is seen in the ignorance, immorality, and wretchedness which everywhere abound. Virginia is one of the oldest of these states, and has probably expended far more than any other slave state upon her collegiate institution. Yet we are informed in the American Almanack for 1841, that there are nearly 30,000 adult white persons in Virginia who can neither read nor write. The contrast observable between the free and slave states, in the habits and intelligence of their people, is as striking as that which is exhibited in the general aspect of the two countries.

An interesting account is given of the Sing Sing state prison, which our author visited in company with Mr. Lewis Tappan. It is known, probably, to many of our readers, that in this celebrated institution, what is technically termed the *silent* system is established. This system, so far as we can judge of its working by the reports hitherto received, would seem to be free from the objections to which the *separate* system is liable, and to be powerfully conducive to the benevolent purposes for which punishment should be inflicted. The following extract will best exhibit the internal economy of the prison. It is taken from a letter addressed to Mr. Sturge from an English inmate:—

‘ After alluding to the absolute monotony of prison life, he gives one day as a specimen of every day:—‘ Monday morning, the large prison bell rings at five o’clock, when we all rise; half an hour after, we all go out to work, to our respective shops, till breakfast, the keepers all the time seated upon a high seat, overlooking—seeing that everything is ordered and going on in a proper manner: no talking allowed upon any occasion, or under any pretence whatever. When the breakfast bell rings, we all go in to breakfast, each one to a separate room (which are all numbered, one thousand in all): every man’s breakfast is ready for him in his room,—one pint of coffee, with plenty of meat, potatoes, and rye bread. After one hour the prison opens again, and we work in a similar manner till twelve—dinner hour—when we go in again. Dinner is set ready as before,—an ample quantity of meat, potatoes, and bread, with a cup of water (the best beverage in the world—would to God I had never drank anything else, and I should not have been here!) One hour allowed for dinner, when we go out and work again till six o’clock, when we come in and are locked up for the night, with a large bowl of mush (hasty pudding with molasses), the finest food in the world, made from Indian meal. Thus passes each day of the week. Sundays we rise at the same hour. Each man has a clean shirt given him in his room, then goes to the kitchen, brings his breakfast in with him, the same as before, and is locked up till eight, when Divine service is performed by a most worthy and able chaplain. After service, through the pious and benevolent efforts of Mr. Seymour, we have an

excellent Sabbath school ; Bible classes, where from three to four hundred attend, about half to learn to read, and the others to receive instruction in the way to attain everlasting life, under the immediate inspection of Mr. Seymour ; and I am happy to say, that the greatest attention is paid by scholars of both classes. Many, very many, know how to appreciate the value of these privileges, and benefit by them accordingly. Mr. Seymour has obtained a large library for us, and one of the prisoners is librarian. At eleven o'clock we are locked up for the day, with an extra allowance of food and water sufficient. The librarian and an assistant are left open, to distribute the books ; that is, to go to each man's cell, get the book he had the previous Sunday, and give him another in exchange, generally supplying them with a small tract, of which we mostly have a great plenty.'

'A large proportion of the prisoners work in a stone quarry without the walls, and the most painful sight I saw at Sing Sing were the sentinels placed on prominent points commanding the prison, with loaded muskets and fixed bayonets, who have orders at once to shoot a convict who may attempt to escape, if he does not obey the order to return. I was told, however, an occurrence of the kind had not happened for years.'—pp. 132—134.

We had intended to transfer to our pages some portion of our author's account of the woollen and cotton manufactures of Lowell ; but, having already exceeded our limits, we must abstain from doing so. After what we have said, it will not be needful to give any formal recommendation of Mr. Sturge's volume, the details of which are so interesting, and the spirit so beautiful, as to render its perusal equally conducive to the pleasure and improvement of its readers. We thank him most heartily for the good service he has rendered, and cordially commend his volume to the immediate attention of our friends.

Art. V. 1. *The People's Charter.*

2. *Chartism.* By Thomas Carlyle. London : Fraser.
3. *Complete Suffrage the only effectual means of reconciliation between the Middle and Labouring Classes.* (From the 'Non-conformist' newspaper.)
4. *Chartism : a new Organization of the People, embracing a Plan for the Education of the People, politically and socially.* Written in Warwick Jail, by William Lovett, Cabinet-maker, and John Collins, Tool-maker. Second Edition. London : 1841.

It might seem, at first sight, matter of astonishment that so wide a difference of opinion should exist upon political subjects between thinking and intelligent men of the same country. Were the subject one which involved much of abstruse and metaphysical reasoning, that surprise would certainly be dimin-

ished. Amidst the solitude and the darkness of those regions of thought, the fewness of the landmarks, and the feebleness of the lights;—in the absence, in a word, of any recognised data, it is not so surprising that men should lose themselves and one another. But the principles of political philosophy are such as come home to every man's business and bosom. A vague and indeterminate character confessedly belongs to all theories which relate to abstract science, and equally to the remoter and less illuminated points of theological inquiry. Nothing of this kind, however, attaches to anything which is essential to the well-being of man. In religion, in morals, in politics, the leading, if not the only essential truths, may be simply stated and easily understood; and in political science, especially, which chiefly regards the interests of men in those aspects which are daily presented to our notice, the great principles are so obvious and so determinate, that the wide differences which separate and characterize political parties offer a subject of very curious and interesting reflection.

It may further seem somewhat remarkable, that these discordant notions have not reference in general to those branches of political philosophy which are of a more abstract and recondite nature; nor are they chiefly entertained by men, whose intellectual habits lead them to the outer regions of thought, where truth and error dispute a dubious frontier. On the contrary, we find them pervading the commonest and most every-day interests of society, and distinguishing into hostile parties, men who seldom give themselves the trouble of thinking their way beyond the limits of certain and absolute knowledge. The commonest political rights of men, whether as members of civil society, or as subjects of a higher empire,—the proper methods of embodying and exercising those rights, the commercial regulations which are essential to a mixed and civilized system of society, the rights of territorial possession, the system of jurisprudence and of international law;—all these momentous matters, which one might have thought that the recorded experience of ages would have settled in minds progressively enlightened amidst that experience, are still the subjects of hot and hostile discussion—a discussion so hot and so hostile, as to threaten the repeal of that benign law which would bind society into unity.

Whence, then, this apparent anomaly? We think it may be accounted for by one cardinal principle, and thence by a few subordinate considerations. Political philosophy is the philosophy of mankind; it springs alone from the rights of society, and tends alone to their interests. And there is a high sense in which the language of Pope is perfectly just, that

‘ True self love and social are the same;’

yet it must be obvious, that these great principles are very commonly disregarded, inasmuch as the consciousness of abstract political truth is complicated with the more proximate, and, therefore, the more powerful sense of individual interest. This we take to be the great evil, and thus we may dispose of at least so much of the difficulty which we have suggested as respects the unreflecting habits of those who constitute these opposite political parties. Among the subsidiary considerations which deserve our notice, are the following:—First, the prevalence of that unphilosophical habit of mind, which distrusts and fears to follow the dictates of reason and of truth. The present advantage, which is practically felt, overbears by its influence any which may be ever so clearly ascertained, whether by reason or experience. Just as in the physical system the section of an acorn placed close to the eye, will conceal hundreds of acres of venerable oak, so in the moral system (on those great principles of analogy which point to a single Being as the founder of both,) a proximate and seeming advantage will, by means of its very proximity, hide from the vision the vaster good which, in the arrangements of Providence, lies more remote.

A second and more palpable reason may be found, in the thoughtless habit of society, of identifying great causes with their more conspicuous advocates. No new principle can be introduced into the social mind, whether it be gently insinuated by argument, or abruptly plunged into it by moral or physical force, without producing an eddy, which, by the commonest laws, presents at its surface what is generally the lightest and most worthless. To the truth of this remark, universal history bears its testimony, uniform and distinct; nor is there a clearer evidence of the unthinking superficiality of popular observation than is afforded by this principle as daily actualized before us. In all the great revolutions which have affected society, no circumstance has more retarded the production of beneficial results than the identification of the cause with certain individuals who happen to be forward in its promotion. Thus the subordinate founders of Christianity itself were stamped with the *deepest* disgrace by the epithet of Nazarenes; and thus among those whom fear has made frantic, or whom despotic principles have blinded, the name of Robespierre is conjured up to anathematize the great movement which in the last century took its origin in France.

A third and last popular fallacy, consequent upon those which have been already indicated, may be found in the prepossessions on the one hand, and the prejudices on the other, which attach to mere names, not indeed of persons but of things. It seems as if it were yet to be learned that such names in the political system, like coins in the monetary, are but counters, the compar-

tively empty symbols of important realities. On the one hand, we have 'our glorious constitution,' 'existing institutions,' 'vested interests,' and the '*juste milieu*.' On the other hand, we have 'revolution,' 'radicalism,' 'political dissenterism,' and last, perhaps not least—CHARTISM.

We take up the last-mentioned subject—that of Chartism, as affording the aptest illustration which we can bring of the unhappy tendency of all the popular fallacies which we have thus briefly pointed out. Its very name, to begin with the last suggestion that we made, is identified in the minds of the large proportion of the middle, moderate, and moral class of society, with all that is frightful in rebellion, confiscation, and anarchy. No word, since *Jacobin* of earlier date, and *Bony* in later times, has occasioned half so much trepidation among elderly ladies and children. There is nothing bad, and black, and wicked, with which it has not been associated. We shall presently endeavour to shew how much is contained in this dreaded name to justify such alarms.

But, to go back to our second suggestion of popular fallacies, there is another, and that a very large class, who identify the principles of Chartism with certain individuals who find their interest in connecting themselves with the cause. Now nothing in our most convinced judgment can be more true, than that some of the most worthless and unprincipled men in this country stand identified with the cause of Chartism. A few who have small capital and *large expectations*, without a ray of patriotic feeling, and with the scantiest knowledge of the principles involved in their enterprise, have united themselves with the party-coloured thing which is called Chartism. No warning voice of ours can be too loud, no language too strong, to deter the thinking but suffering classes of this country from identifying themselves with these reckless and shameless men, who would fain be their leaders. Bankrupt alike in character and fortune, they seek to patch up the miserable remnants of selfishness with the badges conferred by popular delusion. Careless of all interests but their own, they find their account in misleading the multitude whom ignorance on the one hand, and privation on the other, are inviting to desire change for its own sake. The influence thus exerted by unprincipled adventurers upon unthinking minds, presents, in our opinion, one of the most serious barriers against all enlightened and substantial reform. Happily for those who wisely appreciate the rights of their fellow-countrymen, and deeply sympathize with their wrongs, they are not compelled, in consistency, to identify themselves with such men as these.

And then, again, to retrace our steps still further, there is no

subject to which our first observation more fully applies than to this. In our mixed and artificial state of society, the great principles upon which the social compact is based, and the correlative rights and duties springing out of that compact, are as nearly as possible lost sight of. Every class (except, indeed, the lowest) has its class interests. The tendency to monopoly of political power is but the type of corresponding tendencies, with better objects, in the subordinate ranks. Hence our system of national religion is no less artificial than it is intolerant, and hence, too, together with the things they designate, the new words with which, like inarticulate cries, expressed by the torture of the times, we are learning to be familiar—aristocracy, artocracy, landocracy, shopocracy, hierarchy, and squirearchy.

The present condition of public affairs must, at least, have the effect of interrupting this lethargy. A pressure, stronger than any of a merely mental and abstract kind, is compelling the attention of society from the conventional to the primary and essential. It is driving us perforce to desist from the mere treatment of symptoms, and coercing us to an examination of the radical seat of social disease. A state of things has occurred in the political world, which, like a series of disasters in commercial concerns, has drawn us from the every-day routine of business, to a searching examination of our affairs. It is to the principles of political science, and not to the ordinary details of political life, that the attention of society is now imperatively demanded. A rapidly increasing population, and a decreasing demand for their labour; a crushing debt, and a diminished revenue; foreign markets virtually closed, and home markets thinned and impoverished; the vast majority of our population denied a voice in that legislature, which is the sole source from which the remedy can flow, and yet daily improving in enlightenment, education, and morals, and, consequently, in that vital and irresistible spirit which aggravates the sense of social degradation—*here* we have a combination of circumstances which summons away our attention from the ordinary workings of the political engine to a searching inspection of its structure.

Hence the political theory known by the new name of Chartism. As a system, it is new only in its name, its organization, and its energies. Its principles are as old as the theory of representation and the science of political philosophy. It is these principles, apart from the particular organization in which they have been embodied, and from the spirit in which they have been carried out, which we now design to develop.

The framers and supporters of the proposed parliamentary enactment, entitled, 'The Charter,' conceive that the oppressive evils which afflict society proceed almost wholly from a system of

class legislation. They clearly perceive that the barriers in the way of popular freedom, of liberty of conscience, of commercial success, and of financial reform, are the creation of acts of parliament, and that as these acts have called them into existence, so the exertion of the same authority may at any time remove and destroy them. They perceive, at the same time, that the controlling power of the legislature is possessed by a class who are personally interested in the maintenance of these abuses, under which the mass of their countrymen are suffering. Hence, on practical grounds, they demand the dissipation of this pernicious monopoly, and the introduction of all classes into that legislature, by whose enactments the interests and the destinies of all are greatly affected, and those of the unrepresented in particular, are arbitrarily determined.

They equally vindicate this claim on theoretical grounds. They maintain that the system of representation involves, as its essential and fundamental principle, the right of all who are called on to obey the laws to a voice in the legislature—of all who pay to the support of the state to a controlling power in the distribution of public revenues. They argue, that all who are denied this primary and indisputable right, except on grounds purely unavoidable, and which arise out of the very constitution of society, are thereby stigmatized as a degraded class, and exposed to all the unmerited sufferings which a system of uncontrolled domination never fails to inflict.

Now, in all this, there is nothing new; these are the principles which in all times have been held even by the wisest and most temperate advocates of popular rights. That the people are the source of all legitimate power, has ever been held as a sacred canon of politics by all who have not been prepared to go to the very extremes of despotism. Nor, indeed, is it possible to assign a limit short of those extremes, if once we quit the high ground of this elemental principle. The same considerations which would lead to the limitation of political power to one-half society, might, at another, contract it to one-tenth, one-thousandth, or even to the smallest fractional oligarchy. On such a point, all appeal to authority is obviously superfluous, else the advocates of such notions might refer with some degree of pride to the memorable words of Mr. Fox, who is surely placed above the reach of that vulgar censure which is pretty freely distributed to *them*—‘Representation is the sovereign remedy for every political evil.’ Nor are these theoretical opinions at all more novel than those of a more practical kind. ‘Taxation (says Lord Chatham), without representation, is tyranny;’ and Judge Blackstone himself, whom, perhaps, some may regard as a higher authority, has left us the following sentence, in his cele-

brated ‘Commentaries:’—‘No subject of England can be constrained to pay any aids or taxes, even for the defence of the realm or the support of the government, but such as are imposed by his own consent, or that of his representative in parliament.’

These, then, are the fundamental principles of that much misunderstood document, ‘The People’s Charter.’ We say much misunderstood, for we firmly believe that not one in a hundred, even of sober and thoughtful persons, who view the Charter with alarm, have ever taken the trouble to read it. Its preamble is as follows:—

‘Whereas, to ensure, in as far as it is possible by human forethought and wisdom, the just government of the people, it is necessary to subject those who have the power of making the laws to a wholesome and strict responsibility to those whose duty it is to obey them when made;

‘And whereas this responsibility is best enforced through the instrumentality of a body which emanates directly from, and is itself immediately subject to, the whole people, and which completely represents their feelings and their interests;

‘And whereas, as the Commons’ House of Parliament now exercises, in the name and on the supposed behalf of the people, the power of making the laws, it ought, in order to fulfil with wisdom and with honesty the great duties imposed on it, to be made the faithful and accurate representation of the people’s wishes, feelings, and interests;

‘Be it therefore enacted, That from and after the passing of this act, every male inhabitant of these realms be entitled to vote for the election of a member of parliament, subject, however, to the following conditions:—’

Between the quiet faith of some in these principles, and the stolid indifference of others, little has been heard of them, *in this country*, since the last great effort for the increase of representation. Recently, however, they have been revived, and subjected to the test of the most searching and yet the most candid scrutiny, in one of the tracts named at the head of this article, and entitled, ‘Complete Suffrage,’ &c. It consists of a series of articles, which have appeared successively in the pages of the ‘Nonconformist’ newspaper. They constitute one of the most purely philosophical dissertations which has ever come before us on such a subject and within such a compass. The writer disputes his way, inch by inch, from the most elementary axioms of political science, with a frankness and fearlessness in excellent moral correspondence with the justness and catholicity of his views. It is written with masterly power and with great simplicity; and deserves, and even demands, the attentive perusal of every man who is interested (as who is not?) in the momentous questions which at this solemn crisis are appealing to the universal intellect and heart of this empire.

We have already said, that the principle that all legitimate power must spring originally from the governed, is fundamental in every free country, and certainly essential to the theory of representation. Against its application lies an objection too hackneyed to be traced to any individual author, but which was pompously delivered by Dr. Johnson in his defence of the American war, entitled, 'Taxation no Tyranny,' and more elaborately developed by Mr. Burke in his Reflections on the French Revolution. It is to the effect, that men sacrifice their natural rights by incurring the protection of the social compact; that this protection is the equivalent for the sacrifice; and hence, in the elegant language of Mr. Burke, that 'abstract rights, applied to the conduct of civil society, are like rays of light penetrating into a dense medium, which become reflected from their original direction.' The treatment of this objection in the articles now under consideration is equally ingenious and conclusive.

'When (says the writer) man enters into a conventional state, and gives up independence with a view to protection, a tacit compact, we take it, is effected between the several members of society, considered as individuals, and society itself, considered in its collective capacity.

'He passes away from a state of solitude (if we may coin a word to express our meaning with precision) into a state of aggregation, as a means to an end—that end comprehending all the advantages arising from social order. Government is his creature, framed exclusively for his benefit; and invested with powers delegated by himself, to answer purposes essential to his welfare.

'*"I give you authority that you may give me protection,"* is the true interpretation of the maxim that 'the people are the only legitimate source of power.' Now a compact supposes that, whatever else we concede to the covenanting party, we do not and cannot part with the ultimate right to see that the conditions of the agreement are fulfilled. That must remain with us; for the very essence of a bargain resides in the right of each party to demand the fulfilment of its terms. To government it belongs to define allegiance; to us it belongs to define protection. We have clearly a right to demand that the thing for which we invest the state with power, be performed by the state—and of the fidelity of the state to its trust, we reserve to ourselves the right of exercising judgment.

'We reserve it—it is not bestowed upon us by government—it belongs to us irrespectively of all conventional laws; for without it conventionalism is a mere contradiction, and the doctrine that government is either *from* the people or *for* them is a sheer absurdity!

'Here then, we have one right enjoyed by men in society, having its foundations deeper than society itself—the right of claiming from the state, that it accomplish the ends for which it was originally constituted, and of judging for themselves whether it has accomplished them or no. But this right infers another. It infers that they retain

the power to give expression to that judgment, and that such expression becomes a component element of the influence by which government is ultimately controlled. When the right remains with us to demand, the right to enforce the demand is presupposed, and is checked only by the higher laws of morality and religion. But subject to such checks, there is but one conceivable method of giving to our judgment a practical authority—namely, that of allowing it a fair representation in the national councils.

‘The right, consequently, to be part and parcel of the government which exists *for* us, and whose power is power delegated to it by ourselves; in other words, the right to enforce our view of its obligations by proxy—i. e., to have our voice in the election of those who are to determine upon what is or what is not protection, is evidently antecedent to all conventional arrangement, and must stand or fall with the maxim with which we started, ‘that the people are the only legitimate source of power.’

This reasoning, we say, we consider to be conclusive—we search in it in vain for a fallacy or a sophism; yet it involves (though probably not as its *specific* design) all the essential principles of the Charter; and though the writer was probably actuated by far higher and more catholic motives, we are convinced that any differences which may subsist between his views and those expressed in that document will solely have respect to details. It is unnecessary that we should pledge ourselves to that measure, but we hold it to be due from those who demur to these arguments, to reply to them in the same spirit of unfastidious simplicity and moderation of which this writer has set them so excellent an example.

In support of the general principle thus laid down—that is, of the right of the people at large to the widest extension of political rights which the nature of the case allows, and which is consistent with the integral maintenance of the claims of all classes, we shall take leave to add one or two suggestions.

In the first place, then, it should be considered that every individual to whom it is proposed to extend the right of suffrage, pays his quota to the revenue of his country. It is not only rates and taxes which constitute this payment;—every man who consumes excisable articles—every man who purchases tea or sugar, beer or spirits, tobacco or physic, or even bread, pays, *pro tanto*, to the revenue of the country. The power, therefore, of regulating the distribution of the funds thus raised would seem to belong to him as a natural right; and if, on any grounds of alleged expediency, that power is withheld from him and vested in a privileged class, that class, whether large or small, is placed under the heavy, and, to every sensitively just and benevolent mind, the distressing responsibility of holding in its hands the dearest inter-

ests of multitudes of his fellow-subjects, and that too accompanied with the harassing recollection that the parties for whom he is virtually acting never reposed in him one iota of that trust. Let any well-informed man cast his eye over the comparatively scanty numbers who elect the legislature of this empire. Let him observe their notorious ignorance, venality, and vice. We will not ask him whether he thinks them competent to legislate for their own political and social interests, but let him ask himself whether they are qualified to *hold in trust* those of the unrepresented millions of their countrymen. We will leave to the political casuist the question whether under such circumstances any individual of the privileged class has a right to exercise his suffrage at all, but we can imagine what would be the feelings of a thoughtful and honourable man if, on his way to the poll, he should be accosted by some score or two of his intelligent, respectable, but unrepresented neighbours, with such words as these: ‘ You are about, sir, to perform an act far more deeply involving our interests than your own: you are about to legislate for our lives, our liberties, and that which stands us in the stead of property, the management of which is denied to us, and never committed by us to your care. Recollect the solemnity of that appeal which is thus made to your knowledge, your wisdom, and your integrity; lay to your heart the truth, that the condition of our wives and children is dependent upon the course you take; and if you have never deeply thought of all that affects those interests, go back to your home, and tremble to deal with the dearest welfare of those whom accident has made your constituents *in all but the power to constitute you.*’

Indeed, the very rationale of representation lies in the freedom of the represented to elect, and, within certain limits, to control their representative; and the only hypothesis upon which the millions of this country can be regarded otherwise than as vassals is, that they are virtually represented by the existing constituency. Where, then is their voice, their control, their remotest influence upon the existing constituency, even supposing that it were not as venal and as corrupt as it is,—seeing that *their* possession of the electoral right is dependent upon the most accidental circumstances of property and residence, with which the unrepresented cannot by possibility have any concern whatever? Moreover, the supposed hypothesis proceeds upon the admission that the interests of the represented and the unrepresented are identical. This in hypothesis looks fair and philosophical, and on the great scale and in the long run it is unquestionably true; but practically, and under existing circumstances, the interests of these classes are anything but identical. We appeal to the experience of every day—to the exorbitant influence of capital, and the depressed value of labour

—we appeal to the laws affecting the bequest of property, which oppress the poor beneficiary with heavy and exorbitant imposts while in proportion to the riches of the testator the duty becomes less and less. We need not particularize the multitude of instances in our system of taxation in which the rate of payment decreases, as for example, in the case of the window tax, in proportion to the extent to which the taxable article is used; and still less to those, in which the superfluities of opulence are imported duty free, while an immense revenue is extorted from the commonest necessities of poverty. We need not point to the detestable laws affecting the importation of corn and provisions—to the game laws, and the thousand other enormities, which aggrandize the resources of the rich at the expense of the earnings of the poor. Can any candid mind inspect our fiscal system—for we will not here touch upon our ecclesiastical economy—without admitting at the first glance, that it was manifestly constructed *by* the rich, and directed *against* the interests of the poor. On these two grounds we contend, that those to whom the franchise has not yet been extended are no more represented virtually than they are directly; and that if not socially, at least politically, they are but the helots of Great Britain.

But it is now time to bring forward and to examine the arguments by which the opponents of popular rights seek to justify the present system of incomplete and exclusive suffrage. Before doing so, it is only necessary to indicate in few words the limits to which the right is proposed to be extended by the Charter and by the ‘Nonconformist,’ in the series of essays to which we have referred above, and which are at this time occupying to no small extent the attention of the liberal community. The qualifications of an elector defined by the Charter are as follows:—

1. That he be a citizen of these realms.
2. That he be twenty-one years of age.
3. That he has not been declared insane by jury.
4. That he has not been convicted of felony.
5. That he has not been convicted of bribery at elections, or of personation, or forgery of election certificates.

One of the subsequent provisions, however, of the same proposed bill, is a system of annual and accurate registration, founded upon a continuous residence of at least three months, and available solely in the parish in which it is made. Let us now hear the limitations more argumentatively and elaborately laid down by the ‘Nonconformist:’—

‘1. Protection and allegiance, or, in other words, political power and submission to the law are correlatives. If governments are not in justice entitled to demand obedience when they cease to afford the

protection to society for which they were established, so, on the other hand, subjects who have thrown off their allegiance, and stand convicted by a legal tribunal of an infraction of the laws of their country, forfeit all claims to a control over national affairs.

‘The compact is broken. The culprit, having kicked against the good order of society, is rightly excluded from a participation of its privileges; otherwise the very end of government is lost in the means by which it is sought to be attained, and organized society becomes impossible. Here, then, we have the first limitation of the proposed right—not capricious, but reasonable and self-evident. The possession of the franchise presupposes a uniform submission to the law of the land, and every man legally convicted of crime forfeits thenceforth his title to the suffrage. Let us hear no more, therefore, of the votes of honest men being swamped by those given by the refuse of society, the sweepings of our gaols and houses of correction. Let us not do the industrious classes wrong. They never claimed this at our hands; they are neither so foolish nor so wicked.

‘2. Political power and personal independence must stand or fall together. This is no new doctrine. Our forefathers recognised it. Feudal serfs they excluded from the franchise, and, practically, none but feudal serfs. Meanwhile, every one must admit that parties, whose actions are under the legal control of others, who in the eye of the law are not their own masters, free to choose their own occupation and enjoy for themselves the proceeds of their own labour, can hardly be invested with the responsibility of the franchise. This limitation excludes all minors and paupers. Not until the age of twenty-one years does a man in this country attain to the station of an independent freeman; and when dependent upon the resources of society, so as to take from, instead of adding to, the general stock, as in the case of the recipients of parish relief, he may be regarded as foregoing his independence. A receiver of public money, for which no equivalent return is made, clearly has no right to a voice in the imposition of taxes. He pays nothing to the state. He is himself an incumbrance upon it. He cannot equitably claim, therefore, to have any control over its movements.

‘3. The right to the suffrage clearly supposes that society, or, in other words, government, the organ of society, shall be able to identify us as being whom and what we profess to be. Innumerable frauds would else be the consequence. Vagrants, foreigners, and criminals, whose term of punishment had expired, might hurry from polling-place to polling-place, and sweep away the real sense of the constituents by fictitious votes. Out of this danger arises the necessity of associating the franchise with a local habitation, and with such a term of residence as may prove an effectual guarantee against fraudulent proceedings. Such a guarantee is afforded by six months’ residence in the district within which the voter claims to record his vote. It matters nothing to the state whether the party be a householder or a lodger. In either case he tells society his whereabouts, and furnishes the opportunity of proving or disproving his own statement respecting

himself. This would render necessary an annual registration; and the arrangement might be rendered perfect by a provision, that each individual should be registered, and should vote within the parish in which he resides.'

These, then, are the principal arguments by which the right of the unrepresented to political power is defended, and if sound, they obviously involve the sacred duty of all who possess the franchise to extend it to the proposed limits. For ourselves, we candidly confess that we see no fallacy in this process of reasoning. We believe that it never has been met fairly, and that it never can be successfully: at all events, we shall wait to hear it controverted with all the patience which the nature of the case admits.

Though, however, these abstract positions have never been satisfactorily controverted, they have been indirectly opposed by two considerations founded upon grounds of political expediency, which, from the extended currency they have obtained, demand some degree of attentive examination. The first of these is—that the 'lower orders,' as they have been denominated since the days of Mr. Pitt, are incapacitated by their ignorance for the exercise of their political rights, and that this fact bars the application of those arguments which otherwise it would be impossible to resist. Now we can readily admit the sad extent and the wretched results of popular ignorance, and we are at as little loss upon whom to charge the weighty responsibility of perpetuating that ignorance, and of using it with all its subsidiary forces for their own corrupt and indefensible purposes. Naturally enough, this consideration is urged by those who have found their own account in the ignorance and degradation of the mass of the people; who have found in the thick mists of the popular mind a fitting atmosphere to cover their nefarious purposes. Very much, however, of this allegation is palpably untrue, while much of it that is true is irrelevant to the question.

We contend, in the first place, that with all the admitted disparity which subsists, and perhaps ever will subsist, between the higher and lower classes of society, in learning, refinement, and taste, there is no such disparity with relation to those habits of observation and reflection which enable the mind to judge rightly on general political subjects. In this matter, we are convinced that extreme injustice is done to what are called the lower classes. To pass over the vast proportion of instances in which poverty and original obscurity has been illustrated by genius and learning, as compared with the examples, few and far between, of intellectual distinction in the aristocracy, we believe that we are computing most moderately when we ascribe to the

lower class habits of observation and reflection, and a sound judgment on subjects falling within the range of those faculties, fully equal to those evinced by the classes more favoured by fortune.

2. Were this not the case, we contend that the supposed deficiency of talent and information in the humbler ranks of society would afford no ground for withholding the electoral franchise. The most important subjects which can affect the interests of mankind, are proverbially the simplest. It is only the pettiness of detail which is perplexing; the massy vastness of fundamental principles may be apprehended by the most untutored perceptions; such are, for example, the principles of religion and of morals. The pious poor may indeed be unable to twine the 'cobweb rope' of polemics; but we verily believe that there are many among them who understand more clearly the sublime doctrines of Christianity than all the bench of bishops put together. So the uninstructed, but sober-minded labourer, may be unable (in common with his priest, perhaps,) to entertain the more metaphysical difficulties of moral science; whilst, by the light of a simple intellect and an unsophisticated conscience, he steers securely to that point which casuistry never reached. And so with those important questions on which the constituent has to form that opinion which regulates his vote,—it is not necessary to master the evidence connected with chancellors' budgets, or railway and turnpike acts. A few great but distinct subjects, from time to time, occupy the public mind. Take the last twenty years—the repeal of the civil disabilities affecting protestant dissenters and catholics, the reform of the representation, the abolition of slavery, the mitigation of a sanguinary criminal code, the freedom of trade, the dissipation of monopolies, and the reform of municipal corporations. Now what, we inquire, is necessary to the formation of a correct judgment on such subjects, over and above that information on matters of fact supplied by newspapers, and thence carried by social intercourse to the extremes of society? We contend that nothing is requisite but the plainest common sense, habits of sober thought, and that honesty which, whatever may be the case among the lower classes, among the higher is rarer than either.

Upon this question, the writer from whom we have already quoted offers some considerations too striking to be omitted, and which cannot be better submitted to the reader than in his own condensed language:—

'When,' says he, 'the ignorance of the labouring classes is urged as a sufficient plea for withholding from them the franchise, it is tacitly assumed that, under the present restricted system, affairs of state are

mainly settled by the intelligence of our constituencies, are discussed with fairness, and decided upon according to their merits. Now the very reverse of all this is matter of notoriety. The middle class constituency has done anything but prove its peculiar and exclusive fitness for political power. Is the last general election, we ask, to be regarded as an expression of their intelligence? Are we to look to that, as affording an illustration of the decision of national affairs by argument and reason? Are tenants at will invariably swayed by the simple merits of the question? Do our tradesmen take into serious consideration the destiny of unborn myriads?

‘And when the accomplished senators selected by the educated middle classes are assembled in council, where are we to find the proofs of their superiority to clamour and prejudice? They discuss matters, it is true;—but does discussion, on an average, influence one vote throughout a session? Party considerations decide everything—political principles are only the bones over which they fight for mastery. What are the real merits of a question to the well-trained gangs who flock at the sound of the division bell, to vote upon matters of incalculable importance, from the discussion of which they have absented themselves?

‘The matter, however, need not be treated as one of mere speculation. Look back upon the past ten years. The masses, even under the most disadvantageous circumstances, have evinced their sentiments upon the leading topics of policy which during that time have agitated the nation. Have they sided with ignorance, or with intelligence? with justice, or with injustice? with selfishness, or with generosity? Reformers are the last persons who ought to plead the ignorance of the industrious classes as a bar to their political elevation, for these classes have invariably given their voice for reformers, until the principles of reform were merged in party encounter. We aver, without fear of contradiction, that popular opinion has, during the whole of the reform era, been invariably right—has invariably coincided with reason—invariably sympathized with equity—and, even in those matters wherein they differ with the middle classes, we should like to be informed on which side the strongest arguments may be found, and on which the most unreasoning prejudice? That their sentiments have been violently expressed we admit, and we deplore; but let us remember, that we allow them no *legitimate* mode of giving effect to the opinions they entertain.

‘Lastly, the objection leaves a vast deal of truth out of sight. It does not bring into view, as it ought, that we of the middle class practically regard it as destitute of force. We are constantly over-riding our own objection. We do believe, whatever we may allege to the contrary, that the industrious classes are competent to take rational views of leading political matters. Whenever we wish to carry a question, we address ourselves to them—we argue, we appeal, we illustrate, we supply information, without any notion that they are incapable of discerning truth. We organize them into societies; we make demonstrations of their unanimity; we encourage them to display their mind, with a view to influence the mind of the senate. All this proves

that we do not regard them as incompetent to deal with national affairs. Now since we practically appeal to their suffrage, it is too late to urge, when they claim to be allowed to embody it in a vote, that they are not sufficiently intelligent. We admit their intelligence when we address ourselves to the task of laying before them requisite information, when we ask their verdict ; and having obtained it, plead that verdict as an argument in our own favour. If the labouring classes are not sufficiently intelligent to vote, neither are they to be formed into associations, neither are they to sign petitions ; and when we use them in these latter cases, we cut the throat of our own objection in reference to the suffrage.'

This is bold thinking and forcible writing ; but, however successful it may be in destroying the objection against which it is directed, it by no means sets the question at rest. A second, and, we think, the only surviving argument, rises upon the ruins of the former. While by many it will be freely admitted that there is no such incapacity of comprehension among the unrepresented masses of society as incapacitates them for the exercise of the franchise, it will still be contended by many that they are morally disqualified for the functions of constituency by their dishonesty, and their easy liability to bribery and intimidation. Now this is certainly a formidable objection, since the very theory of representation presupposes the independence of the voter. At all events, it calls for a fearless and full examination.

It should be recollected, then, that the independence, involved as an essential in the theory of representation, is obviously a possible, and not a real and necessary independence. Hence, on the one hand, the political distinctions of age and sex. It is supposed, that the position in the social system occupied by women is such as necessarily to preclude, in the vast majority of instances, a perfect independence of political action. On the same principle, the suffrage has ever been limited to those who have attained the age of majority, as settled by common law. Yet while the theory itself thus excludes those who are *necessarily* dependent, it by no means shuts out such as are *possibly* or *casually* so. We would just beg the reader to imagine what would be the limits of the electoral right, were all those to be disfranchised who are open to temptation of corrupt influence, or who actually yield to it ? The notoriously venal character of the existing constituent body most assuredly forbids the application of this sweeping test to the unrepresented classes of society.

But, again, even were the allegation true, which is commonly and most unsparingly made against the unenfranchised millions, the argument deduced from it would still, we think, be untenable. Even upon this supposition, we think that the tendency of a measure which should liberally throw open the avenues to po-

litical influence, would be to diminish rather than to augment the amount of venality and corruption. Of this, indeed, we have a practical proof before us, in the operation of the reform act. The class which it introduced to the possession of the suffrage are found to be at least as venal as any who could be enfranchised, even under the charter itself; insomuch that it has recently been asserted in both houses of parliament, and that without the slightest attempt at contradiction, that the result of the last nominal appeal to the people has been entirely determined by the purses of the aristocracy. Yet still it is equally notorious, that the amount expended in elections is very far—perhaps even proportionately less. As a single illustration of this, the writer was informed by the late Earl of Durham, that his lordship's last election for his own county cost him no less than *sixty-four thousand* pounds, while his successor obtained his seat at *less than a tenth of that expense*.

But, apart from this, we are persuaded that, with every allowance that can be made, the charge we are opposing involves a groundless, an insulting, and a most dishonourable calumny. We are persuaded, that the ratio of moral excellence has ever been greatly in favour of the poorer classes of society. Base and feculent as the morals of the masses have become, from the sediment incessantly precipitated from the vices of the aristocracy, and surrounded, in addition, with the temptations peculiarly incident to their condition, we believe that there resides and flourishes among them a degree of genuine virtue which their supercilious oppressors have scanty means of knowing, and which, did they know it, they would be still less qualified to appreciate. We are persuaded that the history of our country, and especially the experience of modern times, proves indisputably, that concessions made by constituted power to the rights of the people have been received in a spirit alike exemplary and encouraging—in a spirit which befits men distinguished at once by the sense of gratitude and the spirit of freedom. Assuredly we cannot wonder at the suspicions of them entertained by many, seeing that the oppression under which they have long been suffering is enough to 'make wise men mad,' and almost to suggest the appeal to physical force as the only remedy. Yet we are convinced that the number of the unrepresented who would seriously contemplate such a course is too small to excite apprehension or to deserve notice. On this subject let us listen to the voice from Warwick Gaol. It emanates from two working men, smarting under the penalty of a political offence, and who have chosen to occupy the hours of their solitude in the composition of a work, which for power of thought and diction, and for philanthropy of

spirit, would not disgrace a far loftier origin. In referring to their unenfranchised brethren, they say:—

‘We are now satisfied, that many of them experience more acute sufferings, and daily witness worse scenes of wretchedness, than sudden death can possibly inflict, or battle-strife disclose to them. For what worse can those experience on earth, who from earliest morn to latest night are toiling in misery, yet starving while they toil? who, possessing all the anxieties of fond parents, cannot satisfy their children with bread? who, susceptible of every domestic affection, perceive their hearths desolate, and little ones neglected, while the wives of their bosoms are exhausting every toiling faculty, in the field or workshop, to add to the scanty portion, which merely serves to protect their lives of careworn wretchedness? Men thus steeped in misery, and standing on the very verge of existence, cannot philosophize on prudence; they are disposed to risk their lives on any chance which offers the prospect of immediate relief, as the only means of rendering life supportable, or helping them to escape death in its most agonizing forms. When we further reflect on the circumstances which have hitherto influenced the great mass of mankind, we are not surprised at the feeling that prevails in favour of physical force. When we consider their early education, their school-book heroes, their historical records of military and naval renown, their idolized warriors of sea and land, their prayers for conquest, and thanksgivings for victories,—and the effect of all these influences to expand their combative faculties, and weaken their moral powers, we need not wonder that men generally place so much reliance on physical force, and undervalue the superior force of their reason and moral energies. Experience, however, will eventually dispel this delusion, and will cause reformers to hold in reserve the exercise of the former, till the latter has been proved ineffectual. Nor can we help entertaining the opinion, that recent experience has greatly served to lessen the faith of the most sanguine in their theory of force, and caused them to review proposals they once spurned as visionary and contemptible. While we never doubted the constitutional right of Englishmen to possess arms, we have doubted the propriety of placing reliance on such means for effecting our freedom; and further reflection has convinced us that far more effective and certain means are within our reach. And, again, a few individuals may certainly be found in different parts of the country, whose feelings and sympathies have at times got the better of their judgments, and prompted them to talk violently, or behave unjustly; and others, from very different motives, may have committed very illegal and wicked acts; but we hold it to be equally as unjust to condemn the great body of Chartists for such acts, as it would be to condemn the whole of the aristocracy, or any class of persons, because bad men have frequently been found among them. But such conduct would appear to be a part of the tactics of our opponents, in order to afford a pretext for prosecution, and to scare the timid and unreflecting from our ranks. It has

been customary, time immemorial, for the advocates of injustice and gainers by corruption, to impugn the motives and execrate the name of every man who, sympathizing with his brethren, has been induced to step out of their ranks to make known their grievances, and embody their feelings in the language of truth.'

We may compare this with the recent testimony from the highest quarter. Since the above sentences were written the sufferings of the people have increased to a degree absolutely unprecedented; while, through the zealous dissemination of political knowledge, the fact has been universally apprehended, that these distresses are the direct result of class legislation and aristocratic institutions. Yet amidst their dreadful privations, aggravated by the consciousness of the black injustice out of which they spring, her Majesty is instructed by her ministers—the sworn foes of popular rights—gratuitously to eulogize, in the late royal speech, the 'patience and fortitude' of the victims. We fully concur in the praise awarded to their patience, though we can imagine that second thoughts might have suggested to ministers some reasons why, at the present crisis, it was undesirable to compliment them on their *fortitude*.

From this consideration of the two cardinal arguments against the doctrine of complete suffrage, we may, we think, safely conclude that the effect of conferring complete suffrage could not be the anarchy, the confiscation, the violation of existing interests, and the equalization of property, which a certain party find their interest in prognosticating, and which a certain other class are weak enough to believe. Moreover, it is but the indication of ignorance, to hold over us, *in terrorem*, the disasters which befel ancient republics, the horrors of the French Revolution, or the popular and foolish calumnies against the working of the democratic principle in America. To the first we reply, that in the classic nations of antiquity, to which young gentlemen fresh from college are fond of referring, *the representative system was unknown*—a consideration which at once destroys all analogy between them and us, and makes any further discussion a mere waste of time. To the second we reply, first, that we have a *middle class* in this country, whose interests blend with those of the masses, and who constitute the ballast of the vessel, while they exercise no less influence in the direction of its course than in the regulation of its motion. This France certainly had not, at the crisis which has afforded so many arguments to all schools of modern politicians, at the close of the eighteenth century. And, secondly, as barring the analogy sought to be established either between the position of this nation and that of the classic and more modern republics, or between Great Britain and France at the period of the Revolution, that we enjoy in our midst the benign, remedial influence of true religion,

whose fruits, indeed, may not nourish the higher moral excellences of the majority, but whose very leaves, by a profound and divine law, 'are for the healing of the nations.' To the argument which respects the great modern republic in the New World, we reply, that, with all the evils which the iniquitous laws of Great Britain inflicted upon her adult and independent children, and in spite of the errors which are perhaps necessary to the childhood of the first century of their independence, they indicate a masculine strength of constitution, and a consequent healthiness of function, which the parent country may well envy. Their young democracy may, indeed, be rampant; the massive masonry of their political structure may need the consolidating influence of time; and they may suffer, too, under the infernal system of slavery conveyed to them by the mother country before her political decease; but they still enjoy the blessing of civil and religious liberty; and they boast a freedom from a crushing debt, to drain away their resources, from aristocratic institutions, to paralyze their political energies, and from a plethoric establishment, to overlay and suffocate their religion.

Taking, then, these various arguments in the aggregate, we conclude that it never has been shewn that the unrepresented multitudes of this country are either intellectually or morally disqualified for the exercise of the electoral right. Upon these grounds, at all events, we feel justified in protesting, in the strongest terms, against the wild and extravagant notion, that their introduction to political power would lead to the invasion of private property and the contempt of law. If in this conviction we are not too sanguine, which we firmly believe that not one thoughtful man in a thousand will deny; if the exercise of their legislative functions would have respect solely to such questions as have engaged the attention of the national assembly for many years past, then we venture to propose one final argument in their favour. Upon the supposed concessions, we venture to contend that it is inconsistent and absurd, as well as unjust, to withhold from them the electoral franchise,—and for this reason; that they cannot possibly use it in such a manner as to shew themselves unfit for its exercise.

For what is the franchise? It is the liberty of recording an opinion on the principal subjects affecting national welfare, such as those we have already instanced, by means of representatives—that is, of voting for A. or B., according as he votes Aye or No on these subjects. In the exercise of the franchise, then, from the nature of the case there can be but two alternatives: there can be no middle way; there can be no third, or ulterior course. The only manner in which the franchise can possibly be exercised, may be summed up in the alternative, Aye or No.

In which of these cases can the constituent indicate his unfitness for his privilege? If, in the one case, he shews his incompetency in company with such men as Dr. Johnson, Pitt, Canning, Eldon, Wellington, and Peel; if, in the other case, he would evince his incompetency by concurring with such men as Fox, Erskine, Brougham, Grey, and Durham; of the two courses which alone an elector *can* take, in the one he would act in concert with one half of the learning, intelligence, and wealth of Great Britain; in the other he would co-operate with the other half. To say nothing, therefore, of the duty of obeying laws being correlative with the power of making them, the *inconsistency* of our opponents seems plain enough. If you withhold the franchise from any members of society, from the fear of their voting *Aye*, then disfranchise all that half of the political community who vote *Aye*. This is but common fairness, if the intelligence of the party is held to be the test of eligibility. If, on the other hand, their voting *No* (the only alternative, be it remembered,) is the proof of their incapacity for the right exercise of their privilege, then disfranchise those who vote *No*. It is futile, and more than futile, to urge that these ignorant constituents would at best only stumble on the truth or error in the dark. How far this may be true of their political superiors, it is impossible to say. But this is beside the question, in both cases. If every individual must act, in the exercise of his franchise, in concert with vast masses of intelligence and practical political knowledge, it is absurd, nay, it is monstrous, to attribute competency on the one hand, or incompetency on the other, to the aristocratic section of either party, and to deny it to the multitude of their humbler supporters. Nor does this train of reasoning receive slight confirmation from the grounds taken by the two antagonist parties, whom we are here opposing in common; for while the bigoted Tory is denouncing this extension of popular rights, under the feigned horror of revolution and anarchy, the aristocratic Whigs are pretending equal fear, lest this concession, the justice of which they seldom attempt to deny, should swell the ranks of the Tories. The reply to both may safely be left to the common sense of the reader, who will probably be reminded of an old proverb, that when knaves quarrel honest men get their own.

In addition to this, it may be desirable to notice, in passing, one other argument propounded by the opponents of popular rights, namely, that if the majority of the constituency was founded in the lower order of society, men of scanty education, of limited knowledge, and of vulgar predilections, would be returned as representatives in parliament. Against this we waive all theoretical objections; we are happy to be enabled to appeal to fact and experience. Private economical societies have long

existed among the operative and unrepresented orders of society, and the excellent results which have notoriously flowed from these institutions have depended upon the practical wisdom displayed in their management. It is matter of universal knowledge, among those who have interested themselves in the working of these societies, that the most suitable persons have been selected to arrange their constitution, and to manage their details, and the benefits which have flowed from their operations have abundantly proved the excellence of their administration.

But if we wish for a more comprehensive illustration of the opinion we are advocating, we may find it in the working of the Municipal Reform Act. By this measure the right of legislating for their local interests has been conferred upon every rate-payer. This has been stigmatized as an anarchical measure, and as calculated to produce 'normal schools of political agitation.' We need hardly say that its effects have falsified all these predictions. It is notorious that, throughout the municipal constituencies of Great Britain, the ablest men have been selected by every party as their local representatives.

We have thus detailed the leading feature of the National Charter, namely, the system of complete suffrage. We confess that we find in it much of political justice, and but little ground for serious and reasonable alarm. We are inclined to believe that the fears which have been entertained, so far as they have existed among honest and reflective men, have generally originated from the partiality of that knowledge which it is the design of these pages to supply. Such, however, is the essence of the Charter. Its other provisions are of a more conventional kind; and on these we shall not at present enter at large. The protection of the vote by means of the ballot we have already considered, and warmly and honestly recommended, and perhaps it is unnecessary in this place to recapitulate our line of argument. The proposal of electoral districts, which forms another feature in the National Charter, appears to us essential to the carrying out of the principle of the representative system. That system has respect obviously to men, and not to localities; and on this principle, and making all allowance for the due influence of property, the existing system is surely indefensible—a system upon which an obscure country town, with few political, and no commercial interests, commands in the legislature an equal number of voices, and an equal degree of influence, with cities which, from their commercial importance, might each be the metropolis of a mighty empire.

We may safely leave, as open questions, the remaining proposals of the Charter, namely, the shortness of the duration of parliaments, and the payment of their members. With respect to the

first, the duration of our parliaments, during the last twenty years, is reduced by an average within very narrow limits. From this certainly no mischievous consequence has arisen; nor, probably, need we apprehend any such results from a further contraction of that duration, under a wise and a well-considered system of popular election. With respect to the second, the working of the present system of an unpaid magistracy at least justifies, if it does not call for, the discussion of both questions.

Upon these subjects, we say, we have not left ourselves room to enter. We have sought to present to the public the claims of the unrepresented classes to complete suffrage, and to exhibit the National Charter stripped of those fallacies which have hitherto made it a bugbear to a large and respectable section of society. A crisis has arrived, at which the principle which we have attempted to develop must meet with the earnest attention of every class of the community. A prevailing sense of dissatisfaction among the neglected class of society; closed markets abroad, and consequent want of employment at home; no profit for the capitalist, and no occupation for the labourer;—these facts, more agitating than all the oratory of demagogues, and all the schemes of statesmen, must now compel us all to an examination of the fundamental principles of our political and commercial institutions; happy if, impressed by the thickening difficulties of the present times, by the sad experience of ages, and by the solemn warnings of religion, we devote ourselves submissively to those great principles of truth and justice which, should we fall in the strife of circumstance, will consecrate our memory as a nation, and which, should we survive the shock under which we are now shaking to our foundation, must establish our national greatness on an immovable basis;—blessing all orders of mankind, and securing to every one his rights; ‘to the laborious the reward of their industry, to nobles the preservation of their honours, and to princes the stability of their thrones.’

Art. VI. *Diary and Letters of Madame D'Arblay.* Author of 'Evelina,' &c. Edited by her Niece. Vols. I. and II. London: Henry Colburn.

FEW of our readers, probably, have much acquaintance with the writings of Madame D'Arblay, whose temporary popularity, although not wholly unmerited, was greatly dependent on time and circumstance. She was the daughter of Dr. Burney, and was born at Lynn Regis, whither her father had retired from London, on account of ill health, the latter half of the last century. The most remarkable features of her childhood were extreme shyness,

and great backwardness in learning. To such an extent was she characterized by the latter quality, that her niece informs us she did not even know her letters when eight years of age. The name familiarly given to her was 'the little dunce,' although her mother, at once more discerning and more indulgent, was accustomed to remark that 'she had no fear about Fanny.' Beneath this unpromising appearance, however, there were qualities which a shrewd observer might easily recognise, as affording promise of future excellence, if not of high superiority. Her powers of imitation were considerable, and the nicety and shrewdness of her observations bespoke an acute and distinguishing mind. 'In company, or before strangers, she was silent, backward, and timid, even to sheepishness; and, from her shyness, had such profound gravity and composure of features, that those of Dr. Burney's friends who went often to his house, and entered into the different humours of the children, never called Fanny by any other name, from the time she had reached her eleventh year, than 'the old lady.' The development of her mental powers, though late, was rapid. By the time she was fourteen, her reading was extensive and varied, and her information consequently was much more enlarged than is common to her age. Her father had by this time returned to London, where his house was the resort of many of the literary men of the day, whose conversations, doubtless, contributed largely to the formation of the young novelist's mind. She soon became distinguished by her habits of seclusion, from which the discerning intellect of her mother-in-law (for Dr. Burney had now married a second time) correctly augured the nature of her occupations. Alarmed for her daughter's welfare, Mrs. Burney strongly urged upon her 'the evil of a scribbling turn in young ladies;' and her expostulations had such effect, that the young authoress resolved to destroy all her manuscripts, and to throw away her pen. The former part of her resolution was faithfully executed, but the latter, though nobly attempted, was speedily repented of.

Amongst the works destroyed at this time, when Frances, it must be remembered, was only in her fifteenth year, was a tale of considerable length, which contained, probably, the germ of her subsequent 'Evelina.' The *cacoethes scribendi* was, however, too powerful to be long suppressed; and Miss Burney, in consequence, unknown to any of her friends, occupied herself in the preparation of a work which was to determine the complexion of her future history. The secret was communicated to her sisters; and a younger brother, whose services it was necessary to engage, was ultimately taken into her confidence. Mr. Dodsley, to whom her manuscript was first offered, declined to look at anything anonymous; and Mr. Lowndes, to whom it was sub-

sequently tendered, returned an offer of twenty pounds for the copyright; 'an offer,' we are informed, 'which was accepted with alacrity, and boundless surprise at its magnificence.' 'Evelina' was published in January, 1778, and suddenly attained a degree of popularity which fell to the lot of but few contemporaneous works. Of the literary merits of 'Evelina,' and its successors, 'Cecilia,' 'Camilla,' and the 'Wanderer,' it is not our purpose at present to speak. There is a great deal of mannerism throughout them, but their merits, especially those of the first, must have been of no mean order, to unite the suffrage of such men as Dr. Johnson, Mr. Burke, Sir Joshua Reynolds, and Mr. Sheridan. Mrs. Inchbald's criticism on 'Evelina' is substantially applicable to each of Madame D'Arblay's novels. The following extract from it will sufficiently describe their character:—'The heroine is a young lady, amiable and unexperienced, who is continually getting into difficulties from not knowing, or not observing, the established etiquette of society, and from being unluckily connected with a number of vulgar characters, by whom she is involved in adventures both ludicrous and mortifying. The hero is a generous and pleasing lover. The other characters of the piece are, a lady wit and oddity, a gay, insolent baronet, a group of vulgar cits, and a number of young bucks, whose coldness, carelessness, rudeness, and impertinent gallantry, serve as a foil to the delicate attentions of the hero.'

The work now before us commences with the publication of 'Evelina,' whose reception by the literary world is noted with all the minuteness and fond interest of a young author. The manuscripts from which it is printed are represented as having been arranged with the most scrupulous care by Madame D'Arblay, in her later years, who affixed to them such explanations as she deemed requisite, and finally consigned them to her niece, 'with full permission to publish whatever might be judged desirable for that purpose; and with no negative injunctions except ONE, which has been scrupulously obeyed, that, whatever might be effaced or omitted, NOTHING should in anywise be altered or added to her records.' The great interest of the diary and correspondence consists in the light which they throw on the fashionable and literary circles of the day, and more especially in the opportunities they furnish of renewing intercourse with some old friends, by whose wit, learning, and wisdom, we have frequently been charmed and benefited. A large portion of the diary might have been omitted, without detriment to the work; but we are quite willing to pay the penalty imposed, in order to secure the more sterling and valuable portions of the record. It is impossible to listen to the conversation of such men as Burke, Johnson, Reynolds, Sheridan, and Goldsmith, or of

such lady wits as Mrs. Montagu, Mrs. Thrale, and Mrs. Cholmondeley, without being charmed with the brilliancy of their imaginations, or improved by the depth of their philosophy. But our readers will want to know what is the character of the contents of these volumes, and we proceed, therefore, to furnish them with a few extracts, from which they may form a pretty accurate notion for themselves. The publication of 'Evelina' introduced Miss Burney to the Thrale family, at Streatham, where she engaged much of Dr. Johnson's notice, and far more of his affection than fell to the lot of most. The following describes her first visit to Mrs. Thrale's, which occurred in August, 1778 :—

'Mr. Thrale's house is white, and very pleasantly situated, in a fine paddock. Mrs. Thrale was strolling about, and came to us as we got out of the chaise.

'Ah,' cried she, 'I hear Dr. Burney's voice! and you have brought your daughter?—well, now you are good!'

'She then received me, taking both my hands, and with mixed politeness and cordiality welcoming me to Streatham. She led me into the house, and addressed herself almost wholly for a few minutes to my father, as if to give me an assurance she did not mean to regard me as a show, or to distress or frighten me by drawing me out. Afterwards she took me up stairs, and shewed me the house, and said she had very much wished to see me at Streatham, and should always think herself much obliged to Dr. Burney for his goodness in bringing me, which she looked upon as a very great favour.

'But though we were some time together, and though she was so very civil, she did not *hint* at my book, and I love her much more than ever for her delicacy in avoiding a subject which she could not but see would have greatly embarrassed me.

'When we returned to the music-room, we found Miss Thrale was with my father. Miss Thrale is a very fine girl, about fourteen years of age, but cold and reserved, though full of knowledge and intelligence.

'Soon after, Mrs. Thrale took me to the library; she talked a little while upon common topics, and then, at last, she mentioned 'Evelina.'

'Yesterday, at supper,' said she, 'we talked it all over, and discussed all your characters; but Dr. Johnson's favourite is Mr. Smith. He declares the fine gentleman *manqué* was never better drawn: and he acted him all the evening, saying he was 'all for the ladies!' He repeated whole scenes by heart. I declare I was astonished at him. O you can't imagine how much he is pleased with the book; he 'could not get rid of the rogue,' he told me. But was it not droll,' said she, 'that I should recommend it to Dr. Burney? and tease him so innocently, to read it?'

'We were summoned to dinner. Mrs. Thrale made my father and me sit on each side of her. I said that I hoped I did not take Dr. Johnson's place;—for he had not yet appeared.

‘No,’ answered Mrs. Thrale, ‘he will sit by you, which I am sure will give him great pleasure.’

‘Soon after we were seated this great man entered. I have so true a veneration for him, that the very sight of him inspires me with delight and reverence, notwithstanding the cruel infirmities to which he is subject; for he has almost perpetual convulsive movements, either of his hands, lips, feet, or knees, and sometimes of all together.

‘Mrs. Thrale introduced me to him, and he took his place. We had a noble dinner, and a most elegant dessert. Dr. Johnson, in the middle of dinner, asked Mrs. Thrale what was in some little pies that were near him.

‘Mutton,’ answered she, ‘so I don’t ask you to eat any, because I know you despise it.’

‘No, madam, no,’ cried he; ‘I despise nothing that is good of its sort; but I am too proud now to eat of it. Sitting by Miss Burney makes me very proud to-day!’

‘Miss Burney,’ said Mrs. Thrale, laughing, ‘you must take great care of your heart if Dr. Johnson attacks it; for I assure you he is not often successful.’

‘What’s that you say, madam?’ cried he; ‘are you making mischief between the young lady and me already?’

‘A little while after he drank Miss Thrale’s health and mine, and then added,

‘’Tis a terrible thing that we cannot wish young ladies well, without wishing them to become old women!’

‘But some people,’ said Mr. Seward, ‘are old and young at the same time, for they wear so well that they never look old.’

‘No, sir, no,’ cried the Doctor, laughing; ‘that never yet was; you might as well say they are at the same time tall and short. I remember an epitaph to that purpose, which is in ——’

‘(I have quite forgot what,—and also the name it was made upon, but the rest I recollect exactly :)

“————— lies buried here;
So early wise, so lasting fair,
That none, unless her years you told,
Thought her a child, or thought her old.’

‘Mrs. Thrale then repeated some lines in French, and Dr. Johnson some more in Latin. An epilogue of Mr. Garrick’s to *Bonduca* was then mentioned, and Dr. Johnson said it was a miserable performance, and everybody agreed it was the worst he had ever made.

‘And yet,’ said Mr. Seward, ‘it has been very much admired; but it is in praise of English valour, and so I suppose the subject made it popular.’

‘I don’t know: sir,’ said Dr. Johnson, ‘anything about the subject, for I could not read on till I came to it; I got through half a dozen lines, but I could observe no other subject than eternal dulness. I don’t know what is the matter with David; I am afraid he is grown superannuated, for his prologues and epilogues used to be incomparable.’

‘Nothing is so fatiguing,’ said Mrs. Thrale, ‘as the life of a wit : he and Wilks are the two oldest men of their ages I know, for they have both worn themselves out, by being eternally on the rack to give entertainment to others.’

‘David, madam,’ said the Doctor, ‘looks much older than he is; for his face has had double the business of any other man’s; it is never at rest; when he speaks one minute, he has quite a different countenance to what he assumes the next ; I don’t believe he ever kept the same look for half an hour together in the whole course of his life; and such an eternal, restless, fatiguing play of the muscles, must certainly wear out a man’s face before its real time.’

‘O yes,’ cried Mrs. Thrale, ‘we must certainly make some allowance for such tear and wear of a man’s face.’—Vol. I. pp. 36—40.

Our next quotation describes a scene which took place at Mr. Lowndes, the publisher’s, whither Miss Burney and her mother had gone *incog.*, to make some inquiries respecting *Evelina*.

‘We introduced ourselves by buying the book, for which I had a commission from Mrs. G——. Fortunately, Mr. Lowndes himself was in the shop; as we found by his air of consequence and authority, as well as his age; for I never saw him before.

‘The moment he had given my mother the book, she asked if he could tell her who wrote it.

‘No,’ he answered; ‘I don’t know myself.’

‘Pho, pho,’ said she, ‘you mayn’t choose to tell, but you must know.’

‘I don’t, indeed, ma’am,’ answered he; ‘I have no honour in keeping the secret, for I have never been trusted. All I know of the matter is, that it is a gentleman of the other end of the town.’

‘My mother made a thousand other inquiries, to which his answers were to the following effect: that for a great while he did not know if it was a man or a woman; but now, he knew that much, and that he was a master of his subject, and well versed in the manners of the times.

‘For some time,’ continued he, ‘I thought it had been Horace Walpole’s; for he once published a book in his snug manner; but I don’t think it is now. I have often people come to inquire of me who it is; but I suppose he will come out soon, and then, when the rest of the world knows it, I shall. Servants often come for it from the other end of the town, and I have asked them divers questions myself, to see if I could get at the author; but I never got any satisfaction.’

‘Just before we came away, upon my mother’s still further pressing him, he said, with a most important face,

‘Why, to tell you the truth, madam, I have been informed that it is a piece of real secret history; and, in that case, it will never be known.’

‘This was too much for me; I grinned irresistibly, and was obliged to look out at the shop-door till we came away.

‘How many ridiculous things have I heard upon this subject! I

hope that next, some particular family will be fixed upon, to whom this secret history must belong. However, I am delighted to find myself so safe.—Ib. pp. 43, 44.

The following notices of Dr. Johnson are a sample of those spread throughout the Diary, and will form a not unwelcome supplement to 'Boswell.'

'Dr. Johnson, as usual, came last into the library; he was in high spirits, and full of mirth and sport. I had the honour of sitting next to him: and now, all at once, he flung aside his reserve, thinking, perhaps, that it was time I should fling aside mine.

'Mrs. Thrale told him that she intended taking me to Mr. T——'s.

'So you ought, madam,' cried he, 'tis your business to be Cicerone to her.'

'Then suddenly he snatched my hand, and kissing it,

'Ah!' he added, 'they will little think what a tartar you carry to them.'

'No, that they wont!' cried Mrs. Thrale; 'Miss Burney looks so meek and so quiet, nobody would suspect what a comical girl she is; but I believe she has a great deal of malice at heart.'

'Oh, she's a toad!' cried the doctor, laughing—'a sly young rogue! with her Smiths and her Branghtons!'

'Why, Dr. Johnson,' said Mrs. Thrale, 'I hope you are very well this morning! if one may judge by your spirits and good humour, the fever you threatened us with is gone off.'

'He had complained that he was going to be ill last night.

'Why no, madam, no,' answered he, 'I am not yet well; I could not sleep at all; there I lay, restless and uneasy, and thinking all the time of Miss Burney. Perhaps I have offended her, thought I; perhaps she is angry; I have seen her but once, and I talked to her of a rasher!—Were you angry?'

'I think I need not tell you my answer.

'I have been endeavouring to find some excuse,' continued he, 'and, as I could not sleep, I got up, and looked for some authority for the word; and I find, madam, it is used by Dryden: in one of his prologues, he says—'And snatch a homely rasher from the coals.' So you must not mind me, madam; I say strange things, but I mean no harm.'

'I was almost afraid he thought I was really idiot enough to have taken him seriously; but, a few minutes after, he put his hand on my arm, and shaking his head, exclaimed,

'Oh, you are a sly little rogue!—what a Holbourn beau have you drawn!'

'Ay, Miss Burney,' said Mrs. Thrale, 'the Holbourn beau is Dr. Johnson's favourite; and we have all your characters by heart, from Mr. Smith up to Lady Louisa.'

'Oh, Mr. Smith, Mr. Smith is the man!' cried he, laughing violently. 'Harry Fielding never drew so good a character!—such a fine varnish of low politeness!—such a struggle to appear a gentleman!

Madam, there is no character better drawn anywhere—in any book or by any author.'—*Ib.* 53, 54.

'While we were yet reading this 'Rambler,' Dr. Johnson came in; we told him what we were about.

'Ah, madam!' cried he, 'Goldsmith was not scrupulous; but he would have been a great man had he known the real value of his own internal resources.'

'Miss Burney,' said Mrs. Thrale, 'is fond of his 'Vicar of Wakefield:' and so am I;—don't you like it, sir?'

'No, madam, it is very faulty; there is nothing of real life in it, and very little of nature. It is a mere fanciful performance.'

'He then seated himself upon a sofa, and calling to me, said, 'Come,—Evelina,—come and sit by me.'

'I obeyed; and he took me almost in his arms,—that is, one of his arms, for one would go three times, at least, round me,—and, half laughing, half serious, he charged me to 'be a good girl!'

'But, my dear,' continued he with a very droll look, 'what makes you so fond of the Scotch? I don't like you for that;—I hate these Scotch, and so must you. I wish Branghton had sent the dog to jail! That Scotch dog Macartney.'

'Why, sir,' said Mrs. Thrale, 'don't you remember he says he would, but that he should get nothing by it?'

'Why, ay, true,' cried the doctor, see-sawing very solemnly, 'that indeed, is some palliation for his forbearance. But I must not have you so fond of the Scotch, my little Burney; make your hero what you will but a Scotchman. Besides, you write Scotch—you say 'the one,'—my dear, that's not English. Never use that phrase again.'

'Perhaps,' said Mrs. Thrale, 'it may be used in Macartney's letter, and then it will be a propriety.'

'No, madam, no!' cried he; 'you can't make a beauty of it; it is in the third volume; put it in Macartney's letter, and welcome!—that, or anything that is nonsense.'

'Why, surely,' cried I, 'the poor man is used ill enough by the Branghtons.'

'But Branghton,' said he, 'only hates him because of his wretchedness,—poor fellow!—But, my dear love, how should he ever have eaten a good dinner before he came to England?'

'And then he laughed violently at young Branghton's idea.

'Well,' said Mrs. Thrale, 'I always liked Macartney; he is a very pretty character, and I took to him, as the folks say.'

'Why, madam,' answered he, 'I like Macartney myself. Yes, poor fellow, I liked the man, but I love not the nation.'

'And then he proceeded, in a dry manner, to make at once sarcastic reflections on the Scotch, and flattering speeches to me, for Macartney's firing at the national insults of young Branghton: his stubborn resolution in not owning, even to his bosom friend, his wretchedness of poverty; and his fighting at last for the honour of his nation, when he resisted all other provocations; he said, were all extremely well marked.—*Ib.* 59, 60.

'A little while after he asked Mrs. Thrale, who had read 'Evelina' in his absence?

'Who?' cried she;—'why Burke!—Burke sat up all night to finish it; and Sir Joshua Reynolds is mad about it, and said he would give fifty pounds to know the author. But our fun was with his nieces—we made them believe I wrote the book, and the girls gave me the credit of it at once.'

'I am sorry for it, madam,' cried he, quite angrily,—'you were much to blame; deceits of that kind ought never to be practised; they have a worse tendency than you are aware of.'

'Mrs. T.—'Why, don't frighten yourself, sir; Miss Burney will have all the credit she has a right to, for I told them whose it was before they went.'

'Dr. J.—'But you were very wrong for misleading them a moment; such jests are extremely blameable; they are foolish in the very act, and they are wrong, because they always leave a doubt upon the mind. What first passed will be always recollected by those girls, and they will never feel clearly convinced which wrote the book, Mrs. Thrale or Miss Burney.'

'Mrs. T.—'Well, well, I am ready to take my Bible oath it was not me; and if that wont do, Miss Burney must take hers too.'

'I was then looking over the 'Life of Cowley,' which he had himself given me to read, at the same time that he gave to Mrs. Thrale that of Waller. They are now printed, though they will not be published for some time. But he bade me put it away.

'Do,' cried he, 'put away that now, and prattle with us; I can't make this little Burney prattle, and I am sure she prattles well; but I shall teach her another lesson than to sit thus silent before I have done with her.'

'To talk,' cried I, 'is the only lesson I shall be backward to learn from you, sir.'

'You shall give me,' cried he, 'a discourse upon the passions: come, begin! Tell us the necessity of regulating them, watching over and curbing them! Did you ever read Norris's 'Theory of Love.''

'No, sir,' said I, laughing, yet staring a little.

'Dr. J.—'Well, it is worth your reading. He will make you see that inordinate love is the root of all evil: inordinate love of wealth brings on avarice; of wine, brings on intemperance; of power, brings on cruelty; and so on. He deduces from inordinate love all human frailty.'

'Mrs. T.—'To-morrow, sir, Mrs. Montagu dines here, and then you will have talk enough.'

'Dr. Johnson began to see-saw, with a countenance strongly expressive of inward fun, and after enjoying it some time in silence, he suddenly, and with great animation, turned to me and cried,

'Down with her, Burney!—down with her!—spare her not!—attack her, fight her, and down with her at once! You are a rising wit, and she is at the top; and when I was beginning the world, and was nothing and nobody, the joy of my life was to fire at all the

established wits! and then everybody loved to halloo me on. But there is no game now; everybody would be glad to see me conquered: but then, when I was new, to vanquish the great ones was all the delight of my poor little dear soul! So at her, Burney—at her, and down with her!’—Ib. 95, 96.

The following account of a political discussion between Dr. Johnson and Sir Philip Jennings Clerke, is too characteristic of the former to be omitted. It is addressed by Miss Burney to her sister Susan.

‘Men of such different principles as Dr. Johnson and Sir Philip, you may imagine, cannot have much sympathy or cordiality in their political debates; however, the very superior abilities of the former, and the remarkable good breeding of the latter, have kept both upon good terms; though they have had several arguments, in which each has exerted his utmost force for conquest.

‘The heads of one of their debates I must try to remember, because I should be sorry to forget. Sir Philip explained his bill; Dr. Johnson at first scoffed it; Mr. Thrale betted a guinea the motion would not pass, and Sir Philip, that he should divide a hundred and fifty upon it.

‘I am afraid, my dear Susan, you already tremble at this political commencement, but I will soon have done, for I know your taste too well to enlarge upon this theme.

‘Sir Philip, addressing himself to Mrs. Thrale, hoped she would not suffer the Tories to warp her judgment, and told me he hoped my father had not tainted my principles; and then he further explained his bill, and indeed made it appear so equitable, that Mrs. Thrale gave in to it, and wished her husband to vote for it. He still hung back; but, to our general surprise, Dr. Johnson having made more particular inquiries into its merits, first softened towards it, and then declared it a very rational and fair bill, and joined with Mrs. Thrale in soliciting Mr. Thrale’s vote.

‘Sir Philip was, and with very good reason, quite delighted. He opened upon politics more amply, and freely declared his opinions, which were so strongly against the government, and so much bordering upon the republican principles, that Dr. Johnson suddenly took fire; he called back his recantation, begged Mr. Thrale not to vote for Sir Philip’s bill, and grew very animated against his antagonist.

‘“The bill,” said he, “ought to be opposed by all honest men! in itself, and considered simply, it is equitable, and I would forward it; but when we find what a faction it is to support and encourage, it ought not to be listened to. All men should oppose it who do not wish well to sedition!”

‘These and several other expressions yet more strong, he made use of; and had Sir Philip had less unalterable politeness, I believe they would have had a vehement quarrel. He maintained his ground, however, with calmness and steadiness, though he had neither argument nor wit at all equal to such an opponent.

'Dr. Johnson pursued him with unabating vigour and dexterity, and at length, though he could not convince, he so entirely baffled him, that Sir Philip was self-compelled to be quiet—which, with a very good grace, he confessed.

'Dr. Johnson then, recollecting himself, and thinking, as he owned afterwards, that the dispute grew too serious, with a skill all his own, suddenly and unexpectedly turned it to burlesque; and taking Sir Philip by the hand at the moment we arose after supper, and were separating for the night,

'Sir Philip,' said he, 'you are too liberal a man for the party to which you belong; I shall have much pride in the honour of converting you; for I really believe, if you were not spoiled by bad company, the spirit of faction would not have possessed you. Go, then, sir, to the House, but make not your motion! Give up your bill, and surprise the world by turning to the side of truth and reason. Rise, sir, when they least expect you, and address your fellow-patriots to this purpose:—Gentlemen, I have, for many a weary day, been deceived and seduced by you. I have now opened my eyes; I see that you are all scoundrels—the subversion of all government is your aim. Gentlemen, I will no longer herd among rascals in whose infamy my name and character must be included. I therefore renounce you all, gentlemen, as you deserve to be renounced.'

'Then, shaking his head heartily, he added,

'Go, sir, go to bed; meditate upon this recantation, and rise in the morning a more honest man than you laid down.'—*Ib.* pp. 180—183.

The diary furnishes ample evidence of the jocular and light-heartedness in which Dr. Johnson could occasionally indulge, as well as of the liveliness and kind feeling by which Mrs. Thrale was distinguished. Amongst other references to the former, the following will perhaps astonish some of our readers, whose opinion of the lexicographer is grounded on a one-sided view of his character:—'Dr. Johnson has more fun, and comical humour, and love of nonsense about him, than almost anybody I ever saw; I mean, when with those he likes; for otherwise, he can be as severe and as bitter as report relates him.' Mrs. Thrale had to endure much from his overbearing temper, the roughness and violence of which increased with his advancing years. Others were not equally submissive. They resented Johnson's violence, and in many cases effected his exclusion from circles in which he was desirous of moving. The following, which occurred at Streatham, is an instance of this kind:—

'We had a terrible noisy day. Mr. and Mrs. Cator came to dinner, and brought with them Miss Collison, a niece. Mrs. Nesbitt was also here, and Mr. Pepys.

'The long war which has been proclaimed among the wits concerning Lord Lyttelton's 'Life,' by Dr. Johnson, and which a whole tribe of *blues*, with Mrs. Montagu at their head, have vowed to execrate and

revenge, now broke out with all the fury of the first actual hostilities, stimulated by long-concerted schemes and much spiteful information. Mr. Pepys, Dr. Johnson well knew, was one of Mrs. Montagu's steadiest abettors, and, therefore, as he had some time determined to defend himself with the first of them he met, this day he fell the sacrifice to his wrath.

'In a long *tête-à-tête* which I accidentally had with Mr. Pepys before the company was assembled, he told me his apprehensions of an attack, and entreated me earnestly to endeavour to prevent it; modestly avowing he was no antagonist for Dr. Johnson, and yet declaring his personal friendship for Lord Lyttelton made him so much hurt by the 'Life,' that he feared he could not discuss the matter without a quarrel, which, especially in the house of Mrs. Thrale, he wished to avoid.

'It was, however, utterly impossible for me to serve him. I could have stopped Mrs. Thrale with ease, and Mr. Seward with a hint, had either of them begun the subject; but, unfortunately, in the middle of dinner, it was begun by Dr. Johnson himself, to oppose whom, especially as he spoke with great anger, would have been madness and folly.

'Never before have I seen Dr. Johnson speak with so much passion.

'Mr. Pepys,' he cried, in a voice the most enraged, 'I understand you are offended by my 'Life of Lord Lyttelton.' What is it you have to say against it? Come forth, man! Here am I, ready to answer any charge you can bring!'

'No, sir,' cried Mr. Pepys, 'not at present; I must beg leave to decline the subject. I told Miss Burney before dinner that I hoped it would not be started.'

'I was quite frightened to hear my own name mentioned in a debate which began so seriously; but Dr. Johnson made not to this any answer: he repeated his attack and his challenge, and a violent disputation ensued, in which this great but *mortal* man did, to own the truth, appear unreasonably furious and grossly severe. I never saw him so before, and I heartily hope I never shall again. He has been long provoked, and justly enough, at the *sneaking* complaints and murmurs of the Lytteltonians; and, therefore, his long-excited wrath, which hitherto had met no object, now burst forth with a vehemence and bitterness almost incredible.

'Mr. Pepys meantime never appeared to so much advantage; he preserved his temper, uttered all that belonged merely to himself with modesty, and all that more immediately related to Lord Lyttelton with spirit. Indeed, Dr. Johnson, in the very midst of the dispute, had the candour and liberality to make him a personal compliment, by saying,—

'Sir, all that you say, while you are vindicating one who cannot thank you, makes me only think better of you than I ever did before. Yet still I think you do *me* wrong,' &c. &c.

'Some time after, in the heat of the argument, he called out—

'The more my 'Lord Lyttelton' is inquired after, the worse he will appear; Mr. Seward has just heard two stories of him, which corroborate all I have related.'

'He then desired Mr. Seward to repeat them. Poor Mr. Seward

looked almost as frightened as myself at the very mention of his name; but he quietly and immediately told the stories, which consisted of fresh instances, from good authorities, of Lord Lyttelton's illiberal behaviour to Shenstone; and then he flung himself back in his chair, and spoke no more during the whole debate, which I am sure he was ready to vote a bore.

'One happy circumstance, however, attended the quarrel, which was the presence of Mr. Cator, who would by no means be prevented talking himself, either by reverence for Dr. Johnson, or ignorance of the subject in question; on the contrary, he gave his opinion, quite uncalled, upon every thing that was said by either party, and that with an importance and pomposity, yet with an emptiness and verbosity, that rendered the whole dispute, when in his hands, nothing more than ridiculous, and compelled even the disputants themselves, all inflamed as they were, to laugh. To give a specimen—one speech will do for a thousand.

'As to this here question of Lord Lyttelton I can't speak to it to the purpose, as I have not read his 'Life,' for I have only read the 'Life of Pope;' I have got the books though, for I sent for them last week, and they came to me on Wednesday, and then I began them; but I have not yet read 'Lord Lyttelton.' 'Pope' I have begun, and that is what I am now reading. But what I have to say about Lord Lyttelton is this here: Mr. Seward says that Lord Lyttelton's steward dunned Mr. Shenstone for his rent, by which I understand he was a tenant of Lord Lyttelton's. Well, if he was a tenant of Lord Lyttelton's, why should not he pay his rent?'

'Who could contradict this?'

'When dinner was quite over, and we left the men to their wine, we hoped they would finish the affair; but Dr. Johnson was determined to talk it through, and make a battle of it, though Mr. Pepys tried to be off continually. When they were all summoned to tea, they entered still warm and violent. Mr. Cator had the book in his hand, and was reading the 'Life of Lyttelton,' that he might better, he said, understand the cause, though not a creature cared if he had never heard of it.

'Mr. Pepys came up to me, and said,—

'Just what I had so much wished to avoid! I have been crushed in the very onset.'

'I could make him no answer, for Dr. Johnson immediately called him off, and harangued and attacked him with a vehemence and continuity that quite concerned both Mrs. Thrale and myself, and that made Mr. Pepys, at last, resolutely silent, however called upon.

'This now grew more unpleasant than ever; till Mr. Cator, having some time studied his book, exclaimed,—

'What I am now going to say, as I have not yet read the 'Life of Lord Lyttelton' quite through, must be considered as being only said aside, because what I am going to say——'

'I wish, sir,' cried Mrs. Thrale, 'it had been *all* said aside; here is too much about it, indeed, and I should be very glad to hear no more of it.'

' This speech, which she made with great spirit and dignity, had an admirable effect. Everybody was silenced. Mr. Cator, thus interrupted in the midst of his proposition, looked quite amazed; Mr. Pepys was much gratified by the interference; and Dr. Johnson, after a pause, said,—

' Well, madam, you *shall* hear no more of it; yet I will defend myself in every part and in every atom !'

' And from this time the subject was wholly dropped. This dear violent Doctor was conscious he had been wrong, and therefore he most candidly bore the reproof.'—Vol. ii. pp. 45—49.

The great moralist was now, it must be remembered, in his 73rd year, when the mildness and tempered dignity of age ought to have somewhat moderated the asperities of the younger man. But Johnson had, unhappily for himself, been allowed to domineer so long that the evil habit of his mind had become inveterate, and broke out consequently on many occasions into overt acts discreditable to himself and painful to others. Miss Burney alludes in many parts of her Diary to the unhappy consequences of this violence, but our space forbids extract.

Amongst the visitors at Streatham were Mr. Crutchley and Mr. Seward, two gentlemen of fortune, at once proud and misanthropic, yet generous withal. A laughable instance is given of the ingenuity with which they could at least affect to be vastly different from other folks :—

' There passed, some time ago, an agreement between Mr. Crutchley and Mr. Seward, that the latter is to make a visit to the former, at his country-house in Berkshire; and to-day the time was settled; but a more ridiculous scene never was exhibited. The host elect and the guest elect tried which should shew least expectation of pleasure from the meeting, and neither of them thought it at all worth while to disguise his terror of being weary of the other. Mr. Seward seemed quite melancholy and depressed in the prospect of making, and Mr. Crutchley absolutely miserable in that of receiving, the visit. Yet nothing so ludicrous as the distress of both, since nothing less necessary than that either should have such a punishment inflicted. I cannot remember half the absurd things that passed; but a few, by way of specimen, I will give.

' "How long do you intend to stay with me, Seward?" cried Mr. Crutchley; "how long do you think you can bear it?"

' "O, I don't know; I sha'n't fix," answered the other: "just as I find it."

' "Well, but,—when shall you come? Friday or Saturday? I think you'd better not come till Saturday."

' "Why, yes, I believe on Friday."

' "On Friday! Oh! you'll have too much of it! What shall I do with you?"

' "Why on Sunday we'll dine at the Lyells. Mrs. Lyell is a charming woman; one of the most elegant creatures I ever saw."

‘Wonderfully so,’ cried Mr. Crutchley, ‘I like her extremely—an insipid idiot! She never opens her mouth but in a whisper; I never *heard* her speak a word in my life. But what must I do with you on Monday? will you come away?’

‘Oh, no; I’ll stay and see it out.’

‘Why, how long shall you stay? Why, I must come away myself on Tuesday.’

‘O, I sha’n’t settle yet,’ cried Mr. Seward, very drily. ‘I shall put up six shirts, and then do as I find it.’

‘Six shirts!’ exclaimed Mr. Crutchley; and then, with equal dryness added—‘Oh, I suppose you wear two a-day.’—*Ib.*, pp. 53, 54.

We pass over the circumstances connected with the publication, in 1782, of Miss Burney’s second work, entitled ‘*Cecilia*;

’ but must not omit a letter from Edmund Burke, under date of the 29th of July. This great statesman is reported to have sat up all night, in order to complete the perusal of her former work. Such a letter as the following, from a man like Edmund Burke, was enough to turn the brain of a much older person than the lady to whom it was addressed:—

‘Madam,—I should feel exceedingly to blame if I could refuse to myself the natural satisfaction, and to you the just but poor return, of my best thanks for the very great instruction and entertainment I have received from the new present you have bestowed on the public. There are few—I believe I may say fairly there are none at all—that will not find themselves better informed concerning human nature, and their stock of observation enriched, by reading your ‘*Cecilia*.’ They certainly will, let their experience in life and manners be what it may. The arrogance of age must submit to be taught by youth. You have crowded into a few small volumes an incredible variety of characters; most of them well planned, well supported, and well contrasted with each other. If there be any fault in this respect, it is one in which you are in no great danger of being imitated. Justly as your characters are drawn, perhaps they are too numerous. But I beg pardon; I fear it is quite in vain to preach economy to those who are come young to excessive and sudden opulence.

‘I might trespass on your delicacy if I should fill my letter to you with what I fill my conversation to others. I should be troublesome to you alone if I should tell you all I feel and think on the natural vein of humour, the tender pathetic, the comprehensive and noble moral, and the sagacious observation, that appear quite throughout that extraordinary performance.

‘In an age distinguished by producing extraordinary women, I hardly dare to tell you where my opinion would place you amongst them. I respect your modesty, that will not endure the commendations which your merit forces from everybody.

‘I have the honour to be, with great gratitude, respect, and esteem, madam, your most obedient and most humble servant, EDM. BURKE.’—*Ib.*, pp. 148, 149.

The mutable character of human friendship was strikingly shewn in the alienations consequent upon Mrs. Thrale's second marriage. It was strongly objected to by all her friends; yet nothing could justify the terms in which some of them ventured to speak of it. Johnson, at least, should have been silent when he could not commend. He had received so much kindness, had been entertained with such enduring and courteous hospitality, that, of all men living, he should have been the last to speak of Mrs. Thrale in other terms than those of affectionate and grateful remembrance. He might have grieved over what he deemed her imprudence, and have privately expostulated with her respecting it; but his heart must have been harsh and cruel to have permitted him, in reply to Miss Burney's inquiry whether he ever heard from Mrs. Thrale, to answer, 'No, nor write to her; I drive her quite from my mind. If I meet with one of her letters, I burn it instantly. I have burnt all I can find. I never speak of her, and I desire never to hear of her more. I drive her, as I have said, wholly from my mind.'

This marriage terminated Miss Burney's intercourse with Mrs. Thrale, to whose kindness she had been largely indebted; and it is due to the former to remark, that her references to the latter are uniformly kind and respectful. 'Thus stopped,' she remarks, 'a correspondence of almost unequalled partiality and fondness on her (Mrs. Thrale's) side, and affection, gratitude, admiration, and sincerity on that of F. B., who could only conjecture the cessation to be caused by the resentment of Piozzi, when informed of her constant opposition to the union.'

The publication of 'Cecilia' led to the introduction of its author to the Queen of George the Third, and ultimately to her appointment as a member of the royal household. Her first interview with the King and Queen occurred at the residence of Mrs. Delany, widow of Dr. Patrick Delany, Dean of Down, and is detailed with a minuteness for which few readers will require an apology. The royal pair appear to have been in the habit of free and unreserved intercourse with Mrs. Delany, who was residing at this time in a house which they had provided for her at Windsor. Both the King and Queen had expressed a desire to see Miss Burney, and the circumstances under which the interview ultimately took place were not adapted to diminish her agitation. They are thus described:—

'After dinner, while Mrs. Delany was left alone, as usual, to take a little rest,—for sleep it but seldom proves,—Mr. B. Dewes, his little daughter, Miss Port, and myself, went into the drawing-room. And here, while, to pass the time, I was amusing the little girl with teaching her some Christmas games, in which her father and cousin joined,

Mrs. Delany came in. We were all in the middle of the room, and in some confusion;—but she had just but come up to us to inquire what was going forwards, and I was disentangling myself from Miss Dewes, to be ready to fly off if any one knocked at the street-door, when the door of the drawing-room was again opened, and a large man in deep mourning appeared at it, entering and shutting it himself without speaking.

'A ghost could not more have scared me, when I discovered, by its glitter on the black, a star! The general disorder had prevented his being seen, except by myself, who was always on the watch, till Miss P——, turning round, exclaimed, 'The King!—Aunt, the King!'

'O mercy! thought I, that I were but out of the room! which way shall I escape? and how pass him unnoticed? There is but the single door at which he entered, in the room! Every one scampered out of the way: Miss P——, to stand next the door; Mr. Bernard Dewes to a corner opposite it; his little girl clung to me; and Mrs. Delany advanced to meet his Majesty, who, after quietly looking on till she saw him, approached, and inquired how she did.

'He then spoke to Mr. Bernard, whom he had already met two or three times here.

'I had now retreated to the wall, and purposed gliding softly, though speedily, out of the room; but before I had taken a single step, the King, in a loud whisper to Mrs. Delany, said, 'Is that Miss Burney?'—and on her answering, 'Yes, sir,' he bowed, and with a countenance of the most perfect good humour, came close up to me.

'A most profound reverence on my part arrested the progress of my intended retreat.

'How long have you been come back, Miss Burney?'

'Two days, sir.'

'Unluckily he did not hear me, and repeated his question; and whether the second time he heard me or not, I don't know, but he made a little civil inclination of his head, and went back to Mrs. Delany.

* * * * *

'A good deal of talk then followed about his own health, and the extreme temperance by which he preserved it. The fault of his constitution, he said, was a tendency to excessive fat, which he kept, however, in order, by the most vigorous exercise, and the strictest attention to a simple diet.

'When Mrs. Delany was beginning to praise his forbearance, he stopped her.

'No, no,' he cried, 'tis no virtue; I only prefer eating plain and little, to growing diseased and infirm.'

* * * * *

'When the discourse upon health and strength was over, the King went up to the table, and looked at a book of prints, from Claude Lorraine, which had been brought down for Miss Dewes; but Mrs. Delany, by mistake, told him they were for me. He turned over a leaf or two, and then said—

‘Pray, does Miss Burney draw, too?’

‘The *too* was pronounced very civilly.

‘I believe not, sir,’ answered Mrs. Delany; ‘at least, she does not tell?’

‘Oh!’ cried he, laughing, ‘that’s nothing! she is not apt to tell; she never does tell, you know!—Her father told me that himself. He told me the whole history of her Evelina. And I shall never forget his face when he spoke of his feelings at first taking up the book!—he looked quite frightened, just as if he was doing it that moment! I never can forget his face while I live!’

‘Then coming up close to me, he said—

‘But what?—what?—how was it?’

‘Sir’—cried I, not well understanding him.

‘How came you—how happened it—what?—what?’

‘I—I only wrote, sir, for my own amusement,—only in some odd, idle hours.’

‘But your publishing—your printing,—how was that?’

‘That was only, sir,—only because—’

I hesitated most abominably, not knowing how to tell him a long story, and growing terribly confused at these questions;—besides,—to say the truth, his own ‘what? what?’ so reminded me of those vile Probationary Odes, that, in the midst of all my flutter, I was really hardly able to keep my countenance.

‘The *What!* was then repeated, with so earnest a look, that, forced to say something, I stammeringly answered—

‘I thought—sir—it would look very well in print!’

‘I do really flatter myself this is the silliest speech I ever made! I am quite provoked with myself for it; but a fear of laughing made me eager to utter anything, and by no means conscious, till I had spoken, of what I was saying.

‘He laughed very heartily himself,—well he might—and walked away to enjoy it, crying out,

‘Very fair indeed! that’s being very fair and honest!’

* * * * *

‘While this was talking over, a violent thunder was made at the door. I was almost certain it was the Queen. Once more I would have given anything to escape; but in vain. I had been informed that nobody ever quitted the royal presence, after having been conversed with, till motioned to withdraw.

‘Miss P——, according to established etiquette on these occasions, opened the door which she stood next, by putting her hand behind her, and slid out, backwards, into the hall, to light the Queen in. The door soon opened again, and her Majesty entered.

‘Immediately seeing the King, she made him a low curtsy, and cried,—

‘Oh, your Majesty is here!’

‘Yes,’ he cried, ‘I ran here, without speaking to anybody.’

‘The Queen had been at the lower Lodge, to see the Princess Elizabeth, as the King had before told us.

'She then hastened up to Mrs. Delany, with both her hands held out, saying,

'My dear Mrs. Delany, how are you?'

'Instantly after, I felt her eye on my face. I believe, too, she curtsied to me; but though I saw the bend, I was too near-sighted to be sure it was intended for me. I was hardly ever in a situation more embarrassing; I dared not return what I was not certain I had received, yet considered myself as appearing quite a monster, to stand stiff-necked, if really meant.

'Almost at the same moment, she spoke to Mr. Bernard Dewes, and then nodded to my little clinging girl.

'I was now really ready to sink, with horrid uncertainty of what I was doing, or what I should do,—when his Majesty, who I fancy saw my distress, most good-humouredly said to the Queen something, but I was too much flurried to remember what, except these words,—'I have been telling Miss Burney—'

'Relieved from so painful a dilemma, I immediately dropped a curtsy. She made one to me in the same moment, and, with a very smiling countenance, came up to me; but she could not speak, for the King went on talking, eagerly, and very gaily, repeating to her every word I had said during our conversation upon *Evelina*, its publication, &c. &c.

'Then he told her of Baretto's wager, saying,—'But she heard of a great many conjectures about the author, before it was known, and of Baretto, an admirable thing!—he laid a bet it must be a man, as no woman, he said, could have kept her own counsel!'

'The Queen, laughing a little, exclaimed—

'Oh, that is quite too bad an affront to us!—Don't you think so?' addressing herself to me, with great gentleness of voice and manner.—*Ib.* pp. 371—380.

We can spare room only for one more extract, and that a very short one. The intellect of George the Third was not of the brightest order, and the following critique on Shakespeare will go to confirm the general impression respecting it:—

'From players he went to plays, and complained of the great want of good modern comedies, and of the extreme immorality of most of the old ones.

'And they pretend,' cried he, 'to mend them; but it is not possible. Do you think it is?—what?'

'No, sir, not often, I believe;—the fault, commonly, lies in the very foundation.'

'Yes, or they might mend the mere speeches;—but the characters are all bad from the beginning to the end.'

'Then he specified several; but I had read none of them, and consequently could say nothing about the matter;—till, at last, he came to Shakespeare.

'Was there ever,' cried he, 'such stuff as great part of Shakespeare? only one must not say so! But what think you?—What?—Is there not sad stuff? What?—what?'

‘Yes, indeed, I think so, sir, though mixed with such excellences, that—’

‘O!’ cried he, laughing good-humouredly, ‘I know it is not to be said! but it’s true. Only it’s Shakespeare, and nobody dare abuse him.’

‘Then he enumerated many of the characters and parts of plays that he objected to; and when he had run them over, finished with again laughing, and exclaiming,

‘But one should be stoned for saying so!’

The copious extracts we have given from these volumes will enable our readers to judge for themselves of the character and value of their contents. Much, as already stated, might have been omitted, without detriment to the work; yet what is sterling is sufficient to compensate for a good deal of mere trifling. The egotism and vanity of the diarist are amusingly conspicuous; nor are the volumes wholly wanting in evidence of other qualities still more reprehensible. The references to Hannah More and Sir John Hawkins are tinged, we suspect, with somewhat of professional jealousy. We shall wait the appearance of the subsequent volumes before pronouncing our final judgment.

Art. VII. *The Scriptural Position of the Christian Ministry, relatively with the Civil Ruler; and the connexion between a National Establishment of the Christian Church and the permanence of that Scriptural Position.* A Sermon, addressed to the Liverpool Young Men’s Established Church Society, in St. Jude’s Church, on Thursday, the 15th of April, 1841. By the Rev. Hugh M’Niele, MA., Incumbent.

THIS lecture is extracted, as to more than its substance, from the course of lectures, delivered in London, by the Rev. Hugh M’Niele, on the church question, in 1840. After mentioning the importance of his argument, he says—

‘On this account I have repeated this argument, and I will tell you another, but a minor reason. Two or three publications have emanated from distinguished dissenters, containing strictures on the lectures which I delivered in London last year; and I do not find that any of them has touched this point. Yet it forms a very prominent feature in the lectures. Arguments of very inferior interest and power are largely commented upon, while this one is left in all its unassailed importance. Modesty might, perhaps, dictate to me the supposition, that they did not think it of sufficient importance to be noticed; but as they have felt the book, of which this argument forms a main feature, to be of

sufficient importance to demand multiplied answers,* I must be excused if I demur at such a solution of their silence upon this particular point. It has occurred to me, that they not only felt its importance, but also its stubbornness in resisting a reply. It is natural, therefore, and useful, that I should re-urge it upon their attention; since, if it cannot be answered, we are fairly entitled to the full benefit of the concession.' p. 22.

We are not surprised that Mr. M'Niele should attribute the apparent avoidance of his great argument to its supposed strength. We are aware of no right that he had to imagine a better cause. It is natural for us to attach peculiar importance to arguments which it is our honour to have created, or to have imparted a new form and force to. The history of polemics supplies innumerable illustrations of this. It has often happened that men, who have thought they had discovered some novel mode of evincing the divinity of the Bible, have made no account at all of the old arguments drawn from the internal and external evidences. The new proof has appeared so strong as not only to enable them to do without the old ones, but even to make those old ones appear weak by contrast. So it has happened to Mr. M'Niele, we presume. Not being able to discern the 'stubbornness in resisting a reply' of his argument, we cannot but attribute its might and magnitude in his esteem to the paternal respect which he may be reasonably believed to entertain towards it. His argument, though not entirely new, has the effect of novelty. He has used it in somewhat a new way, and given to it new connexions. He certainly regards it as demonstrative. We should not be at all surprised to find him soon exposing the weakness of all other defences of church establishments, for, to say nothing now of the incompatibility between it and the most common of them, it is likely to assume to him a supreme, if not exclusive worth.

What do our readers imagine this great argument to be? Do they think it is founded on the divine prediction, or permission of church establishments? They are mistaken. Do they think it is taken from the purity and worth of the Christian ministers? They are mistaken. Do they imagine it is founded on the feebleness of the voluntary principle, and the necessity of some compulsory power to supply its defects of operation? They are mistaken. Do they suppose it is based on the temporal and national benefits accruing from the labours and offices of the clergy? They are mistaken. The great argument is derived

* In a note here, Mr. M'Niele refers to Dr. Wardlaw's letters to himself. It is pleasing, amid the fretfulness of controversy, to find him acknowledging the excellences of his friendly adversary, in characterizing the letters as written with 'good taste, and good feeling, and good ability.'

from a principle something like that on which the heathen worship the devil, to prevent him doing them any harm. But we must state it in Mr. M'Niele's own words.

'So long as man is what he is—a creature, under the alternate influence of sinful inclination and reproofing conscience ; the one stimulated by the objects of this present world, the other by the apprehension at least, if not the secret conviction of eternity,—an organized body performing the spiritual functions which undeniably belong to the Christian ministry must obtain practical power over him, for either good or evil. Appealing to the strongest affections of the human heart—hope, fear, love, conscience, gratitude, generosity ; representing the sacraments of the church as *generally*, perhaps tempted to say absolutely, necessary to salvation, and themselves as the only persons by whom those sacraments can be savingly administered, it is beyond all question, that unless subjected to some regulating restriction from without, they will, they must, in process of time, and from the bulk of mankind, obtain extravagant power and an enormous wealth. The temptations of their position will become such, as no large class of men, as such, can be reasonably expected to withstand.'—pp. 10, 11.

'Some such enactment' ('a *state enactment for the restraint* of the church,') 'is a matter of indispensable self-defence on the part of the civil ruler, to ward off the prostrating power of the clergy. He cannot, if he would, expatriate the church ; and therefore, his only refuge from the thralldom of ecclesiastical tyranny lies in some such mutually regulating alliance with the ministry of the church, as will secure to them certain, safe, and manageable privileges, in lieu of an indefinite power of aggression, which they consent to sacrifice.

'We claim such an alliance, then, on behalf of the civil government, for the security of its liberties, and on behalf of the Christian ministry, not for their temporal aggrandizement, (as many ignorantly suppose,) but for their salutary restraint and comparative purity, in order that the temporal supremacy, which would otherwise be inevitably at their option, may not be allowed to tempt them into tyranny.'—p. 15.

'Legal restraints are indispensable, not for the purpose of propagating Christianity, as has been ignorantly asserted, and supereciliously and vauntingly condemned—(this is a favourite 'man of straw' with the eloquent advocates of voluntarism,)—but for the purpose of guarding civil liberty against the systematic encroachments of the papal power. That great ecclesiastical usurpation is not content to be subject to the civil ruler. The language of St. Peter is, that **THE KING IS SUPREME**. On the contrary, the language of his boasted successor, authoritatively and still unrescinded, is, 'the priest is supreme, and the king should be in subjection.' 'Imperatores debent pontificibus subesse, non præesse.'—p. 19.

These extracts will give our readers a pretty accurate notion of what constitutes the staple of Mr. M'Niele's argument, the force of which he suspects to have quite perplexed and terrified

the 'eloquent advocates of voluntaryism.' It is clear from them, that the whole matter has been mistaken. Churchmen and dissenters, with a unanimity which they seldom display, have agreed to misunderstand the matter. The most profound ignorance has existed upon facts and theories in relation to it. The one party has defended, and the other party has attacked, a nonentity. They have both set up a 'man of straw,' for the purposes of assault and protection. It has been imagined that the subject was exhausted; but instead of that it is yet to be opened. The different parties in the controversy are to change their ground. They are to fight with each other's weapons. The churchman must learn to use the dissenter's arguments, and the dissenter the churchman's. The contest has been like a play, the plot of which is founded on the mistaking one person for another; only in this case the parties themselves have fallen into the same error as the spectators. It has been supposed on both sides, that the union of church and state was for the temporal aggrandizement of the clergy; but this was an 'ignorant' supposition, the real reason being to keep them within moderate limits, and prevent their aggrandizement going on too fast and far. It has been asserted, that the church was established to increase the power of the clergy; but this was done 'ignorantly,' too; for the actual design is to check and restrain that power. Nothing can be more absurd than to speak of the weakness of the voluntary principle, its great evil is excess of strength; nothing can be less founded on fact than the belief of the state being sanctified by the church's alliance, the end of that alliance being the 'comparative purity' of the church. To represent the Christian ministry as getting anything by the civil establishment of Christianity, is vain talking; they make an immense and astonishing sacrifice. If let alone, the people would do now as they did at the building of the tabernacle; they would give too much, and edicts must be issued, as they were then, not to goad, but to repress, their liberality. The church is established by the state to keep it in a condition of comparative poverty and wholesome check. The spiritual officers of Christianity would ruin the civil government if they were let alone. The alliance between the state and the church is designed to benefit the latter, through the restriction of its means, to prevent its amassing too much wealth and power. The church is the shrew that is to be tamed by the state, which is the resolute husband. The state imparts no sword to the church; all it does is to give her a straight waistcoat.

It is evident, further, that not only has the *design* of a church establishment been misunderstood, but also the *proper parties* to enjoy the position and privileges of one have been misunderstood

also. The argument upon which Mr. M'Niele lays such stress has a new direction as well as a new foundation. After speaking of the contest within unregenerate men, between conscience and depravity, the approbation of right and love of sin, the earnest desire for religion, and the distaste for the purity of the Christian religion, he observes—

‘ A system to be popular must be pliant. It must yield conveniently when sin reigns and conscience sleeps ; and it must be supplied with some apparently authoritative remedy and refuge, when sin faints and conscience awakes and stings. It must oscillate in parallels with human nature, from a carnival to a Lent, from a revel to a penance, from rapacity to restitution, from dissoluteness to what it calls devotion. This will be popular with the multitude ; and some modifications of this will be ready with the clergy. It can descend to grossness with the gross ; and, without altering its principle, it can rise into refinement with the refined. Yes, my present argument is based, not on the externals of society, which vary with the varying circumstances of clime, and character, and knowledge, but on the unchanged and unchanging principles of our common nature. The wielders of the conscience will be also wielders of the purse, unless restrained by some salutary checks ; and in such hands there is no question that money is power. — p. 16.

From this, and from the whole tenour and language of Mr. M'Niele's remarks, it appears, then, that the principle upon which it has customarily been argued, that the selection of a church to be established should be made is altogether erroneous. It has been stoutly (but doubtless ‘ ignorantly ’) asserted, that a true and pure church only should be so signally favoured, that the right to be so treated belongs to Christianity, and Christianity protestant and apostolical. When dissenters have urged that if the civil ruler have the choice of the religion to be established, he has a right to choose which he likes, (a wretched argument, in our view, and about as good as if we should say, that because a man must believe his own opinions, therefore he has a right to believe any opinions which are his own,) the prompt reply has always been, ‘ Oh, no ! he must no more establish error and vice than believe and practise them in his own private person. The church of Christ is the only church, and the religion of Christ the only system, that ought to be allied to the state.’ This is found out to be a mistake now. The case is exactly opposite to this. As the establishment of the Christian church is designed, not to get for it money and might, but to prevent them being gotten ; and as the power to get them is possessed more extensively by the professors of an erroneous and corrupt faith, than by those of the true and holy gospel, it naturally and necessarily follows, that the reasoning hitherto

approved in favour of the union of church and state is destitute of force. If a system derived any increase of power and property from the civil alliance, then protestant Christianity should be established, but as the civil alliance is meant to keep in check the tendency and ability to obtain property and power, papal Christianity should be the religion of the land. It is those, not who appeal to the grateful and intelligent sentiments of real godliness, who seek to direct the energies and anxieties of the living or dying sinner in 'the way of truth,' but those who address and employ the sordid and superstitious feelings of carnal yet fearful transgressors, that should have the fellowship and patronage of the civil government. It is not pure but impure religion which gives a priesthood the dangerous influence over souls and purses that the union of church and state is designed to restrain, says Mr. M'Niele, therefore of course Mr. M'Niele's followers, that we say not he himself, are quite in the wrong when they so vehemently protest against the very thought of aught but their own loved protestantism being allied with the state. They cannot consistently praise that protestantism, and advocate that alliance. As, according to Mr. M'Niele, the tremendous power of the clergy arises from their habit of insisting upon the importance, perhaps necessity, of the sacraments of the church, and upon 'themselves as the only persons by whom those sacraments can be savingly administered,' 'it is beyond all question' that the church of Rome should be established without the least delay. There is no other way of preserving the rights and liberties of British protestants. The catholics 'know not what they do.' They little think the measures they cogitate would ruin them. The duty of every protestant is to seek the immediate formation of a 'Protestant Association,' having for its object the establishment of popery, not in order to place catholics *in* power, but *out of* power; not to make them *rich*, but *poor*. And as to the Puseyites, they should by no means be expelled the English church and compelled to be dissenters; they never were so fit as now for the blessings of their civil position, and they are becoming fitter every day. The holy and evangelical clergy are the real parties that should secede, (so we have long thought, but for a somewhat different reason,) and we are not without hope that they will soon resign a position which their peculiar excellences render so unnecessary for them, to others who stand in such urgent need of all its advantages. It is consolatory to find that Mr. M'Niele does not consider the dissenters as at all in need of the salutary control and restrictions of an establishment. While others are to be placed under a strict and severe superintendence, they may go at large. The liberties of her Majesty's liege subjects, which would be endangered if the

clergy of other sects were allowed to do so, are placed in no peril by their unfettered freedom. 'If it be objected, why then do not dissenting ministers, who are under no trammels of state connexion, amass wealth and consolidate power?—the answer is twofold:—first, upon their own principles they cannot, with any plausible hope of success, represent any ordinance or ordinances which are in their power exclusively to minister, as necessary to salvation; and, therefore, except in a few cases of personal attachment, their influence cannot reach the prostrating power over the conscience.' This is a generous admission from an adversary. It is the highest praise of all to ascribe to any person an incapability of doing wrong; and the dissenting system not only presents no temptations to the evil which Mr. M'Niele denounces, but renders that evil impossible. The rule by which meetness to become an established system should be judged, is the extent of sacramental pretension; and as this exists in perfection in the Romish church, its meetness for a civil alliance is indisputable. It is painful that Mr. M'Niele should weaken his argument, by giving, as a second reason why dissenters do not become rich and powerful, the following:—'The national church stands in their way; for any or all of their people, upon the slightest misunderstanding, or painful experience of their attempted discipline, may leave the chapel, and have the aching necessities of their nature ministered to elsewhere.' This is certainly a singular argument, and one which, if we can comprehend it, of which we are not quite sure, may be used just as well by dissenters as by churchmen.

But to be serious. We have hitherto treated the argument before us as an amusing thing, and so it is. It is altogether so singular and ludicrous, that we can scarcely bring ourselves to regard it in any other than a playful light. When first we read it, it was with difficulty we could believe our own eyes; and if we did not know that Mr. M'Niele is a man of unquestionable honour and vigorous intellect, we should be inclined to suspect that either he was thoroughly incompetent to meddle with the controversy at all, or else that he was secretly seeking to aid the cause he ostensibly assails. We believe neither of these things; but the perusal of his lecture, without any knowledge of himself, would undoubtedly have led to one or other of these conclusions. We can assure Mr. M'Niele that he does not know dissenters, that he entirely mistakes their theological tendencies and intellectual powers, if he supposes that they are to be convinced or perplexed by such methods of ratiocination. We earnestly advise him to be content with the common and familiar defences of his principles, if he cannot discover any better than this. He will else injure, not only the establishment, but Christianity.

We have been frequently led to pause and think what impression must such a production as this make upon the mind of an intelligent sceptic, a man with no sacerdotal sympathies, and tempted to regard Christianity as the fruit and instrument of priestly craft and covetousness. It is far more likely to confirm infidels than convert dissenters.

It is surprising that Mr. M'Niele did not see, and that no kind friend has pointed out to him, that he misses the mark which he professes to aim at. He talks of the necessity of a national establishment of the Christian church to secure the permanence of the scriptural position of the Christian ministry; but we have endeavoured in vain to discover how a national establishment is necessary to this permanence. He has confined himself to general assertions, and has left us in the dark as to details. He refers, again and again, to the statutes of mortmain,* in illustration of the necessity and efficiency of the interference of the State to keep the church in order. This is the only reference he deigns to make. To it he evidently attaches immense importance. When warmed with his subject, and fast reaching a climax of eloquent declamation, he exclaims—'Only, then, let the checks be removed; let the regulating connexion between the clergy and the government be dissolved; let all the statutes upon the subject, the statute of mortmain included, be repealed; *all* the statutes!—for it would be a strange, one-handed voluntarism, which would repeal the privileges, and leave the restraints unrepealed—let there be, in short, a complete dissolution of all legislative connexion between the clergy and the government, and guard yourselves, if you can, against the prostrating power of a pliant, popular theology, in the hands of a priesthood who will soon be tempted, by their multiplying opportunities, to make merchandise of your souls, and slaves of your bodies.' (p. 16.) We really cannot feel the force of all this, in relation to the particular question before us. We did not need the clear and strong language of our author to make us understand or hate the spirit and horrors of sacerdotal tyranny. We have had too much experience of it in its milder forms, but still hard to bear, not to prefer the cruel rule of any despots, rather than the unchecked power of priests. The very word has long awakened within our

* 'These statutes are generally called the statutes of *mortmain*, all purchases made by corporate bodies being said to be purchases in *mortmain*, in *mortua manu*; for the reason of which appellation Sir Edward Coke offers many conjectures: but there is one which seems more probable than any that he has given us—viz., that these purchases being usually made by ecclesiastical bodies, the members of which (being professed) were reckoned dead persons in law, land, therefore, holden by them, might, with great propriety, be said to be held in *mortua manu*.'—Blackstone, i. 479.

heart feelings of disgust and abhorrence, and we are quite convinced that the true priestly spirit, however nurtured and circumstanced, associated with orthodoxy or heresy, is opposed alike to humanity and to God. But we want to know what Mr. M'Niele's declamation has to do with the matter. In the statutes of mortmain we see no church establishment, and we have never met with a definition of one which includes the function which they discharge. The case of dissent does not require what Mr. M'Niele seems to suppose. It does not require that there should be an exception of ecclesiastics in laws made for the good of the community. The dissenter need not advocate the superiority of the clergy to the civil power. We should be sorry to see the ministry of any church exempted from the operation of those legal enactments which contemplate the national welfare at large. Mr. M'Niele must be aware that corporations, temporary as well as ecclesiastical, and corporations in which there are papists and dissenters, as well as churchmen, are affected by the statutes of mortmain. Their operation is no exclusive benefit of a national establishment.

Mr. M'Niele appears to us to be in a great and grievous dilemma. He speaks of popery, the power of popish priests, their lust of dominion and wealth, the danger to the civil interests of the country from the spread of popery, and at the same time he argues the necessity of an establishment, from its tendency to prevent the clergy amassing too much wealth, and consolidating too much power, and refers to the statutes of mortmain as an instance of the advantages of an establishment. Does he think that the ambition and covetousness of popish priests should be left without legal restraints? If so, how can he consistently use the language and express the fears with which his lecture is full? Does he think that popish priests should be taken into a friendly connexion with the civil power? Then what becomes of all his zeal for the exclusive interests of the protestant establishment? Or does he think that popish priests should be checked by laws from availing themselves of the superstitious liberality of their people, without enjoying any of the blessings of a state alliance? If so, *his* is the 'strange one-handed voluntarism, which would' withhold 'the privileges' while it imposed 'the restraints' of an establishment.

The fact is, that the statutes of mortmain do not involve the principle of an establishment at all. They may be right or wrong, without any injury to the cause of dissent. They may, and must, rest upon grounds independent of the whole controversy. The accumulating power and practices of the clergy may be dealt with in the way of legal restrictions, just as the accumulating power and practices of any other body of men may be. As

dissenters, we have nothing to do with the matter. We are not so absurd as to endeavour to shield aggrandizing priests. Let them be subject, in all the respects in which other men are subject, and on the same grounds, to the hard rule of the law. This we would maintain under all circumstances. What we would oppose is, their being favoured or frowned upon, patronised or punished, by the civil power, *because they are religious functionaries*. We have no controversy with Mr. M'Niele about the statutes of mortmain; but our controversy with him is about the relevancy of any references to those statutes to the argument in hand. Whatever they are, they are restrictions, not contributions; and as to what Mr. M'Niele says about the clergy consenting to 'sacrifice an indefinite power of aggression,' in consideration of 'certain, safe, and manageable privileges,' secured to them by a union with the government, everybody knows that such a compact is altogether imaginary; that the clergy never 'consent to sacrifice' anything; and that so far from acquiescing in the restrictive statutes of mortmain, Blackstone himself remarks—'In deducing the history of which statutes, it will be matter of curiosity to observe the great address and subtle contrivance of the ecclesiastics, in eluding, from time to time, the laws in being, and the zeal with which successive parliaments have pursued them through all their finesses:—how new remedies were still the parents of new evasions, till the legislature at last, though with difficulty, hath obtained a decisive victory.' Very like consenting to sacrifice!*

But our most important quarrel with the author of the Lecture before us is on account of the sentiments it contains as to the Christian ministry. Our readers have had a specimen of his language in reference to their *sacramental power*, which power it is that makes it so desirable and necessary, in his view, that they should be restrained by the friendly embraces, as of a bear, of the civil government. 'Representing the sacraments of the church as *generally*, perhaps tempted to say *absolutely*, necessary to salvation, and themselves as the only persons by whom those sacraments can be savingly administered,' he thinks they must be restrained from without, to prevent them obtaining 'extravagant power and an enormous wealth.' But the following passage speaks out without any mystery:—

'I appeal to your own experience, my brethren. Under sharp and protracted sufferings of bodily pain, when the trembling flesh grasps

* We know few passages of history which furnish a more melancholy illustration of the true sacerdotal spirit and policy where property is concerned, than the doings and devices of the clergy in connexion with this matter.—See 'Alienation in Mortmain,' Blackstone, ii. 268—274.

with eagerness at the slightest prospect of relief, when the excited memory presents, in hideous plainness, some long-forgotten sin, and conscience whispers a terrifying connexion between past sin and present pain, Divine wrath presents itself as taking vengeance and crying aloud for satisfaction,—what is to be done? What is it that *man* can do?—what has he that a man *will* not give, under such circumstances, to obtain relief? Does it not require all the power of an enlightened and holy knowledge of God, as he is indeed revealed in Jesus Christ, reconciling the world to himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them?—does it not require all the victorious energy of a true faith, in lively exercise, to overcome the superstitious terror, and to enter into peace by the blood of atonement? Consider, then, the multitudes who have no such knowledge and no such faith. They have sin, memory, conscience, terror; a willingness to do or give anything, everything: they are materials ready prepared for the disastrous practice of a professed minister of the Christian church, who, instead of guiding the sufferer to the Saviour, the all-sufficient Saviour, avails himself of the prostration, the perturbation, we may truly call it the temporary insanity, of the ignorant sinner, to intimate that the bequest of his estate to the church would be a sacrifice well pleasing to God, and well calculated to withdraw the angry hand of present punishment. Imagine the effect of such proceedings, carried on systematically and cautiously, upon a national scale, and you will feel little difficulty in admitting, with our historians, that but for the restraints of legislative enactments, the church would have obtained possession of every foot of land in the kingdom.—pp. 16, 17.

While reading this passage, it must be remembered that the subject of the lecture is, ‘The Scriptural Position of the Christian Ministry, relatively with the Civil Ruler: and the connexion between a National Establishment of the Christian Church and the Permanence of that Scriptural Position.’ Mr. M’Niele, of course, in the above extract, is speaking of what is likely to happen under the superintendence of the true ministers of the gospel. Here is our quarrel. We deny the danger of which Mr. M’Niele makes so much, in relation to the *true* ministers of the gospel. The danger may exist in relation to the priests of Rome or England, but we have yet to learn that men preaching apostolical doctrine, and filled with the apostolical spirit, would be at all likely to create or feed the superstition of wicked but fearful men, much less make merchandise of it. We therefore maintain that the argument of our author, if it have force, goes to prove the duty of establishing the wrong, not the right, religion. It has far more strength in reference to the establishment of Popery than of Protestantism, and the establishment of Puseyism than of Evangelicalism. If the necessity of allying a church with the state arise out of the danger to the liberties of men from that church’s superstitious power, it is clear that the duty of allying a

church with the state must be proportioned to the extent of the danger. We presume none will deny that the Romish church is more inimical to those liberties than any other,—the Romish church ought, therefore, to be established. Mr. M'Niele's argument must fall to the ground, if it cannot be shewn that the true ministers of the gospel are likely to possess or employ the tremendous and destructive influence which he assigns to them. This cannot be shewn. We never think of such an influence when reading the records of the New Testament, but have to seek it in the ages of darkness and corruption. We never meet in the New Testament with any such view of the sacraments and the ministry as could lead legitimately to such an influence, but have to seek it in the writings of fallible men. We should much like to see the impression produced on the mind of an intelligent person, reading together and for the first time, the New Testament and Mr. M'Niele's lecture. We more than suspect that Mr. M'Niele's 'Christian church' and 'Christian ministry' would appear to him of later date and other origin than the writings of the apostles.

We cannot describe the melancholy feelings with which we have pondered portions of this lecture—feelings which have been produced by no sectarian narrowness or littleness of soul. We know Mr. M'Niele's position in the established church, the great popularity he enjoys, and the influence he exerts over both ministers and laymen. We know, too, that he ranks high for the evangelical character of his doctrines, and the courageous fidelity with which he preaches and publishes the truth. When, therefore, we find him talking of the sacraments and the ministry in the terms we have quoted, when we find him employing the danger arising from the sacerdotal and sacramental influence of the clergy to the civil rights and liberties of men as an argument for state interference, we are mournfully affected. We see even in him the baseness of Puseyism, a misconception of the proper position and function of both ministers and sacraments, and we tremble for the protestantism of a church of which such as he are among the most protestant clergy.

Mr. M'Niele cannot, according to his own admission, expect his argument to have much force with the dissenters, for he allows that 'upon their own principles, they cannot, with any plausible hope of success, represent any ordinance or ordinances which are in their power exclusively to administer as necessary to salvation; and therefore, except in a few cases of personal attachment, their influence cannot reach the prostrating point over the conscience.' With their views of the sacraments and the ministry, it will be impossible to persuade them that any civil danger resulting from the true form of Christianity can

require or justify the national establishment of that form. In so far as Mr. M'Niele's argument proves anything to them, it proves that what they believe to be unchristian and destructive error ought to be established. It does not prove *that*, but if it did, it would not make them advocates of the protestant establishment, but of a papal one. Before Mr. M'Niele can employ the reasoning of his lecture with dissenters in favour of the alliance of the state with the true church, he must convince them that his conceptions of the succession and functions of the ministry are scriptural, which he will find to be no easy task.

But though Mr. M'Niele allows that dissenters are not in danger of the evil which he asserts to exist in reference to the ministry of other Christian bodies, he declares that 'the practical evils' of their system 'have shewn themselves in other directions, as is too plainly exhibited in many of their own publications.' This is a favourite reference of churchmen, and, although not exactly connected with our present subject, we must say a word or two upon it. We allow, then, that the history of dissenting churches has exhibited many grievous evils. We defend the truth, and this is part of it. Instead of *concealing* what we mourn, the only way, we are convinced, to destroy, is to *reveal* it. We do not blame (as some are disposed to do) those honest dissenters, such as Mr. James and Mr. Binney, who have published to the world the faults of their own body,—we honour them; they go the most direct way towards a reformation. Neither do we regret the violent and energetic use which churchmen have made of the self-exposures of dissenters. They may not have meant kindness, but they have done us good. It may be easy for us to defend ourselves from our enemies, but it may be necessary sometimes for our enemies to defend us from ourselves. But while we are free to say all this, we do think that churchmen should be modest in appealing to the disputes and divisions, and other evils, which are admitted too frequently to take place among us. Have they forgotten the almost endless host of publications by *clerical reformers* which have appeared even within the last few years? Have they forgotten the works of Cox, Acaster, Riland, and others, who, with a courage which, it is to be feared, has died before themselves, denounced the inconsistencies and atrocities of the establishment, and proved that its evils possess an enormity and a force infinitely greater than can be predicated of those of dissent? Nor is it to be forgotten, that in estimating the evils of different systems, we must separate the *natural* from the *accidental*. The evils of dissent, in a great majority of instances, arise from the abandonment of its principles, those of the establishment from its own necessary operation. Besides which, it may be safely said, that many of

the evils which we confess prove the identity of our system with that of the apostolical church. We are accustomed to argue that our evangelical doctrines are scriptural, because they are liable to the same abuses and objections as are supposed and guarded against in the New Testament; and we can, in the same way, argue that our polity is scriptural, because in the first churches, churches established and superintended by the apostles, the same evils existed as exist among ourselves—evils which cannot exist among our opponents, although they have evils of a larger magnitude and a more mighty force.

Literary Intelligence.

In the Press.

Preparing for publication, in two volumes, *The United Irishmen, their Times and Lives.* By Dr. R. R. Madden, Author of *Travels in Turkey, Egypt, &c.* This work will contain particulars, never before made public, respecting the plans, object, and conduct of the United Irishmen, the means by which their secrets were betrayed to the government, and their measures frustrated. It will include documents furnished by persons who were actually engaged in the councils of the United Irishmen, and among them may be specified the particulars of the arrest of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, &c. Materials for this work has involved labour of many years.

Just Published.

Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Michael Thomas Sadler, Esq., M.P., F.R.S.

The Great Commission; or, The Christian Church constituted and charged to convey the Gospel to the World. By Rev. John Harris, D.D.

The Pictorial Edition of Shakspeare—Pericles.

England in the Nineteenth Century: Cornwall, Part III.; Lancashire, Part III.

The Way of Life. By Charles Hodge, of New Jersey.

Lucilla; or, The Reading of the Bible. By Adolphe Monod. Translated from the French.

Antinomianism, its Errors, Evils, and Absurdities. By Rev. W. Thorn, Winchester.

The Baptism of the Heir Apparent. A Sermon, by William Brock, Norwich.

Bells and Pomegranates, King Victor and King Charles. By Robert Browning, Author of *Paracelsus.*

The Martyr of Prusa. By Rev. R. W. Kyle.

The Fortunes of Faith; or, Church and State: a Poem. By T. H. Gill. *Observations on the Book of Ruth, and on the Word 'Redeemer.'* By Rev. H. B. Macartney.

Taste: a Lecture. By Rev. R. Jones, Vicar of Bedford.

A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities. Part 27.

Family Record; or, Memoir of late Rev. B. Woodd, and of several Deceased Members of his Family.

Translations from the German, in Prose and Verse. By Henry Reeve and John Edward Taylor.

Characteristics of Painters. By Henry Reeve.

Lectures to Young Men. By Rev. A. Thomson, W. Cunningham, Alex. Fraser, and D. T. K. Drummond.

Reasons why I, a Jew, have become a Catholic, and not a *Roman* Catholic. By Ridley H. Herschell.

Three Discourses: On the Divine Will; On Acquaintance with God; On Revelation. By A. J. Scott.

Sketches of Sermons, designed for Special Occasions. By a Dissenting Minister.

These Times: a Tract for the Young. By John Jefferson.

The Pilgrims of Glencoe, and other Poems. By Thomas Campbell.

Greece as a Kingdom; or, a Statistical Description of that Country, from 1833 to the present time. By Fred. Strong, Esq.

A Manual explanatory of Congregational Principles. By George Payne, LL.D.

Hints Illustrative of the Duty of Dissent. By Rev. Thomas Binney. Third edition.

What to Teach, and How to Teach it. By Henry Mayhew. Part I.

Missions, their Authority, Scope, and Encouragement: an Essay. By R. W. Hamilton.

Le Keux' Memorials of Cambridge. Parts 24 and 25.

The Church Principles of Nice, Rome, and Oxford, compared with the Christian Principles of the New Testament. By a Member of the Church of England.

Brief Memorials of the late Rev. B. M. Mathias, of Bethesda Chapel.

The Drunkard: a Poem. By John O'Neill. With Illustrations by Geo. Cruikshank.

Memoirs of the Life, Character, and Ministry of William Dawson, late of Bambow, near Leeds. By James Everett.

The Mabinogion, from the Llyfr Coch o Hergest and other Antient Welsh MSS.; with an English Translation and Notes. By Lady Charlotte Guest. Part IV.

Nothing New; or, The Judgment of the Old Divines on Sentiments agitated in their day, and now revived by 'the Brethren' and others.

The Slave States of America. By J. S. Buckingham, Esq. 2 vols.

Discourse on the Enlarged and Pendulous Abdomen. By Richard Frankum, Surgeon.

Theodoxa: a Treatise on Divine Praise. By Nathaniel Rowton.

The History of Italy and Switzerland, for the Young. By Miss Julia Corner.

An Examination of No. 90 of the Tracts for the Times. By Rev. F. Beasley, D.D., Pennsylvania.

Which is the Wiser? a Tale. By Mary Howitt.

Moral Agency, and Man as a Moral Agent. By William M'Combie.

Luther: a Poem. By Robert Montgomery, M.A.

Elements of Mental and Moral Science. By Geo. Payne, LL.D. Second edition.

Four Discourses on the Sacrifice and Priesthood of Jesus Christ, &c. By John Pye Smith, D.D., F.R.S. Second edition.

A Visit to the United States in 1841. By Joseph Sturge.

Christian Consistency. By E. Mannering.

THE
ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR MAY, 1842.

Art. I. *The Slave States of America.* By J. S. Buckingham, Esq.
2 vols. 8vo. London: Fisher and Co.

THE southern states of America constitute the strong hold of African slavery. They contain a larger number of enslaved Negroes than any other section of the globe, and have reduced the diabolical system to a more fixed and permanent form than it bears elsewhere. In no other protestant country is the force of public opinion so entirely at the service of the slave-holder. Both the press and the pulpit, political partisanship and religious zeal, have alike surrendered themselves to his service; and are silent or vituperative just as he bids them conceal his enormities, or libel the character of his more enlightened and righteous countrymen. In other lands, slavery has been seen in open and avowed hostility to religion. It has unmasked itself without reserve, and its odiousness and impiety have placed it in collision with the convictions and sympathies of religious men. Invested with all the characteristics of darkness, it has hated the light because its deeds were evil;—a personification of enormous crimes, it has arrayed against itself whatever was virtuous or Christian-like in the heart of the community. Its presence has consequently been felt to be incompatible with the continued existence of religion, and the prayers and the labours of the pious have therefore been directed to its entire and speedy overthrow. Such was the state of things in Jamaica, when the guilty silence of many years was at length forcibly broken up by the avowed intention of the planters to eject Christianity from their borders.

It was not that they hated the missionaries, Burchell and

Knibb, personally, but that they dreaded the moral influence of their ministry, and saw the impossibility of the slave system being continued, if such influence were allowed to extend itself. Hence their violent opposition to the instruction of their Negroes, and the fiendish frenzy with which they ultimately sought the lives of those devoted and honoured men. The matter was thus reduced to a simple alternative, which left the Christian church no option. Her decision was in consequence instantly made, and the extinction of slavery speedily followed.

Far different is the state of things in America, and we grieve over the fact as dishonourable, in the last degree, to the churches of that country. Whence it has arisen that such should be the case, we are not at present concerned to inquire. We have to do with the fact, and with that alone. About this there is no doubt, and can be none, for the records of their associations, the resolutions of their churches, the tone of their periodicals, the speeches, sermons, and pamphlets of their ministers, place the matter beyond question. The American church is emphatically the bulwark of American slavery. It has taken the system under its special patronage, and labours on its behalf, with an earnestness worthy of a far nobler cause. The two systems are on terms of recognised familiarity,—not of mere connivance, of silent sufferance, but of open and avowed friendship. It is not that the church is reluctantly dragged into the association—that it is compelled by the necessity of the case, to wink at a wrong which it would gladly correct—that it mourns over and secretly prays for the removal of an evil which it cannot destroy. Were this the case, American Christianity would be exempted from much of the censure which at present lies against it. We might deem its prudence criminal, and might call upon it to lift up its voice, regardless of all consequences, against the crying abomination of its land; but our estimate of its character would be vastly different from what it is, and the world at large would not be encouraged by its example, to set at open defiance the claims of humanity and the dictates of religion. The truth of the matter is, and we state it with pain, that from a variety of causes, long in operation, the churches of America have been induced to barter their moral influence for popularity and secular gain. Rather than break with the slave-holders, deeply steeped in crime as they are, they have undertaken to defend their system by arguments drawn from Holy Writ.

'Tis strange—but true; for truth is always strange;
Stranger than fiction; if it could be told,
How much would novels gain by the exchange.'

This state of things has naturally drawn towards the churches of

America, the attention of Christians of other countries, and especially those of Great Britain. The facts of the case have been but scantily known, and are even still very partially understood. Hence the importance which is attached to correct information, and the interest with which the reports of impartial and competent witnesses are received. With these feelings we took up the volumes now before us. Mr. Buckingham's former work had clearly evinced the kindly feelings with which he looked on the people and institutions of America, and we were therefore assured that nothing would be set down in malice, in any description which he might furnish of the slave system of the South. In this expectation we have not been disappointed, though all our former impressions respecting the character of American slavery have been confirmed. Mr. Buckingham writes as the friend and well-wisher of the people, amongst whom he travelled. Grateful mention is made of the hospitalities he received, and no opportunity is lost of relieving the darkness of his picture by introducing some of those brighter colourings of which the case admits. It will probably be the opinion of some of Mr. Buckingham's English readers, that he might have employed much stronger terms than his pages contain, and that, had he not been over prudent and over courteous, he would scarcely have met with the cordial reception which awaited him throughout the Slave States. If this be so, it obviously strengthens the weight of his testimony, and will have its influence on the more candid and reflecting portion of his American readers.

His tour extended throughout the Carolinas, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, and Virginia, and occupied a period sufficiently protracted to allow of his forming an accurate opinion of the character, condition, and prospects of their inhabitants. As in his former work, Mr. Buckingham has devoted considerable attention to the history of the several States which he visited, and pleads, in justification of his doing so, his having thereby supplied the deficiency observable in the writings of his predecessors. We are not disposed to quarrel with him on this point, though most of his readers will probably be disappointed at finding so large a portion of his pages occupied by matter gathered from his reading rather than from his travels. He embarked at New York for Charleston, in South Carolina, on the 11th of January, 1839, and represents his passage as one of the most disagreeable he had ever experienced. The captain, though a good seaman, cared no more 'for the comfort of his passengers than if they had been so many head of cattle,' and his fellow passengers 'were uniformly low, vulgar, ignorant, and dissipated men.' It is not probably known to many of our readers, that as the New England States were originally formed by the

puritans of this country, so the territory now occupied by the States of North and South Carolina was peopled by religious refugees from France. Mr. Buckingham refers briefly to this fact and to the melancholy fate of the settlers.

‘ It was in 1562 that the first two vessels containing the Protestant refugees were despatched from France; and these arriving at the mouth of the Albemarle River, or Sound, landed there, when in honour of their sovereign, Charles the Ninth, they called the country Carolina. In 1564, these were followed by three other ships, bearing more of the unfortunate Huguenots, as the French protestants were called, and these were speedily followed by a still larger squadron; the king of France having countenanced and assisted these emigrants to leave their native shores, as Charles had done with the puritans in England. Their fate, however, was far more unhappy than that of the New England pilgrims; for scarcely had they begun to realize some of the benefits of their new abode, before they were attacked by the Spaniards; and when they had surrendered as Frenchmen, they were all put to death as heretics! a placard being affixed at the place of execution, announcing that ‘ the captives were not put to the sword as subjects of France, but as followers of Luther!’ Nearly a thousand French Protestants were thus put to death; and only one of their whole number was allowed to live, in order that he might carry intelligence of the massacre to France.

‘ The French monarch, though he had assisted the emigration of the exiles, did not feel a sufficient interest about their fate to take any steps on this intelligence; but a French nobleman, De Gorgues, indignant at such treachery and inhumanity, fitted out three ships at his own expense, and sailed for Carolina, where he attacked the unsuspecting occupants; and obtaining the co-operation of the Indians, he overpowered and put to death all the catholics who offered any resistance, and hung up those whom he made prisoners on the nearest trees, announcing, after the manner of the first murderers, the cause of the massacre, by a placard exhibited at the place of execution, which stated that ‘ the captives were not put to death as Spaniards, but as murderers and robbers.’ Having thus accomplished his purpose, he razed the forts to the ground, and destroying every habitation, he left the country, and returned to France.’—Vol. i. pp. 11—13.

The most memorable circumstance in the recent history of South Carolina, is the part which it took in opposition to the tariff of the general government. The origin and character of this controversy, which, at one period, threatened a dissolution of the Republic, are not even yet thoroughly known to many of our countrymen. The facts of the case were these:—The Northern States, wishing to encourage their own manufactures, and thus to render themselves independent of England, carried through Congress, a law which imposed a duty, ranging from 20 to 50 per cent. on British manufactures. To this law the people of the

South very strongly objected, as it seriously interfered with their exports to England, and raised the price of manufactured goods which they received thence through the Northern States. South Carolina placed itself at the head of the opposition, the abettors of which were termed Nullifiers, and their doctrine Nullification, 'because they contended that, by the right of State Sovereignty and independent government, which each State reserved to itself, and had not conceded to the general government, they were perfectly justified in nullifying all the acts of Congress founded on such gross injustice to their particular interests.' For a time, the utmost excitement prevailed. President Jackson threatened the South with military coercion, and the latter resolved to resist force by force. The Compromise Bill of Mr. Clay happily averted the threatened danger, and restored a good understanding between the Northern and Southern States.

In his notice of Charleston, Mr. Buckingham makes honourable mention of the educational institutions of the city, which are represented as having recently increased in number, owing to the following cause:—

'I learnt, from persons connected with the business of education, that it was formerly the custom for the more wealthy families to send their children to the Universities of the North, especially to Providence and Boston, for education; but that latterly this practice had decreased, and given place to the much more general one of educating them in Charleston or Columbia, within the State. On inquiring the cause of this change, the reason assigned was this: that the students returning from the North so often came home '*tainted* with Abolitionism,' (that was the exact phrase used,) and with such a '*distaste* for their *domestic institutions*,' meaning slavery, (that being the term usually substituted for this disagreeable word,) that it was thought dangerous to the welfare of the country any longer to continue the practice of sending their children to the North, where they imbibed such dangerous doctrines as Abolitionism, and were thus rendered averse to the '*domestic institutions*' of the south.'—*Ib.*, p. 54.

The periodical press of Charleston is thoroughly devoted to the cause of the slave-holder. No one of the publications of the city, whether quarterly, monthly, weekly, or daily, 'ever venture to speak of slavery as an institution to be condemned or even regretted.' Conclusive proof of this melancholy fact is furnished by our author, whose statements implicate, to a lamentable extent, the leading religionists of the country. The condition of the domestic, or household slave, is represented as far preferable to that of the plantation labourer. This is perfectly natural, and is accordant with what may be seen in other parts of the globe. The personal comfort and even safety of the white master being greatly dependent on the feeling of his household

slaves, they are treated with much less rigour, and their wants are more liberally supplied than those of their countrymen who are doomed to toil in the field. Of these latter, Mr. Buckingham states that, admitting the kind intentions of many masters and mistresses, 'it cannot but be evident that the great mass of them are not treated so well as many of the brute creation; and that the dogs and horses of their masters are better fed, have less labour, less punishment, and quite as much of intellectual culture and enjoyment.' The following is his account of what he saw on one of the rice plantations of Savannah:—

'We visited one of the rice plantations in the neighbourhood of Savannah, and saw the condition of the slaves on it with our own eyes. The estate was considered to be a valuable one, and under a fair condition of management, not among the best nor among the worst, but just such an average plantation as we wished to examine. The dwellings for the negroes were built of wood, ranged in rows of great uniformity, raised a little above the ground, each building containing two or more rooms, with a fire-place for two. We saw also the nursery for the children, and the sick-room or hospital for those who were hurt or diseased, and we had communication with the overseer, and several of the people, from both of whom we learnt the following facts, as to their routine of labour, food, and treatment.

'The slaves are all up by daylight; and every one who is able to work, from eight or nine years old, and upwards, repair to their several departments of field-labour. They do not return to their houses either to breakfast or dinner, but have their food cooked for them in the field by negroes appointed to that duty. They continue thus at work till dark, and then return to their dwellings. There is no holiday on Saturday afternoon, or any other time throughout the year, except a day or two at Christmas; but from daylight to dark, every day except Sunday, they are at their labour. Their allowance of food consists of a peck, or two gallons, of Indian corn per week, half that quantity for working boys and girls, and a quarter for little children. This corn they are obliged to grind themselves, after their hours of labour are over, and it is then boiled in water, and made into hominy, but without anything to eat with it, neither bread, rice, fish, meat, potatoes, or butter; boiled corn and water only, and barely a sufficient quantity of this for subsistence.

'Of clothes, the men and boys had a coarse woollen jacket and trousers once a year, without shirt or any other garment. This was their winter dress; their summer apparel consists of a similar suit of jacket and trousers of the coarsest cotton cloth. Absence from work, or neglect of duty, was punished with stinted allowance, imprisonment, and flogging. A medical man visited the plantation occasionally, and medicines were administered by a negro woman called the sick-nurse. No instruction was allowed to be given in reading or writing, no games or recreations were provided, nor was there indeed any time to enjoy them if they were. Their lot was one of continued

toil, from morning to night, uncheered even by the *hope* of any change, or prospect of improvement in condition.

‘ In appearance, all the negroes that we saw looked insufficiently fed, most wretchedly clad, and miserably accommodated in their dwellings; for though the exteriors of their cottages were neat and uniform, being all placed in regular order and whitewashed, yet nothing could be more dirty, gloomy, and wretched, than their interiors; and we agreed that the criminals in all the state prisons of the country that we had yet seen, were much better off in food, raiment, and accommodation, and much less severely worked than those men whose only crime was that they were of a darker colour than the race that held them in bondage.’—*Ib.*, pp. 132—134.

Frequent references are made to this unhappy class, whose unrequited toil is rendered more grievous by the infliction of much bodily suffering, and the uncertainty which attaches to all their domestic ties. We extract the following as exposing some of the fallacies by which it is sought to conceal the inhumanity and wickedness of the system:—

‘ At the earliest dawn of day, soon after four o’clock, we met many of the field negroes going to their work. All of them were wretchedly clad, in tattered and ragged fragments of garments hanging in shreds around their bodies; and when, at the sight of their miserable condition, Mrs. Buckingham involuntarily sighed, and said, in a scarcely audible whisper, ‘ Poor creatures!’ three or four voices immediately and impatiently exclaimed, ‘ Ah, Madam! they are among the happiest of human beings; for when their work is over, they have no cares, as everything they need is provided for them.’ It has been often remarked, that the constant representation of a falsehood ultimately occasions even its utterers to believe it to be true. This often-repeated falsehood of ‘ the negroes having everything they need provided for them,’ must be of this class; for it really seems as if its utterers were, in many instances at least, so deluded as to believe it to be true. I replied, that if to be relieved from all care about food and clothing when their work was over, constituted the claim of any class to be considered among ‘ the happiest of human beings;’ then all the convicts of our penal colonies—all the inmates of the State prisons and penitentiaries—all the criminals confined for life in the dungeons of Europe, or cells of America, might put in the same claim, for they too are relieved from all care as to food and raiment, the only difference of their lot from that of the rest of mankind being, that they have to work harder, to suffer the loss of their personal liberty, and to be liable to be whipped if they murmured, imprisoned if they absconded, and shot if they offered the least resistance! But persons brought up in slave-countries, and accustomed from their cradles to regard the institution of slavery as one of mercy instead of injustice, and to repeat every day of their lives, that ‘ slaves are the happiest of human beings,’ are as impervious to reason on this subject as the various classes of persons in Europe are to matters in which their interest blinds their

judgment, and their love of gain deadens every other feeling. Such classes are unhappily too abundant in every country of the earth, and in England, perhaps, as numerous as in any other.

‘It was not ten minutes after the observation was made, that ‘the slaves were among the happiest of human beings, having all their wants amply provided for,’ that the very same individual who gave it utterance, said, ‘I think the very devil’s got into the niggers of late, for I’ve heard of more running away, and seen more rewards offered for their apprehension within the last month, than I ever remember to have seen in the same space of time.’ Yet no one appeared to be struck with the singular contrast presented between this confession and the previous assertion; and if we had remarked their inconsistency, instead of its making the least impression on their minds, the only answer we should have had, perhaps, would have been this—‘Oh! but you are English abolitionists, who have abolished slavery in the West Indies for the sake of encouraging a negro revolt in the Southern States, and thus revenging yourselves on America.’ This belief, monstrous as it is, was more than once expressed in my hearing, though not addressed to me, by persons who apparently believed it to be true; and having said enough to shew my own dissent from their views, I did not wish to risk the explosion which such a spark as this might have occasioned, by lighting on the combustible materials by which we were surrounded.’—Vol. ii. pp. 6—8.

What will our readers think of the following:—for ourselves, we confess that we quote it with grief and mortification. That such things should be, and that too in America, whither our fathers fled from episcopal persecution, braving the perils of the wilderness rather than surrender their liberty of speech and action at the bidding of a tyrant, is amongst the most anomalous of the many inconsistencies which human society exhibits. We fear the picture is too correct, and would have our American readers ponder it well:—

‘Here, however, as everywhere throughout the South, slavery is a topic upon which no man, and, above all, a foreigner, can open his lips without imminent personal danger, unless it is to defend and uphold the system. Then, indeed, he may speak as freely as he pleases; but if it is even to doubt whether slavery be on the whole either just or profitable, he is sure to be assailed with imputations of being an incendiary, of desiring to incite the slaves to rebellion, to bring about the massacre of the whites, and the annihilation of their property. The violence of the measures taken against the few who, from time to time, venture to express themselves in favour of Abolition, is such as to strike terror into others; and thus all public discussion of the question is as effectually suppressed as if there were a censorship of the press, or a holy inquisition. I feel assured that it would not be so dangerous for a man to preach the right of resistance to despotic authority in Petersburg or Vienna, to inveigh against popery at Rome, or to de-

nounce Mohammedanism at Constantinople, as it would be for him to proclaim himself, either by his pen or by his tongue, as an Abolitionist in the slave-holding States south of the Potomac in America; and yet, to tell the Americans that they have neither freedom of the press nor freedom of speech, to the extent to which both are enjoyed in England, would greatly offend, as well as surprise them, though nothing could be more true.'—Vol. i. p. 183.

The newspapers of America are much more numerous than those of England, though few of them have any pretensions to a comparison with our leading journals. Those of the South are much dearer than those of the North, selling, as in the case of the two Charleston papers mentioned by Mr. Buckingham, at sixpence sterling per copy, though not so large as the smallest evening paper in England. The original matter rarely exceeds a single column, and the whole expense of getting up is very inconsiderable. A circulation of 1000 is considered large, and great difficulty is experienced in obtaining payment from their subscribers. Some amusing instances are given by Mr. Buckingham, of the means resorted to by American editors in order to obtain the money due from their readers. We subjoin an instance taken from a Methodist paper, entitled 'The Conference Journal,' published at Richmond, in Virginia:—

'WANTED IMMEDIATELY.—At this office, five thousand dollars: more than this is due, but we will content ourselves for the present with the above, *if we can get it*. We do not beg this, nor do we wish to borrow it; we *claim* it as justly *due* us; and we are satisfied that *a thousand or fifteen hundred* of our subscribers would have a better conscience, and a clearer claim to the reputation of *honest* and good men, if the amount was paid.'—Vol. ii. p. 119.

The following, extracted from the 'Greenville Mountaineer,' is still more laconic:—

'There's a man down East who celebrates his birth-day by paying for all his newspapers. Let's make him President.'—*Ib.*, p. 187.

Mr. Buckingham gives a lamentable account of the licentiousness of the newspaper press in America, which he represents as 'the most abusive, unjust, and unprincipled that are anywhere to be found,' sacrificing, with a few honourable exceptions, 'truth, honour, and courtesy, to party feeling, hesitating at nothing to blacken the character of a political opponent, though he should be of the most pure and spotless reputation; raking up the slander of bygone years to serve a momentary purpose; and sparing neither age nor sex, neither the living nor the dead.' This is indeed a gloomy picture, yet we fear, from a concurrence of testimony, that its truthfulness is beyond doubt. It must be a source of deep regret to the more intelligent and virtuous citizens of the States,

and must exercise a most baneful influence on the character of their government. The tendency of such a state of things obviously is, to deter men of intelligence and honour from proffering themselves as candidates for posts of influence and trust. The public service is thus seriously injured by the withdrawal of the more virtuous citizens from political life, and the best hopes of the future are in consequence blighted. We have known something of this in England, but Mr. Buckingham affirms that the case is worse in the large cities of America than with ourselves, and that the press of both is mild and fair 'compared with papers of the interior; and those of this section of Tennessee, certainly,' he remarks, 'surpass all that I have yet seen in coarseness and violence.'

Whatever advantages the slave system may proffer, it obviously fails to promote the comforts of social life. This is particularly obvious in the hotels of the South, than which, with few exceptions, nothing can be imagined more wretched. We subjoin our author's account of the Oglethorpe Hotel, at Columbus, which will serve any other purpose than that of inducing our readers to wish to follow his route:—

'It was midnight before we reached Columbus, where we found accommodation, such as it was, at the Oglethorpe Hotel, and here we determined to remain for the night, as the roughness of the roads, the violence of the motion, which had twice broken down our coach, and obliged us to halt for its repair on the way, and the wretchedness of the fare at all the tables we had seen, made us anxious to rest and recruit for a day. The hotel was very large, and the rooms more spacious than usual; but though not built more than four or five years, it had all the defects of a much older building. The doors of the rooms were many of them shattered, hinges and locks out of repair, windows broken, and sashes and blinds out of order, without any attempt being made to remedy all this. It seems quite characteristic, indeed, of the Southern hotels to have almost everything in need of repair. When the building is once erected and finished, no one seems to take any pains to keep it in good condition; but when things get injured they are suffered so to remain till they are altogether worn out.

'All the servants here being slaves, and no master or mistress of Southern hotels appearing to take the least interest in the reception or accommodation of their visitors, those who arrive are entirely dependent on these slaves for whatever they require. Though three coaches stopped at the door, no one was ready to receive them. The negroes belonging to the house were all lying huddled together on the floor, none of them being provided with more than a blanket, which they rolled round them, but without bedding or pillow. They sleep so soundly that it is a matter of the greatest difficulty to wake them; and even then, it requires a long time to make them understand what

you wish. Not a single bed-room that we were shewn into was ready, the beds being unmade, the rooms unprepared, and all in disorder and confusion; the reason alleged was, that it was quite time enough to get rooms ready when they were sure they would be wanted. Everything being in disorder, therefore, it took an hour, at least, to put the room in decent condition, and even then it was most uncomfortable.

‘The usual practice of putting the bed up close to the wall, so that one side of it only can be got at, and this in the largest rooms, as well as the smallest, makes it impossible to adjust the bed-clothes comfortably. When attempting to draw the bed further out to do this, the whole bedstead fell to pieces, though it was nearly new. It was merely put together, without nails, screws, or cords, and was never intended to be moved from the position in which it was fixed, either for washing, sweeping, airing, or any other purpose; and accordingly the servants never attempted it. No bells are ever found in these hotels, though they are so large, and the servants are so far off and so stupid, that there is more need of bells here than in any other country; no curtains to the beds, broken washstands, basins without jugs, or jugs without basins, a dressing-glass shifted from room to room as required, no clothes’ pins or pegs to hang a great coat, cloak, or any other garment on, and no closets or wardrobes to supply this deficiency; in short, everything is so rude and imperfect as to excite one’s astonishment that the keepers of such establishments should ever suffer them to remain so a single day, until it is remembered that the masters of American hotels, being generals, colonels, and majors, are too much of gentlemen to superintend anything except receiving the money; while their wives are still more disinclined to trouble themselves with household affairs; so that everything is left to the bar-keeper or clerk, and the slaves under his direction; and these last, having no interest in the matter, neglect everything but what they are actually compelled to do, and therefore all things fall speedily into disorder.’—Vol. i. p. 243—245.

We are somewhat surprised at the terms in which Mr. Buckingham refers to the new republic of Texas, a confederation as disgraceful in its origin and as criminal in its object as any which human policy has ever formed. Of the ex-president Houston, whom he met with at Mobile, and respecting whom, we are informed that he had attended the author’s lectures at New Orleans, we have no desire to speak. He was a fit ruler for such a people, and found his appropriate place at the head of a band of desperate speculators, whom no laws, human or divine, could bind. Upon such a country, whatever may be its temporary growth, the withering curse of Heaven must rest, and we regret, therefore, to find such a man as Mr. Buckingham speaking of it in terms adapted to palliate its guilt, and to point it out as a haven of rest to our destitute countrymen. But enough of this, we pass on to other matters.

The weakness of the American executive has always appeared to us the great defect of their government. Whatever be the cause of this fact, whether it arise from a defect in the original structure of their constitution, or from the temporary condition of a population, thinly spread over a vast region, the thing itself glares upon us from all the extremities of the republic. Entirely freed from that hereditary reverence for law and legal institution by which the people of this country are characterized, the Americans never hesitate to take the law into their own hands, or to combine, when practicable, in resistance to civil processes. The result of this state of things is frequently ruinous to life, and what is worse, such results are looked upon calmly by the community at large. What will our readers think of the following circumstance, which took place in Charleston, South Carolina?—

‘ On the day of our arrival in Charleston, May 25, there was a duel fought in the public street, and in the presence of many people, none of whom interfered to prevent it. Two young men from the country were in attendance at the court of law then sitting in Charleston, and some angry words having passed between them, there was an immediate challenge given and accepted; when the parties, either having pistols with them, or procuring them very speedily, repaired to the public street, and there, in the middle of the day, and in the presence of several spectators and passers-by, measured off twelve paces, and exchanged fire. One of the combatants was shot through the cheek, and disfigured for life, and the other was slightly wounded in the thigh. The parties then withdrew from the combat, but no notice was taken of the affair by the public authorities, and with the community it excited no sensation beyond the passing hour!

‘ The papers from other parts of the Southern States that reached us about this period, teemed with similar cases, especially in Alabama, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Mississippi. The editors recording these events, though heretofore indifferent to such transactions, seem to be at last roused by their increased frequency to a sense of shame or sorrow, and express themselves accordingly.’—*Ib.*, p. 552.

Our readers will be amused with a few short extracts relative to the social habits of the people amongst whom our author journeyed. At Athens, in Georgia, he attended a debating club, composed of gentlemen of the town, not connected with the university. The meeting commenced at three, and the members in attendance were all of middle age. The order of procedure is thus described:—

‘ The appearance of the room when we entered it, was more like some of the scenes described by Mrs. Trollope in the West than I had ever before seen. The floor was of newly-planned pine-wood, without mat or carpet, and it was covered with saliva and tobacco-juice, from the chewers of the club, for whom no spitting-boxes appeared to have

been provided, and therefore, every minute at least, some member was seen and heard to project his contribution to the floor, which was spotted over like the leopard's skin.

The chair was taken by the president, a general, and the secretary called the meeting to order, but this did not produce the least alteration in the aspect of the meeting. The few members who were scattered about the room, sat each after his own fashion. One gentleman placed his legs on the table, and exhibited the soles of his boots to the president. Another hung back in his chair, while it stood on its two hind legs only, with his feet placed on the upper front bar of the chair, in which attitude he rocked himself to and fro like a nurse lushing a baby to sleep, and everything was marked by the greatest indifference to decorum.

'The question for debate was, 'Ought the State to have the right to educate the children of its citizens?' The first speaker was, by the rules of the club, the gentleman who placed the question on the books for discussion. He spoke for about an hour in support of the affirmative of this question, and argued the case closely and well; but being a more than usually copious chewer of tobacco, he spit on the floor at the end of almost every sentence, rolling his quid from side to side in his mouth during the interval. Once, during his speech, he asked for a tumbler of water, which one of the members brought him from a wooden bucket, placed in the centre of the room, with a wooden ladle to drink and fill the glass with, and he then threw away his quid, stopped to rinse out his mouth four or five times with the water, which he projected out of the window near which he was speaking; he then took a fresh quid from a large black square mass of compactly pressed tobacco, which he carried in his waistcoat pocket, and resumed his discourse, spitting on the floor until a large pool had been formed before him; and at the close of his address, the rinsing of the mouth, and the renewal of the quid was repeated.

'This gentleman, who we understood was a man of fortune and leisure, not engaged in any business or profession, was followed by three speakers in succession, who maintained the negative of the question; and, very much to my surprise, nearly the same arguments that are used against the adoption of any measures by the State for the promotion of general education in England, were repeated here. Each of these gentlemen spoke about half an hour, and delivered their sentiments with great force and in accurate language. They all copiously loaded the floor with tobacco-juice, so that the odour began to be extremely disagreeable, especially as the afternoon was warm; the thermometer being at 90° in the shade. The fifth speaker at length took up the affirmative of the proposition, as to the right and duty of the State to educate the children of its citizens, or, in other words, to provide funds, and establish a system of national education, by which the children of all those who were either unable or unwilling to confer on them the advantage of primary instruction at the expense of the State.'—Vol. ii. pp. 89—91.

On the evening of the same day, Mr. Buckingham attended a

‘very brilliant party’ at the house of Dr. Church, the president of the university. There were about 200 persons present. Mr. Buckingham informs us, that he never saw ‘a greater number of beautiful countenances than among the young ladies of this party, the style of beauty was like that of Charleston, Savannah, and New Orleans: small delicate figures, fair complexions, but not so deadly pale as at the North; great symmetry of features, brilliant black eyes, finely arched eyebrows, and full dark hair.’ A young bride of fifteen, with her husband, were of the party, though their marriage had occurred only three days before, and many were surprised when informed that such a circumstance was not in keeping with English habits.

‘The ladies, though so young, appeared to have more resources for conversation, and more power, as well as ease or freedom of expression, than ladies of the same rank or class in the North. Their manners, too, were more frank, cordial, and warm, which contrasted agreeably with the seeming caution and frigidity of the Northern ladies. A group of sisters sang and played more agreeably, and with more accuracy, than is generally witnessed in American parties; the taste for music being far from general, and skill in vocal execution very rare in this country. Indeed, the peculiarly thin and wiry voices, and universally nasal and drawling tones of the American ladies, must make it very difficult for them ever to execute vocal music with that power and expression, which a rich and melodious voice can give even to the simplest air warbled from an Italian throat.

The gentlemen seldom acquire sufficient skill on any instrument to play well, so that there are no instrumental accompaniments; and in not more than two or three parties have we ever heard male and female voices blended together in singing. In general appearance and manners, the gentlemen of this party were superior to those usually seen in such assemblages at the North, and their conversation was quite as remarkable for its intelligence. I doubt whether any town in England or France, containing a population of little more than a thousand persons—for that is the extent of the white inhabitants here—could furnish a party of two hundred, among whom should be seen so much feminine beauty, so much general intelligence, or so much ease, frankness, and even elegance of manners.’—*Ib.*, pp. 92, 93.

At Blountsville, Mr. Buckingham was most kindly received by Mr. Deery, an Irishman, and the following, which occurred at this gentleman’s house, affords an amusing instance of rustic simplicity:—

‘We returned to Mr. Deery’s to pass the evening, in the course of which, the eldest daughter played and sang very agreeably, accompanying herself on an excellent piano-forte, of Clementi’s make, which her father had imported from London, expressly for her use. This brought a crowd of the farmers, who were still in town, round the

windows; others entered the hall or passage; and some came into the drawing-room, and seated themselves with their hats on, to enjoy the music. As these retired, others took their places, and one young man brought in his sister and his intended wife, and said, as he placed them in chairs, ‘These ladies, if you please, are come to have a little music.’ Some of the visitors were known to Mr. Deery only as his customers, but others were not known to him at all. This, however, created no embarrassment on either side; the visitors evidently thought they were doing nothing wrong, in walking in unasked, and soliciting ‘a tune;’ and the family, aware that such unsolicited visits are very common among the country people, took no offence, because none was intended, so that all passed off quietly; but I never remember to have seen rustic simplicity more complete than here.’—*Ib.*, pp. 263, 264.

In the fifth chapter of the second volume, Mr. Buckingham gives a brief but interesting sketch of the several Indian tribes located within the limits of the States. We should have been glad if he had marked, in stronger terms, his reprobation of the policy which has been pursued towards them, the manifest injustice and cruelty of which ought not to be passed over in silence. Our space precludes our doing more than transfer to our pages his statement of the present number of the Indian tribes:—

1. Tribes removed West of the Mississippi	- -	68,669
2. Tribes originally dwelling there	- - - -	101,000
3. Indians living East of the Rocky Mountains	- -	20,000
4. Tribes West of the Rocky Mountains	- -	80,000
5. Tribes within British and Russian Territories		1,520,431
6. Indians of various tribes in Texas and Mexico		3,600,000

Total - - - 5,390,100'

Ib., p. 108.

Mr. Buckingham's route brought him into frequent contact with electioneering parties engaged in canvassing on behalf of their respective candidates. His notice of the conduct of these parties, is, on the whole, creditable to them and to the republic.

At Blountsville, for instance, notwithstanding the extreme excitement which prevailed, we are told that not more than two or three were seen intoxicated during the day. The Americans have taken warning from us, not to retain those exciting causes of party hostility which are so potent in English elections. In the instance to which we now refer, we are informed that ‘there were no flags or banners or processions; no distinguishing colours or badges, no bands of music, no open houses for the voters, and no treating or entertaining of any kind by either party, though the suffrage is universal, and the voters consequently numerous.’ The practice of candidates at English elections, is, in many cases, disgraceful in the extreme. We have

witnessed it with mortification and disgust, and have augured from it no good, as to the course which would be pursued by the candidate, in the event of his return. The practice in the United States is much less exceptionable, and is thus described by our author :—

‘The political canvassing in America does not descend to the English practice of personally waiting on the poorest voters in their houses, shaking hands with them as perfect equals, flattering their wives, and kissing their little children, and then *soliciting* the *favour* of the individual’s vote. The practice here, is confined to the visiting certain towns and districts, by appointment, throughout the State, there making a public statement of principles and opinions on the great political topics of the day, and then leaving the voters to decide for themselves. The labour and expense of such a canvass is, however, very great; as in this State of Tennessee, which is nearly as large in area as England, the candidates for the governorship had already travelled over upwards of 2000 miles; and it was thought that it would require a journey of at least 1000 miles more, before they would have traversed the length and breadth of the land.’—*Ib.*, p. 265.

This practice, though expensive, is not unreasonable. It unites some important advantages, and might be advantageously substituted for that in vogue amongst us. Those who are apprehensive of evil from an extension of the suffrage; who regard it as calculated to lower the character of the electoral body, and consequently to increase the potency of sinister influences over them, would do well to ponder over the course pursued in America, where the suffrage is universal and the vote by ballot.

Mr. Buckingham notices, among other things, the national vanity of the Americans, and our more impartial readers will probably recognise in the subjoined illustration, something analogous to what may be found much nearer home :—

‘I had often had occasion to observe the national vanity of the people of this country, who, with the exception of the few that have travelled or resided in Europe, seem almost universally to believe that their countrymen are superior in arts, in arms, in literature, in science—but, above all, in *oratory*—to any people in the world; and they avail themselves of every occasion that presents itself, to make this boast. One of the most amusing specimens of this feeling was presented to us at Abingdon. A gentleman, having in the reading room the ‘Richmond Inquirer,’ of July 5, read aloud from it the following paragraph—

‘We have seen in the ‘London Observer’ a very brief sketch of the debate upon the Earl of Winchelsea’s motion in the House of Peers, of the 31st May, calling upon Lord Melbourne to afford some explanation as to the principles on which he intended to conduct the government. The ‘New York Commercial’ promises to give the speeches of Lords Melbourne and Brougham in full. The former frankly admitted the difficulties with which he was surrounded, but declared that the Government could be con-

ducted on none other than the principles of progress and reform. He was followed by Lord Brougham, who ridiculed the Ministers for the attempt to gain popularity for the Queen, upon the strength of Peel's demand to dismiss the ladies of the bedchamber. An American, who heard this speech, pronounces it one of the finest he ever heard, and Lord Brougham the most powerful debater he ever saw, and in 'senatorial gladiation' unequalled. This was regarded as one of his greatest efforts; and one of the most distinguished auditors declared that he had heard nothing like it for the last twenty or thirty years.'

'On this, one of the hearers exclaimed, 'Well, then, I expect that this Lord Brougham comes the nearest to our Daniel Webster, of any man the English can produce.' To which the others signified their assent; but no one seemed to think that he did more than approach him 'at a considerable distance.' One of the party, and in his general conversation an intelligent man, said that Henry Clay had electrified the English Members of Parliament when he spoke before them in the House of Commons; and that Daniel Webster, who was now gone to England, would astonish them still more, and give them a sample of what true American oratory really was. I asked when Mr. Clay had spoken in the English House of Commons, and was told that it was when he was resident as American minister in London. I assured them that on no occasion did foreign ministers or ambassadors appear in either House of Parliament in England as speakers; but the gentleman who made this assertion really believed that in his diplomatic capacity he had appeared before the House, and excited the astonishment and admiration he described! He still thought that an opportunity would be afforded to Daniel Webster to do the same. When they were informed, that among the Tory peers, Lord Lyndhurst was the most equal match for Lord Brougham, they felt this to be a confirmation of their confidence in their national superiority, as they claimed Lord Lyndhurst as an American, though they would rather have had him to be a Virginian than a Bostonian, as then he would have ranked with Patrick Henry, Washington, and Jefferson.'—vol. ii. pp. 281—283.

The following, which must be our last extract, will probably be more surprising to our readers, as it presents a view of our transatlantic descendants, very foreign from that under which they are generally regarded:—

'One other trait of American feelings I cannot omit to mention, as suggested by another extract from the file of three days papers before referred to; and in which they are as inconsistent as in all things else. There is not, I think, a nation upon the earth more prone to make distinctions among men, from their birth and wealth, than the Americans. The talk about 'old families,' and being 'highly connected,' and 'moving in the first circles of society,' and the looking down with contempt upon 'people whom nobody knows,' or who are 'not in society,' is nowhere carried to a greater extent than here; and the very children are found making these distinctions. This will account for the amazing eagerness with which the greater number of Americans who go to England and France, seek to be introduced at Court, and

affect to be patronized and received by the nobility and fashionable world there. This has been carried to such an extent of late as to have become the subject of just ridicule among themselves, and especially since the ‘Victoria fever,’ as it is popularly called, has prevailed so extensively in this country, where the name of Victoria has been appended to almost everything, from Mr. Sully’s portrait of the Queen, down to the last new oyster-shop opened in New York.’—vol. ii. pp. 449, 450.

In closing these volumes, we tender Mr. Buckingham our thanks for the pleasure which their perusal has conferred. They are the productions of an intelligent and clear-sighted man, whose views of political creeds and political men are, for the most part, sound and healthy. They contain nothing very profound in the way of disquisition, nor do they profess to do so. They are the honest record of what the author saw and heard, coupled with the results of extensive and well-selected reading. We could have spared the frequent references which are made to the author’s lectures, the introduction of which answers no good purpose that might not have been equally well effected by a general notice in his preface of the cordial reception which the American people ‘uniformly gave to a foreigner and a stranger coming among them, for what they deemed a laudable and honourable purpose.’ Such a general statement would have sufficed to record Mr. Buckingham’s gratitude, and to do honour to the people whose hospitality was so generously tendered.

Art. II. *The Martyr of Erromanga; or, the Philosophy of Missions: illustrated from the Labours, Death, and Character of the late Rev. John Williams.* By John Campbell, D.D. Royal 12mo, pp. 478. Snow, London: 1842.

‘THE Martyr of Erromanga’ is a happy and appropriate title. The claim of John Williams to the crown of martyrdom has, indeed, been disputed; and, in strict speech, perhaps he cannot be called a martyr; but the distinction has often been allowed to men whose pretensions to it were much more imperfect than his. One thing only is wanting to complete his title. Had the barbarians by whose hands he was slain been conscious of the object of his landing on their island, and taken his life on that account, then he would have been a martyr in the strictest sense of the expression; but, since he died by violence, while in the act of peacefully propagating the influence of Christian principles, it were surely the fastidiousness of criticism to hesitate about transmitting his memory to future ages under the noble designation of ‘the Martyr of Erromanga.’

At least, there can be no doubt among the friends of missions, that Dr. Campbell has rendered a valuable service to their cause by the publication of the present volume. John Williams had made a deeper and more favourable impression respecting the missionary enterprise upon the public mind of Great Britain, than any other missionary in recent times; his Narrative had rivalled in popularity the most successful efforts of either Byron or Scott; and men of all ranks and classes, struck with surprise and admiration at the marvellous revolutions effected by his instrumentality in islands theretofore unvisited by civilized man, were disposed to consider the claims on their attention and support, of a system of means so 'mighty through God' in making the most barbarous votaries of idolatry 'new creatures in Christ Jesus.' While thoughts like these were influencing the hearts of thousands, by whom the cause of missions had been previously regarded with indifference, if not with scorn, came, like a sudden and terrific explosion, the shocking intelligence of his death by savage massacre.

Here was an opportunity for *fixing* that favourable impression towards missions, which, as it was produced by the Narrative of Williams, seemed to depend for its permanence upon the continuance of his life and labours, so soon, in God's inscrutable wisdom, permitted to be brought to an unexpected close. Dr. Campbell, with characteristic promptitude and perspicacity, has seized this opportunity, and, as we think the readers of his volume will allow, has turned it to the best account. Leaving the task of biography entirely in the able hands to which it has been fitly entrusted, he has confined himself to the very thing which required to be done, in order that the cause of missions might not lose that *prestige* which it had gained by means of Williams. So entirely, indeed, has he restricted himself to 'illustration,' that, although, for the purpose of elucidating the adaptation of particular means to particular ends, it was necessary to include a sketch of Williams's physical, intellectual, and moral portraiture,—and it is a sketch at once graphic and faithful,—yet even the circumstances of his death are not distinctly stated. With Dr. Campbell the single question appears to have been, how shall we repair the peculiar loss which the cause of missions has sustained?—how, in other words, shall we bring the well-educated and well-meaning, but, with regard to matters of highest moment, ill-informed classes of society, who, under the perusal of Williams's marvellous Narrative, had begun to 'see men as trees walking,' clearly and distinctly to perceive, and consequently with frankness and sincerity to acknowledge, the exclusive adaptation of Christian missions to the social regeneration of mankind? This is his object; and he has adopted the best

means of accomplishing it. The avowed patrons of missions are not the only class of persons who take, or profess to take, an interest in human improvement. There are statesmen, philosophers, and men of science—there are the friends of education, and the opponents of slavery:—all these have their favourite schemes of civilization; and it is of special importance to enlist the approbation and efforts of those who have shewn a willingness *to do something*, and, indeed, *to do their best*, on behalf of whatever plans may be proved to be superior to their own, or, where their own are good so far as they go, to insure their efficiency, and complete what is defective in their operation. With this view, Dr. Campbell has divided his volume into Letters, each of which is addressed to a class, or to some type of a class, between which and the cause of missions, under some one or other of its aspects, there may be supposed to exist a link of sympathy.

Letter I. is addressed ‘to the Teachers of British and other Day Schools,’ and is ‘on the cultivation of the missionary spirit as a branch of education, and the preference due to missionary work.’ Their attention is called to ‘war and missions,’ as subjects which ‘come legitimately before them in the two chief departments of history and geography.’ Missions, it is remarked, are made too much ‘an affair of pecuniary contribution,’ and ‘appropriate human agency’ is too little considered. But the time will come, when churches that have sent none of their members abroad, will regard themselves as ‘denied a precious privilege and a high distinction.’ Now the missionary prayer-meeting often presents a ‘condemnatory contrast to the treasurer’s report;’ but let true missionary zeal pervade the churches, and the question of pecuniary support, instead of losing ground, will gain by being placed second to that of agency; for that which is now an artificial and remittent stream, will then become a natural and perennial one. Moral greatness is entitled to the first distinction, and such greatness shines most resplendently in the missionary character. This is the position which it is the aim of our author to illustrate and establish; and, for this purpose, Mr. Williams, ‘the Martyr of Erromanga,’ is singled out, ‘not as the object of individual idolatry,’ as a superficial reader might be apt to imagine, but simply as ‘a fit and proper representative of the missionary brotherhood.’

Letter II. is addressed ‘to the Teachers of Sunday-schools,’ and is ‘on the success of missionary efforts to subvert idolatry, and to introduce the knowledge of the true God.’ They are exhorted to store their minds with ‘the literature of missions,’ as ‘more serviceable than all the commentaries and encyclopædias united.’ Their attention is then called to the islands of the South Sea, as favouring, by their small size and limited population, accurate

views and deep impressions. To these islands repaired John Williams, that he might extirpate idolatry, and restore the knowledge of the true God, and, this done, extinguish war and establish peace, awaken the dormant sensibilities of the human heart, lay deep and strong the foundations of society by a revival of the law of marriage according to the Divine appointment, impart the blessings of education, arts, science, commerce, and civilization, and institute just law and free government.

The conversion of Auura, chief of Rurutu, and the consequent abandonment of the idols of that island; the simultaneous conflagration of all the maraes of Aitutaki; the wonderful conversion of Roma-tane, and the subversion of idolatry in his dominions; and the occurrence of a like transformation in Rarotonga:—these remarkable instances of Williams's success, with their attendant circumstances, are sketched by Dr. Campbell with a powerful pencil, aided by a thorough sympathy with the grandeur of their moral lineaments. In conclusion, he calls upon the 'conductors of the press' to give the subject of Christian missions a permanent place in their columns.

Letter III. is addressed 'to the Superintendents of Sunday-schools,' and is, in point of subject-matter, a continuation of the former. Dr. Campbell urges this important class of public benefactors to make missions a study in the schools under their superintendence. He then resumes his illustrations from Williams, whose narratives gain considerably by his judgment in selecting the gems of the book, and his skill in *setting* them.

Letter IV. is addressed 'to the Committees and Members of the London and American Peace Societies,' and is 'on the tendency of missionary labour to extinguish war and establish peace.' After 'rebuking the ignorant flippancy of those who deride the idea that the nations of the earth can dispense with slaughter,' and noticing with satisfaction the 'evangelical turn' of the Peace Prize Essays, our author avows himself a member of the London Society, and proceeds to exhibit from Williams the uniform tendency of missions to put a stop to war and repair its ravages. The letter concludes with a somewhat taunting apostrophe to voyagers, travellers, and men of science, as having contributed to perpetuate and aggravate the calamities of war, rather than to terminate or mitigate them.

Letter V. is addressed to Sir Fowell Buxton, and is 'on the results of missionary labour in relation to government, life, liberty, and property.' Some complimentary allusions to the worthy baronet's philanthropic career lead to the subject of the African slave-trade. The society which Sir Fowell has been the means of founding, may be useful as 'an auxiliary;' but nothing, in Dr. Campbell's opinion, will 'stanch the wounds of that bleed-

ing country' but 'God's own remedy;' and he therefore summons 'the saints of Europe to a new and holier crusade,' and calls upon them 'to erect the cross in the midst of the carnage.' With this preface, our author proceeds to illustrate from Williams the kindly and regenerative bearing of the gospel upon the social and political state of those nations among which it has been newly introduced.

Letter VI. is addressed to Mr. Douglas, of Cavers, and is 'on the results of missionary labour in relation to moral sympathy.' Quoting a passage from the 'Hints on Missions,' in which Mr. Douglas deplors that so little attention should be paid by missionaries to the improvement of the temporal condition of those among whom they labour, Dr. Campbell shews that in Polynesia, as well as in other parts of the missionary field, this reproach has been wiped away. Williams furnishes him with several beautiful and touching examples of the talismanic power of the gospel, in unscaling the springs of human sympathy and rousing into action all the dormant charities of life. Had 'these wonderful effects been wrought by Williams 'by his own strength or wisdom,' he would have been all but deified; 'but the Cross, the offensive Cross, has marred all!'

'On these grounds it is' (continues our author) 'that so much importance attaches to the labours of literary laymen, especially men of rank and property, in behalf of missions. Whatever may be achieved by a clerical hand to convince and abash the adversary, there is still the disadvantage to be encountered—the *performance is professional*. This is enough! But when men like yourself, Isaac Taylor, and other master-spirits, step forth as the advocates of evangelical operations, the question assumes a new shape, and it must be dealt with in another manner.'

Dr. Campbell concludes by calling upon Mr. Douglas to address a series of letters on Christian missions to the higher circles of society.

Letter VII. is addressed 'to Mr. Thomas Wilson, Treasurer of the London Missionary Society,' and is 'on the results of missionary labour in relation to the institution of marriage, arts, commerce, and civilization.' Dr. Campbell regards Mr. Wilson as 'having neither time nor taste for theoretic trifling,' and as looking only to 'results.' To results, therefore, our author appeals, briefly setting forth the marvellous changes accomplished by Williams's instrumentality, in the subversion of polygamy, the attendant of idolatry, with idolatry itself, and in the introduction of industrial and civilized habits and occupations; thus vindicating the sagacity of Edmund Burke, who declared, that, in the matter of humanizing barbarous tribes, he 'trusted more to the effects and influence of religion than to all the rest of the regulations put to-

gether.' When such effects have been produced by missionaries—effects of which no other class of philanthropists can boast, Dr. Campbell thinks it 'clear as experiment can ever make it, that the gospel is the only remedy for the woes of our world;' and, since 'the proofs have been accumulating eighteen hundred years,' 'surely it is now time,' he adds, 'that we should cease disputing with the infidel, and proceed in good earnest to the universal dispensation of its benefits.'

Letter VIII. is addressed to Lord Brougham, and is 'on the results of missions in regard to slavery and education.' It is the longest, and perhaps the most important, letter in the book. Our author begins by avowing his anxiety to press upon his lordship's attention, that the question of the world's complete civilization is mainly a question of missions; a pains-taking investigation of the history of his lordship's opinions having forced him to the conclusion, that it is 'one of the very few subjects with which his lordship seems but slightly acquainted.' He then makes a grateful reference to what his lordship has actually done, as a foundation for the expression of regret that he has not done more.

Notwithstanding all his claims on the admiration of future ages, Dr. Campbell shews Lord Brougham that his posthumous renown must yield to that of such men as Williams and others, who have more perfectly understood the wants of man, and have more faithfully and efficiently applied the proper remedy. When men's productions shall be judged of by the standard of a divine utility, his lordship's speeches in behalf of the missionary Smith will possess an interest infinitely greater than any of his other efforts. Our author, guided by the lamp of revealed truth, even ventures to anticipate the judgment of enlightened posterity as to his lordship's character and claims. It will declare him to have been 'a man of pure morals, of universal disinterestedness, and of an ambition not greater than his capabilities to serve his country and benefit mankind;' but it will 'tremble to think of the possible condition of his mighty spirit,' finding 'nothing in his history bespeaking true sympathy with the religion of the Son of God,' nothing in his works indicative of 'a right understanding of the doctrines of the Cross, or of any anxious concern about the world to come.' 'I have looked for such indications in vain' (says Dr. Campbell) 'in your speeches for the missionary Smith.' He admits, however, that his lordship has subsequently improved in his knowledge of the missionary character and claims; but he declines the praise bestowed by Lord Brougham on the Voluntary missionary, in so far as it is founded upon his alleged inferiority to the State clergy in literary attainments. The difference between the two classes consists in other points. 'Their views of human nature, of the character of God, of the essence and object

of the gospel, are nearly as different as morals and mathematics. The creed of the missionaries, to a man, is that of your late evangelical friend, Wilberforce; the creed of that class of the clergy, the impotence of whose labours is attested by Lord Sligo, is that of your heathen favourite, Cicero.' The reference is to a passage in which Lord Brougham transfers the eulogy pronounced on Cato by 'the ancient philosopher best imbued with religious opinions,' to his ill-fated friend Romilly; namely, '*nemo pietate præstantior.*' 'Cicero's '*præstantior pietate,*' says our divine, 'is the exact counterpart of Paul's 'wholly given to idolatry.' 'You always speak of the missionary,' continues Dr. Campbell, 'simply as relating to the West India islands, and appear to think of him merely as a patient, painstaking, and conscientious schoolmaster. Nothing seems further from your thoughts than the idea that both his mission and his message are of divine origin.' His lordship's mistakes on this subject are referred to his want of acquaintance with the person and offices of Christ, whom, as a teacher, and as the founder of a distinct *order* of teachers, Dr. C. invites the learned lord to compare with all whom history has transmitted to our times. Granting the justice as well as the beauty of Burke's character of Howard, what, he asks, were that vaunted philanthropist's 'short continental tours of compassion' compared with the labours of the apostle Paul? 'Whether we consider the nature, number, variety, extent, or perpetuity of the benefits conferred by the labours of Paul on Asia, Europe, and the universe, they are all equally, and all infinitely, beyond comparison; and yet we look in vain into the volumes of moralists, philosophers, orators, and legislators, for one word in commendation of him! Why is this, my lord? Viewing Paul simply as a philanthropist, as a teacher, or promoter of popular education of the highest order, because of a moral character, and as having transmitted these blessings through all subsequent generations, is he not by far the first of human kind?'

Dr. Campbell next addresses his lordship as the lover of peace and the friend of education, running a parallel, in these respects, between him and his Roman prototype:—

'Your lordship is as far as your great prototype in advance of the merely philosophic literature of your own day, and as faintly supported by it. The famous verses of Cicero,—

'Cedant arma togæ, concedat laurea lingue;
O fortunatam natam, me consule, Romam!'

were as much the subject of railery and ridicule to the frivolous and ignorant as your own electric expression,—

'The schoolmaster is abroad.'

But there is a book as much in advance of both those famous

men, as each of them was in advance of his contemporaries; to wit, the Bible. With this preface, the Doctor proceeds to lay before his lordship a number of extended passages from Isaiah, Daniel, David, and Solomon, in praise of the blessings of peace and righteousness as destined to follow in the train of the Messiah, which certainly, to say nothing of statesmen and philosophers, have not attracted even among professed Christians the attention they deserve. These remarkable quotations are interspersed with very striking observations.

Dr. Campbell then elucidates the fundamental difference between such schemes for human improvement as those which Lord Brougham favours, and that which the Scriptures point out; namely, the knowledge of God. The skill and tact with which this is effected, are admirable. His lordship is first assailed with extracts from Pascal, whom, as Locke has designated him 'a prodigy of parts,' it is presumed even Lord Brougham will not despise. Then come 'the prophets and apostles of God;' and here again we have a series of felicitous quotations *in extenso*, from the sacred writers, introduced with remarkable effect. Dr. Campbell expounds to his noble countryman the leading doctrines of the gospel in simple, but most forcible terms, free from all technical or (if the world pleases) *cant* phrases. Our limits will not permit us to follow him.

Dr. Campbell claims Lord Brougham's support of missions on the ground of their special tendency to promote the abolition of slavery and the diffusion of education, and goes into a statement of facts to prove that these are their direct and immediate effects. Indeed, take away the missionaries, and who would remain to do either of those good works, particularly the latter? 'Is there any prospect of great philosophical confederacies being formed for the education of all mankind?'

The letter to Lord Brougham closes with some affecting references to the death-bed scenes of celebrated men, and a solemn appeal to the noble lord himself, as destined at no distant period to pass through the same dread ordeal. Dr. Campbell touches this delicate subject with becoming tenderness. He invites the particular attention of his noble countryman to the last hours of Sir James Mackintosh, as described with inimitable simplicity by his gentle daughter.

'Such, my lord,' remarks our author, 'is the narrative of the sayings and utterances of this great philosopher. You observe how entirely his philosophy failed him in the hour of death, and how absolutely he depended upon Jesus Christ. He just learned the first principles of true religion, and, like a little child, gently died in the faith of the Son of God! His last solemn utterance, before leaving our sphere, was a public confession of faith in Jesus Christ as the Saviour of the

world. Such words, from such lips, in such circumstances, are not to be lightly treated. The speaker, one of the greatest and purest of men, was, even amid bodily decay, as far from imbecility as he had all his life been superior to hypocrisy; and yet, in immediate prospect of the judgment-seat of God, he felt the utter insufficiency of a merely moral and useful life to recommend him to the Divine approbation, and to satisfy the demands of the Divine law, and fled for refuge to the hope set before him in the atoning sacrifice of Jesus Christ. What he spoke, he felt. The declaration, too, was voluntary. It was also made after a preparation of 'long silence.' He made it as he lay between two worlds: Time, with all its vanities and visions, behind him,—Eternity, with its truths and realities, before him; the understanding exerting its powers of defence to the uttermost, and conscience honestly performing its duty: thus situated, with one foot in this world, and the other in the world to come, the last words of Sir James Mackintosh to the philosophers and statesmen of Europe and the world were, 'I BELIEVE IN JESUS!'

Letter IX. is addressed to the Rev. Timothy East, as the 'father in Christ' of John Williams, and is 'on the character and death' of the illustrious missionary. Dr. Campbell begins with his person, of which he gives a faithful, graphic, and unflattering description. In point of intellect, he is described as wholly mechanical, of a sound but not a comprehensive judgment, slow ('he died through deliberation'), indecisive, soft, uncultivated, narrow and superficial, unpoetic; in speaking, simple but strong, rough but manly; and wholly indifferent to self.

Anticipating the disappointment which superficial observers may feel at so moderate an estimate of such a man, Dr. Campbell observes, that Williams's greatness was 'altogether moral.' He not only grants, but 'even contends,' that his mental powers were of a common order; on which ground chiefly he rests his claim to universal admiration. And if Dr. Campbell has been somewhat rigid in his analysis of his hero's intellectual constitution, he has made ample compensation in the constellation of moral excellences which he has attributed to him. In magnanimity (or large-heartedness), philanthropy, scriptural piety, liberality of spirit, diligent perseverance, and kindred virtues, our author is of opinion that he has been rarely equalled, and perhaps never surpassed. This is a portion of the volume from which we should be glad to quote freely, did not our limits forbid.

Dr. Campbell indulges in a number of ingenious speculations, some of which are perhaps more curious than useful, as to what 'the laws of harmony require' in reference to the time and circumstances of the decease of remarkable men.

Letter X. is addressed 'to the Rev. Thomas Gillespie, D.D., Professor of Latin in the University of St. Andrews,' and is designed to settle the 'comparative claims of intellectual and

moral greatness.' St. Andrews is our author's *alma mater* (though he studied at Glasgow also), and he appears to have attended the prelections of Professor Gillespie. Availing himself of Robert Pollok's delineations of the characters of David Hume and Lord Byron, Dr. Campbell points to them as conspicuous examples of the perfection of intellectual greatness, in conjunction with a total destitution of moral greatness, and, contrasting them with Williams, shews that he answers completely to Cicero's definition of true greatness, which, according to him, has its source in the heart, and is unattainable 'without a certain divine influence' (*sine afflatu aliquo divino*). He then proceeds to ransack the biographical annals of heathen antiquity, for its best specimens of moral greatness. To the Tyrian Hercules, who, 'like Williams, lost his life in a voyage undertaken to promote the reformation of mankind,' he assigns a 'pre-eminent' station; placing next to him Osiris, who, although he commanded vast military resources, preferred the weapons of truth, reason, and persuasion. Sesostris, Cyrus, and Darius, stand lower in the scale. Among the Greeks, Lycurgus surpassed Minos, and Solon him; but no other ancient heathen nation could boast three such men. Pericles was 'the Chatham of Athens,' and could affirm that 'no Athenian, through his means, ever went into mourning;' but 'the greatest of the Greeks,' nay, 'of all the heathen,' was Socrates.

Of the Greek and Roman prose writers, Plutarch is the only one in whom Dr. Campbell finds indisputable marks of moral greatness; while Cicero, so far from presenting an example of his own definition, was, notwithstanding all his genius, talents, and acquirements, vain, effeminate, and imbecile. Of the poets our author has a still meaner opinion, Pindar and his favourite Hesiod alone excepted; the rest were 'a wicked and wretched fraternity, the worst of men.' As for Homer, he was 'the poet of havoc,' while Hesiod sang of 'the arts of peace,' and Pindar 'of every virtue and of every grace.' The bards of Rome had 'much less genius, without more virtue;' and even Virgil, though his poetical merits are acknowledged, is set down as, in spite of his 'Georgics,' 'contributing nothing to the good of his country, or the improvement of mankind.'

Dr. Campbell throws out some important suggestions for the improvement of academical studies, particularly in relation to languages, logic, and ethics. Speaking 'from bitter experience,' he declares that the tendency of such pursuits, as usually conducted, is 'anti-Christian.' Instead of being made subservient, as they might be, to high and holy objects, their common effect is to inflame bad passions. Thus, 'Homer was the Bible of Alexander,' and the lascivious Ovid is still taught in the schools

in which the national clergy and the leaders of the people receive their earliest and most lasting impressions. Not that Dr. Campbell would depreciate classical learning, on which our national literature has been formed, and on which missionaries are more or less dependent in the work of translating the Holy Scriptures into the dialects of the heathen; but the study of the authors in question ought to be combined with a careful and copious exposition of their momentous and manifold deficiencies, which would have far more weight with the confiding and admiring students than a hundred languid homilies from the pulpits of the college chapels. This, also, is Mr. Foster's view of the case; and it is a course which would harmonize the instruction of the country with its religion, at present so discordant.

Dr. Campbell exemplifies the necessity of a radical reform by reference to the fact, that the gentlest and purest minds have not escaped the taint of corruption from the indiscriminate study and admiration of ancient classics; instancing Cowper, who, although himself 'the poet of truth, hope, and charity,' and 'the trembling type of all that was sweet, gentle, and humane,' regretted, on finishing his translation of Homer, an author whom even Plato would have banished from his Republic, that 'his pleasant work was ended,' declaring that nothing could ever 'compensate to him the loss of that innocent luxury.' From these and similar considerations, Dr. Campbell urges academic senates to incorporate with their *curricula* the questions of true moral greatness, the importance of missions, and the evils of war. In order to this, he calls upon them to confer literary honours upon eminent missionaries, who advance a just claim to such distinction in their translations of the Scriptures, their grammars of barbarous languages, and the wide extension which they give to education, knowledge, and the peaceful arts. 'The time,' he predicts, 'will unquestionably come, when these views will be realized, and when the colleges of Great Britain will deem it an infinitely higher honour to have produced a Martyn than a Milton, a Carey than a Cuvier, a Coke than a Canning, a Williams even than a Wilberforce.'

Letter XL, addressed 'to the Rev. John Foster,' resumes the illustration and comparison of moral and intellectual greatness, taking examples from the sacred Scriptures, modern authors, and Christian missionaries. It is a charming and powerful composition. Patriarchs, prophets, and apostles, are sketched with a faithful and masterly hand.

Dr. Campbell's judgments on the great men of our own country are at least independent, whatever may be the difference of opinion as to their truth. In Bacon, he declares, there is 'everything to admire,' but 'nothing to love.' Boyle 'unsettled everything,'

but 'built up nothing.' Addison's mind, though not very powerful, was 'unusually perfect;' he wanted nothing but 'the stimulus of hunger, ambition, or controversy,' to place him in the first class; but 'of moral greatness he possessed little:' the famous anecdote of his death-bed 'savours as much of boasting as of piety;' in all he wrote 'there is not one statement of gospel truth;' and, vaunt him as we will, '*he never turned one sinner to righteousness.*' Johnson, unequalled in 'force,' 'comprehensiveness,' and 'independence of mind,' was 'superior to most of the frailties of humanity,' and 'united poverty with dignity;' but his moral greatness was 'mixed and imperfect;' and, although his writings are unrivalled in other respects, yet, from his 'ignorance of gospel doctrine,' they are 'powerless as organs of human reformation;' Fuller's '*Great Question Answered*' being 'infinitely superior' to them all. But we must stop. In one word, whether they be philosophers, jurists, political economists, astronomers, or discoverers, Dr. Campbell finds nowhere any class of men, or any individual of a class, who can compete with the missionary of the Cross.

Letter XII. is addressed 'to the Right Honourable Thomas Babington Macaulay,' and is on 'the military and missionary characters, illustrated, compared, and contrasted.' Dr. Campbell addresses Mr. Macaulay as the advocate of peace; and, referring to the infamous articles on missions and 'the nonsense of the Tabernacle,' attributed to the Rev. Sydney Smith, which appeared many years since in the *Edinburgh Review*, calls upon the ex-Secretary at War, as he had previously called upon Lord Brougham, to use his influence in obtaining justice for missions for the future from that great organ of liberal opinions and peace principles. He enlarges on the improved tone of English society, with respect to war, quoting from the present Premier the following creditable avowal:—'I do hope that one great and most beneficial effect of the advance of civilization, the diffusion of knowledge, and the extension of commerce, will be, the *reducing within their proper dimensions, of the same, and the merit, and the reward of military achievements*; and that juster notions of the moral dignity of, and the moral obligation due to, those who apply themselves to *preserve peace, and to avoid the eclat of war*, will be the consequence.'

Dr. Campbell admits the less destructive character of modern warfare as compared with the exterminating slaughter of former times; but, 'unable to distinguish between the science of war and the practice of it,' he contends, that, 'put at the highest point, a genius for war is but a genius for shedding blood;' and what afflicts him most of all is, 'the spiritual condition of military hosts in the hour of conflict,' the awful thought 'that the invisible

regions should be so largely peopled by the souls of men who fell by mutual violence!

Letter XIII. is addressed 'to Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington,' and is headed 'Military and missionary enterprise illustrated, compared, and contrasted, in relation to their respective characters, claims, and glory.' This letter, like that to Lord Brougham, is invested with a good deal of personal interest. Dr. Campbell has been at the pains of perusing Colonel Gurwood's immense collection of the Duke's dispatches, and has gleaned from them a most entertaining bird's-eye view of the veteran commander's military life. After rapidly glancing at the desolating career of Alexander, Cæsar, Charles of Sweden ('the Alexander of the North'), Frederick the Great, and Napoleon, he comes to the Duke, whose fame, in his opinion, must be based upon his conduct of the Peninsular war, and not upon the battle of Waterloo, however complete and decisive the victory.

Our author, then, in plain but eloquent terms, endeavours to make the venerable warrior understand and appreciate the superior character of the Christian missionary, and the claims which he and his work have upon the support of all who wish to benefit their species, winding up with a solemn appeal to the matured judgment and sad reflections of the aged Duke.

The volume appropriately concludes with a letter (XIV.) addressed 'to the churches of Great Britain, Ireland, and America,' 'on the past history, present position, and future prospects of the missionary enterprise.' Although, upon the whole, Dr. Campbell derives matter of encouragement from the review, and is of opinion that 'the work already accomplished is incredibly—I had almost said inconceivably—great,' (*is it incredibly great?*) yet the recent deficiency of funds has filled him with solicitude; and he is afraid lest the example of America, where the churches have, with seeming unconcern, diminished their contributions, and allowed whole missions to be broken up and abandoned, should infect our own impoverished countrymen. The rapid rise of the Oxford heresy, and the contemporaneous efforts of the Propaganda, increase his anxiety. We shall 'assuredly be compelled to fight once again the battle of the Reformation, not in Europe only, but *under every sky*;' and, though the victory is sure, we shall have to *fight* for it. Let slave-holding America do what she will: 'where the demon of slavery presides, the proper morality is arithmetic.' But what must *we* do?

This copious though condensed analysis, with the extracts interspersed, might supply the place of special criticism, affording the reader, as they do, a tolerable notion of the nature and contents of the work, as well as of its style and composition; but it will be expected of us to pronounce distinctly our own opinion.

'The Martyr of Erromanga' is original in conception, and vigorous in execution. Although cast in the form of letters, it bespeaks the pulpit as well as the pen. Owing partly to the author's professional habits, and partly, perhaps chiefly, to the desire of being impressive, there is much of the orator's repetition and diffuseness. This, however, is confined, for the most part, to those passages which are of the nature of appeal. To speak the truth, a good deal of the argument is conducted on the principle of advocacy, rather than on that of judgment; although, when he turns aside for a moment from his main point, Dr. Campbell can be as judge-like as any man that ever wore the ermine; and, indeed, at the same time that he liberally avails himself of the rhetorician's art, his discursiveness, his alliterations, and his antitheses, he is often extremely sententious and piquant, especially in his parallels and portraits of famous men. Some would think him frequently too elliptical. The fact is, that he is not so much a cultivator, as he is an admirer, of style. The 'Rambler' appears to be his *beau ideal*; but, although, like Johnson, he is fond of alliteration and antithesis, and also resembles him in point of sonorousness and Latinity, his periods seldom exhibit that musical inflection, those felicitous inversions, and that magnificent rotundity, in which the charm of the author of 'Rasselas' materially consists. The native, we had almost said untutored, attributes of Dr. Campbell's style, are strength, clearness, and, above all, perpetual animation.

The points in which we conceive our author mistaken are neither so numerous nor so important as to demand much specification or correction. It has been asserted that the entire work is an exaggeration. Those who think so have not that faculty of spiritual discernment which is essential to the formation of an accurate judgment. To such Dr. Campbell may reply, as John Wesley's official biographer did to Dr. Southey, 'Sir, *thou hast nothing to draw with, and the well is deep.*' But even those who sympathize with our author's views as to the transcendent glory and importance of the missionary enterprise, will not always acquit him of exaggeration. 'To say that Williams's 'Enterprises' is of 'infinitely greater worth than all that Greece and Rome have transmitted to our times;' that 'the superintendent of an English Sunday-school is a superior character, and occupies a higher station, than the author of the 'Novum Organon';' that 'the peasantry of England are under far greater obligations to the Home Missionary Society in Chatham-place, Blackfriars, than to all the scientific bodies in the British dominions:'—these assertions, and some others like them, may be perfectly true in the sense intended by Dr. Campbell; but they are scarcely in place in a work avowedly designed to influence the world as well as the church, and it

seems to us that they fall under his own rebuke, when he lays it down as a rule, that, 'where there is, and where there can be, no competition, there ought to be no comparison, in order to praise or to censure.' We wish also that our author's reference to Lord Bolingbroke had either been wholly omitted or more guardedly expressed. 'I am not sure,' says Dr. Campbell of that arch-infidel, 'I am not sure, all things considered, that a *greater soul* was ever born on British ground.' Dr. Campbell, indeed, quotes Goldsmith's qualified eulogium; but he himself opposes nothing to his own very strong expression of approval except Bolingbroke's ambition, and that only as an attribute which he possessed in common with great-souled men in general. In another part of the work, however, Bolingbroke is found in the same category with Hume and Shaftesbury. Another fault of a contrary description; and we shall have said everything we deem necessary, in order to guard ourselves against being supposed to approve of all, where we commend so much. We refer to a passage (p. 17), in which Dr. Campbell has sternly pronounced the everlasting perdition of the idolater as such. So enlightened an advocate of Christian missions might have been satisfied with their intrinsic claims to support, without pressing into their service a conclusion which the writings of the apostle Paul discountenance rather than warrant, and which appears to us to be as much at variance with the dispensations of Divine Providence as it is at war with the dictates of Christian benevolence.

The subject of the volume is, in effect, the exclusive adaptation of the Christian religion to supply the wants of the world, to heal all its maladies, to restore it to a state of sound health, and to nourish it up into the perfection of knowledge and happiness. In brief, the threefold purpose of the author is to expose the evils of war, to exhibit the benefits of the gospel, and to assert the paramount claims of moral greatness.

Dr. Campbell's choice of the epistolary form has induced him to neglect methodical arrangement and the strict rules of logical discussion. This, however, is not to be seriously regretted. Treated discursively, the subject admits of more various and copious illustration; and the worst consequence is, a little repetition, which may conduce towards impressiveness. To the same cause the reader is indebted for the incidental introduction of many topics, which, as little to be expected in such a work, give much interest to its perusal, particularly because, in the plastic hands of our author, they are, without violence or distortion, made to contribute to the working out of his general design. His intimate acquaintance with the public life of Wellington and Brougham, as contained in the speeches of the one and the dispatches of the other, as well as with ancient and modern history in general, and

the ease and mastery with which he makes use of these large resources for the purpose of illustration, are worthy of admiration. His estimates of the ancient classics, whether considered in themselves, or compared with each other and with the sacred writers, imply a degree and an extent of scholarlike attainments rarely to be met with in the walks of active and busy life. We gain a glimpse of the political sentiments of Dr. Campbell, who sees in our national debt the hopeless cause of national depression, and in emigration, conducted upon the largest scale, its only alleviation. He is no admirer of kings and nobles, merely because born to wear crowns and coronets; but admires them only when virtuous, and then the more because of the rareness of the combination. He notices, for the first time, we believe, the interesting fact, that Europe, within the space of little more than a century, gave birth to all the greatest astronomers, who, he believes, 'were as certainly raised up for the especial purpose of illustrating the natural attributes of God, as the holy prophets and apostles for the special purpose of illustrating his moral attributes.' And he has been sufficiently observant of the useful arts to remark, that 'the art of working in iron (to which Williams was bred) stands at the head of all others,' and that 'in no country has civilization ever been known to precede the use of iron.' We are glad to find Dr. Campbell setting at nought the popular errors of religious people; as, for instance, when he contrasts the 'dismal gloom' of Brainerd with the 'perpetual sunshine' of Williams, and emphatically observes, that 'a man of melancholy temperament, a man with dark and doleful views of the gospel of mercy, is not a proper person to be sent to the field of missions.' We know of nothing more calculated to deter young men from going out as missionaries, than the distressing memoirs of that excellent hypochondriac.

It is difficult to estimate the probable influence of this volume over that portion of the public whose feelings are not yet fully enlisted in behalf of Christian missions. The contempt which it pours upon most of what they have been wont to admire and revere, will revolt many and stagger all; but a goodly number, we may hope, will be won over by the ability and knowledge which the book displays, and by the author's freedom from bitterness at least, if not from partiality and prejudice; and, in spite of the trenchant style in which he disposes of all counter claims, however high in their esteem, will be induced to weigh maturely those which he presents to their notice in favour of the missionary enterprise. His just abhorrence of war, and his enlightened advocacy of liberal systems of human government, will reconcile many whom his high, and, as they may think, haughty views of the unapproachable eminence of the missionary

character, would otherwise have mortally offended. But, after all, we fear that 'the carnal mind' will prevent most of the acknowledged leaders of public opinion from recognising in the work anything beyond a splendid exaggeration.

Upon minds influenced by correct views of the relative importance of Christianity and all inferior expedients for the improvement of mankind, the effect of this volume is not doubtful. Nothing has come from the press more adapted to place the subject of Christian missions in its true position. The church will now see to what a high vocation it has been called. The opportune appearance of such a stimulating work will reverse the declining tendency of missionary effort, and renovate the zeal of British Christians for the universal diffusion of the divine remedy for all human woe. This is the light in which the gospel ought to be viewed; it is that in which Dr. Campbell has placed it; and in which, we trust, God's spiritual Israel will henceforth constantly regard it.

For ourselves, we hail the almost simultaneous appearance of so many works on the subject of missions as one of the best signs of the times. The rest we shall have future opportunities of introducing to our readers. We have now only to commend that of Dr. Campbell to their most serious attention. The thanks of the whole church are due to him for this very remarkable production. While it places him in advance of his previously high reputation, it inspires the hope that he will perform still more distinguished services to the cause of sacred literature. It assuredly evinces powers of a higher order, and resources of greater variety and magnitude, than any of his former works, useful, eloquent, and interesting as they are. It bespeaks a mind burning with benevolent desires, and born to give direction and impetus to the practical Christianity of its age. It opens up a vein of thought which, we are persuaded, the author might prosecute with much advantage to the cause which lies so near his heart. The missionary office and enterprise, regarded in their domestic as well as in their foreign relations, are peculiarly safe in the hands of one so keenly alive to their dignity and importance, and at once so able and so resolved to vindicate their just claims, and raise them to their true position. The various learning and the penetrating discernment with which he has here developed the moulding operation of Christian missions upon the character and destinies of our own nation, and of other nations, which, though now called Christendom, were once among the domains of a darkness as dense, and a paganism as puerile, as those which overhang and degrade any of the existing tribes of the heathen world, point him out as fitted to pursue the fruitful theme in all its illustrable branches, and to show our philanthropists, philosophers, and

statesmen, that, as it ever has been, so it ever will be—all real civilization, all exemplary virtue, all private happiness, all public order, all social advancement, all permanent utility, all good, and all truth, must be expected as the result of Christian principle, or they will be expected in vain.

ART. III. *The English Language.* By R. G. Latham, A.M., Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, Professor of the English Language and Literature, University College, London. Taylor and Walton: 1841.

THE very wide experience which the history of science in all its branches affords, appears to show that the besetting infirmity of the human mind is, in every topic, the very same as that which Bacon first distinctly and laboriously combated in the philosophy of the ancients. This infirmity, we need hardly say, consists in generalizing too rapidly. The same cause which turned astronomy into a system of dogmatic ignorance, and blighted logic in its infancy, shed its baneful influence also upon grammar; and, in England at least, the majority of its teachers are but beginning to be aware of this. Having analyzed with some care the idioms and organism of one or two languages, the grammarian proceeded to lay down the laws of universal grammar, and this often without pretending that the languages on which his theory was based at all fulfilled the demands of that theory. Such systems of universal grammar, like Plato's astronomy, used to set forth, not what the facts of nature *are*, but what the theorist thought they *ought to be*, and may be fairly entitled ingenious proposals for reconstituting human speech. We are sorry to observe that the nineteenth century is by no means yet free from these attempts to build a universal grammar, not upon history, but upon speculation.

We do not mean to deny to these metaphysical grammarians all merit. Their doctrines were certainly, in some small measure, built upon observation; so that, of course, many principles of truth were mingled with their errors. Moreover, like the schoolmen of the middle ages, they kept up a considerable activity of the logical understanding, which was better than apathy and indolence, however fruitless in results, and however incommensurate to the dignity of the subject. The mischiefs of their labours are nevertheless greater than this negative statement would imply, and it may not be amiss here to recapitulate them.

First, in order and magnitude, we must recount the fixed barrier to all further advance towards a philosophical appreciation of human speech, which these premature generalizations set up.

Each new language that came within our horizon was to be forced into the Procrustean frame ready-made for her, and of course the scholar, instead of listening with docility to such lessons as might have been gained from this new teacher, thought himself competent to dictate to her, and even in duty bound to set her right. He had already obtained a knowledge of *universal* grammar, and was therefore beyond learning from further experience. Again, the result of such grammatical doctrines has been to give wide currency to a petty, dry, logical cavilling against numberless received idioms; to inauspicious efforts after perspicuity, falsely so called; to a canvassing of words and syllables, more than phrases and sentences; to an endeavour, in short, to remodel the idiom of our language, whenever it fell short of the logical standard set up. Since, unfortunately, our grammarians looked chiefly to Latin and French as their first sources of thought on these topics, they found our English idiom to vary widely from their standard; and, by the attacks which they perseveringly directed against our native speech, they succeeded in making hundreds of educated men ashamed and afraid to write as they would speak. It would seem as though they had supposed that all speech ought to be cast into the mould of a metaphysical essay. The numberless liberties which we call tropes and figures in the writers of antiquity, on a judicious employment of which so much of their vivacity depends, were coldly scouted as inaccuracies, or even as '*bulls*;' insomuch that it was no longer possible for a writer to yield to the impulse of feeling—to breathe the healthy glow of nature into his words—without the danger of incurring the lash of his schoolmaster. Every nervous, homely, downright word was, in the same spirit, denounced as a vulgarism, or rather as '*inelegant*;' for some of these dandy-critics would hardly use the word '*vulgarism*' without an apologetic phrase. Thus, in place of the heart and nerve, the manly simplicity, the straightforward grasping of the substance of a thought, which characterizes all the highest and most admired productions of Greek and Latin prose, our universal grammarians were inflicting upon us the degradation of a tame and enslaved style.

We cannot and need not detail the causes which have led to a great reaction, but we may touch on them. First came the romantic school of poetry, of which M'Pherson (the author of '*Ossian*') was the harbinger; a writer, who, however great his defects, first rescued English poetry from pedantic classicism, and naturally encountered the fiercest wrath of the existing school. Cowper and Goldsmith helped the good work, which Coleridge, Walter Scott, and other familiar names, finally achieved; and as long as the poetry of these last is admired, we trust it must prove impossible to wean us from the love of our mother

tongue. The great religious revival, beginning with Wesley and Whitfield, and, following it at some distance, the political movement, which may be dated from Horne Tooke, have introduced a depth and earnestness into our ideas, with a corresponding raciness of style. Nor is this confined to our lower or middle orders; on the contrary, we have reason to believe, that among our highest nobility, and our best educated circles, the purest Saxon is taught. Undoubtedly, the feature of English conversation which has most struck those of our American visitors who have had access to our aristocracy, is, the homely simplicity of their dialect; and we are disposed to think, that more simple, unaffected English is nowhere heard than in the society of our Universities.

There is, however, a great danger to our native tongue in the present day, from our increased connexion with the Continent. The *diplomatic* style is, of all English that is ever written, to us the most odious; and our newspapers, abounding as they must with foreign correspondence, composed by persons whose ears are perpetually assailed by continental idioms, diffuse far and wide a sort of cosmopolitan dialect. If this were merely the exchanging of an older for a newer form of language, it might not be intrinsically for the worse, though naturally unpleasing to ourselves, who are prepossessed with love of our mothers' accents: but diplomacy is miserably tame, formal, heartless, insipid, unreal; its idiom consists of a set of conventional phrases, which dress up in dead dignity the shallow thoughts or hollow professions of political intrigue—phrases not even tending to perspicuity and good logic, but quite as often designed to conceal the want of meaning. The influence of diplomatic idiom is, therefore, to destroy all heart and soul in language, and turn it into Chinese stiffness and uniformity; and, on these grounds, we cannot help deprecating the injury to our tongue which the newspapers, as vehicles of diplomacy, are likely to cause. Besides which, it is obvious, that the extreme rapidity with which all newspaper articles are produced, wholly precludes the possibility of careful revision. What is most to be desired, we think, is that they should be written, as nearly as possible, in the style of conversation, without scrupling to introduce a single familiar word current in good society, or aiming at any style at all.

In looking to grammatical culture for help against the inroads of barbarism, we feel ourselves in danger of leaning on a broken reed, which will pierce our hand. But, happily, a new school of English grammarians is rising, and cannot fail to win the day, who will do us far different service from their superficially speculating predecessors. We hardly know whether it is just to say, that as Bentley was the forerunner of modern Greek and Latin

criticism, so Wallis, as one born too soon, pointed out a truer grammatical cultivation than was yet known. Wallis's English Grammar has certainly much merit, but being written in Latin, it could never be widely diffused in England, and it is, we believe, very difficult to procure. He not only investigated the peculiarities of our language on its own basis, and classified, with much simplicity, the irregularities of our verbs, but shewed no small insight into the historical relations of Saxon and Latin, as well as a clear understanding that the work of an etymologist is to be carried on partly by induction within the limits of the language immediately treated, partly by historical research into the kindred languages, and partly by an investigation (scarcely possible, except to a native) of the *onomatopœic* formation of words; but he had no worthy successor, and the age needed to wait till a far greater luminary dawned upon it.

Not many years have elapsed since Jacob Grimm, the greatest of German etymologists, published his celebrated *Deutsch Grammatik*, a book which has already brought about a revolution in the European notion of a perfect grammar. His profound and extensive acquaintance with the languages of the north has shed a light far beyond his immediate subject, making his work a treasure-house of detailed information, as well as a guide to principles, and, in some respects, a pattern. Out of this have directly risen, in Germany and Denmark, various more or less important productions; but its indirect result—the spirit which it has diffused—is more important still. Isolated as Britain is, it was yet impossible that she should remain unaffected by its influence. The introductory essays to Mr. Bosworth's valuable Anglo-Saxon Dictionary were, we believe, among the first fruits of its application to our native tongue; but hitherto no superior grammar has appeared, executed in a like spirit, and with adequate knowledge.

Several highly respectable books of the new school have, indeed, been produced in later years among us, bearing upon the classical languages more immediately than upon English; but we are disposed to describe their writers as followers rather of Bopp than of Grimm. We must not now commit ourselves to so arduous a task as a critique on Bopp and the Sanscrit literati; but so much we may say, that, instead of convincing our understanding, they constantly force us to rest on their authority; and if we refrain from expressing dissent, it is chiefly from the feeling that, in so dark a subject, they may possibly be right, and not because the facts which they lay before us are adequate to prove them so. They generalize too fast, and rest on analogies too distant, to give us confidence in them as guides; and if, without presumption, we might waft to them a whisper of warning, we

would ask, whether distant lights can be safely or profitably employed, before we have learned soundly to interpret the indications of nearer ones.

Nor is the remark inapplicable to the subject immediately before us. If ever an *English* Grimm shall arise, who shall master all the still surviving dialects of our peasants, and, from the scanty remains of the very old English, be able to disentangle the usages of separate tribes of our forefathers, then at last (perhaps) the history of the English language may be entirely understood. At present it contains difficulties, the full explanation of which from any but purely English sources appears to us almost hopeless.

We have before us an English Grammar, which avowedly aims at an *historical* investigation of our language, in the spirit and by the light of Grimm and Raske. That the author is an accomplished scholar, and has devoted much time and care to his work, a cursory perusal would show. We shall endeavour to lay before our readers what he has executed.

Mr. Latham's work is divided into *five* parts, of which the first (of 99 pages) discusses the connexions of our modern tongue with the earlier English, and with the various languages to which it is more or less indebted. His second part (of 87 pages) is on pronunciation and orthography &c. His third part (of 169 pages) is entitled etymology, or what used to be called the *accidence* of the language. This is throughout treated historically, with an exclusive reference to the *Saxon* part of English. His fourth part is syntax, and contains only 15 pages. His last part is prosody, and has 14 pages.

The bare statement of the number of pages devoted to each subject, in itself shews on what topics he has laid chief stress. We cannot doubt that he regards syntax and prosody as the parts of grammar in which the current works are least unsuccessful, and has rather sought to fill up their more obvious defects, or to correct their more prominent errors, than to produce anything complete himself; otherwise, we should be forced to pronounce his syntax exceedingly defective: indeed, there are very numerous difficulties and nice distinctions encountered by every foreigner when he attempts to go *beyond a certain point* in the knowledge of English, in which no grammar that we have yet seen even pretends to give help. One who cuts down the English verb to the meagre remnant of it which can be traced to the primitive Gothic source, as Mr. Latham does, may have very good arguments for admitting so much only under the head of *etymology*, but we apprehend he does but pass on all the rest as arrears, to be paid off under the head of *syntax*; and all this important subject we here miss. Mr. Latham's notion of the

province of grammar is probably in part different from our own, for he thus dismisses the celebrated problem of *shall* and *will*:—

‘*I shall move* differs from *I will move*, as the ideas of *will* and *shall* differ from each other. To determine the ideas expressed by *will* and *shall* is a matter of lexicography rather than of syntax.’—p. 357.

After this, we cannot doubt that he holds the same of *all* the auxiliary verbs, and, much more, as to the peculiar uses of the possessive case in *'s*, the difference of the relatives *which*, *what*, *that*, the right application of *than* and *us*, *that*, *but that*, *lest*, &c. We, on the contrary, are accustomed to think, that some of these matters introduce general principles, and that others intimately concern the structure of sentences, so as to earn for them a place in GRAMMAR. Mr. Latham shuts up the whole subject of the use of the subjunctive mood, in his ‘Syntax,’ in the following remarks:—

‘*Beon* had, in Anglo-Saxon, a future power. In the idea of futurity lies the idea of contingency. From the idea of contingency arises the present subjunctive power of *be*. In this fact lies the proper use of the subjunctive mood. To write *be*, instead of *is* or *am*, there must be the idea of contingency. As often, moreover, as *be* must be used for *am* and *is*, the subjunctive form, like *speak*, must be used for the indicative form, *speaks*.’—p. 369.

Indeed, under his ‘etymology,’ p. 273, he says—‘The only true subjunctive inflection in the English language is that of *were* and *wert*, as opposed to the indicative forms, *was* and *wast*.’ Many readers would be at a loss to reconcile this with the other passage. We believe that we understand Mr. Latham here, though we hardly agree with him. Our chief objection, however, is that the two passages, when put side by side, leave a reader with the notion that *if I be* and *if I were* are both the same mood—viz., the subjunctive; but that is not the case: the formulas differ, not in tense, but in mood. The French and Italian grammars call them subjunctive and *conditional* moods. We are dissatisfied with the names, yet we have none better at hand.

In short, it is clear to us, that Mr. Latham has introduced the syntax, rather because it is expected in such a book, than because his own mind was full of it; and as he has given it so very subordinate a place, it would be unfair to criticize it for defects. We turn to speak of his first and third parts, which are by their nature peculiarly akin, and which obviously form the most valuable part of his Grammar.

The first part furnishes information of a varied nature, at first sight extremely remote from the purpose of an *English* grammar; such as the Scandinavian and Mæso-Gothic declensions, long

quotations from old Saxon, from Lowland Scotch, from old Frisian, from Welsh, American, and Irish, &c. But if in a few points Mr. Latham may seem to have overdone his task, it is, in the present state of English literature, a fault on the right side. In many of these matters Englishmen have yet to be taught how to reason: and they probably will not learn it, without a great addition to the stock of facts hitherto set before them in grammars. Mr. Latham's chapters on the Analysis (i. e. the *ingredients*) of the English language, and on its successive changes, are highly interesting and instructive. In his etymological part, the excellence of the whole consists so much in excellence of detail, that a general commendation is nearly all that the case admits. His principal aim throughout, is, historically to pursue every instance of apparent irregularity, and to account for the form which any word has at last assumed. We are not aware that, on this highly-important head, any English grammar existing will afford more than a small fraction of the knowledge here set before them, bearing immediately on the elucidation of English etymology; indeed, we regard it as certain, that the principal drawback on the utility of his book will be found in its too great fulness. It decidedly errs in excess, as regards mere learners; but we trust it may assist to elevate many of our teachers. We desire that nothing which we have to say *against* Mr. Latham's views, may be understood as either recalling or modifying the expressions of high respect with which we are bound to treat his labours. But as no one can show a brick in illustration of the architecture of a house, so no quotation is available for justifying our vague praise; and, on the other hand, when we differ from him, we need to explain and defend our grounds. Thus the apparent bulk of our objections is unfairly large in comparison with that of our approval. We may, however, here say in the general, that one erroneous tendency strikes us as pervading Mr. Latham's mind—viz., *over-subtlety*. In illustration of this, we will quote a very few examples:—

'The words *spitfire* and *dare-devil* seem exceptions [to this rule]. . . . The true idea, however, confirms the original rule. . . . A spitfire is not one who spits fire, but one whose fire is spit. A dare-devil is not one who dares even the devil, but one by whom the devil is even dared.' (!)—p. 329.

'*Mind* and do so and so. . . . The Anglo-Saxon forms are, *geman*, *gemanst*, *gemunon*, without the *d*; this letter occurring only in the preterite tense, of which it is the sign. *Mind*, then, is a preterite form with a present tense; whilst *mind*ed (as in, he *mind*ed his business) is an instance of excess of inflection; in other words, it is a preterite formed from a preterite.'—p. 300.

He presently adds—

'The Anglo-Saxon *man*, of *geman* the origin of *mind*, [is] for cer-

tain etymological reasons, looked upon as a preterite form, with a present tense.'

He infers that *mind* is really a secondary preterite, and *minded* a tertiary preterite.

This appears to us misapplied learning; while the explanation of the phenomenon is quite on the surface of our language. In many words we have a tendency to change *n* final into *nd*: as we say *sound* for *soun*, *tyrant* for *tyran*, *band* for *ban*, and various others. The vulgar, in many parts, say *gownd* for *gown*, *swound* for *swoon*. Surely in the same way *mind* has supplanted *man*. Might we not as well insist that the *d* of *sound* is the *d* of the preterite tense, as that this is the case in *mind*?

Much of the overfinesse, which we venture to call Mr. Latham's pervading fault, appears to rise out of a strange idea of his concerning irregularity. He positively declares—

'In language itself there is no irregularity. The word itself is only another name for our ignorance of the processes that change words.'—p. 312.

It is evident that a grammarian who is not mad, and who asserts the English language *to have no irregularities*, must only use his words in a different sense from other people. Yet this principle is not, we apprehend, therefore barren and unpractical with Mr. Latham. It leads him to prefer accounting for the forms of words, by some would-be grammatical refinement, rather than allow accidental corruptions of sound. We cannot see what is gained by this. It is as irregular (i. e. as opposed to the analogies of our language) to use a preterite with the sense of a present, as arbitrarily to add a consonant to the end of a word.

The same oversubtlety, we think, shews itself in Mr. Latham's arrangement of the irregular verbs*—an arrangement wholly unsuited to the English language in its present state, and tending only to confuse by its apparent arbitrariness and complexity.

While his prevailing tendency in this part is to overdo his work, on one head we complain that his etymology is decidedly defective; we mean, as to the prepositions.† Indeed, we can hardly account for his dismissing the topic so summarily, considering its interest, and the scope for illustration which it offered to his erudition.

But we must proceed to make a very few remarks on his second part—on pronunciation, &c. In commenting on this subject we labour under the difficulty, that where we differ from him we

* Mr. Latham makes thirteen classes of the *strong* verbs only. Several classes have but one verb in each, and some verbs are contained in two classes at once, as *break, cleave, speak*, in his seventh and eighth.

† There are certainly a few oversights in this matter of the prepositions; which Mr. Latham will probably see upon revising his work with fresh eyes.

know not whither to look for a decision. It is a question of the ear, and, in numerous cases, we find our pronunciation (or our appreciation of it) to vary from his. No *phonometer* has yet been invented. We cannot enter into many such matters, which are generally points of detail: but it suffices to notice two. First, Mr. Latham's opinion (on which he even finds a new nomenclature) that the short vowels in *fat, bed, pit, could, not*,* cannot possibly be sounded at the end of a word, appears to us to be contrary to certain fact, and to the usages of various languages. Next, in a sentiment on which he twice lays stress, with the very view of clearing up confusion, a confusion of thought is, we think, incurred. He says, (pp. 130, 372,) that '*the Classic writer measures quantity by the length of the syllable taken altogether, while the Englishman measures it by the length of the vowel alone.*' But whom are we to understand by the word *Englishman*? Does it mean an English reader of poetry? If so, we dispute the fact. The appreciation of poetical melody depends not on the possession of a just theory, or any theory at all, but on absolute cultivation of ear; and it is our firm belief that consonants are *felt* by English readers as truly as by Italians. But is the ordinary grammatical and metrical critic the person intended by '*the Englishman*?' No, for our critics rightly teach that accent, accent alone, determines our metres; few of them seem even to be aware at all of the important *secondary* part played by quantity, in making what is already metrical also melodious or expressive. On the whole, we wish, either in place of '*the Englishman*,' to write '*some half-informed Englishman*,' or else to remould the sentence thus:—'*The Classic writer, who measured his verses by quantity, necessarily estimated consonants as well as vowels: the Englishman, whose metre is founded on accent, of course makes little of consonants, since the accent seldom or never dwells upon them.*'

But while we are of opinion that many of the remarks put forth with more or less prominence by Mr. Latham, may need a reconsideration, we yet think that his work will promote a more perfect understanding of the whole subject of pronunciation. He has evidently applied to it with minute attention, and has not neglected to compare the sounds of other languages with those of our own. His distribution of the consonants† is elegant and highly useful, his historical elucidations always instructive; and even

* Apparently, in p. 112, in the third column, *note* is a misprint for *not*.

† We differ from him as to the absolute isolation of *h*, a letter which he treats as summarily as the Greek grammarians treat Σ:—'The letter *h* is no articulate sound, but only a breathing.'—p. 104. Surely the alliance of *h* to the Oriental and Irish *hh*, to the gutturals *ch, gh*, and through them to *k, g*, and *ng*, entitle it to some tabular position. We also decidedly think that *w, y*, should be ranked with the liquids, and the relationship of *y* to French *j*, as of *w* to *v*, should be recognised.

where we hesitate to agree with him, we think that he often puts his readers on the right track towards a true solution of his question. Many would call this division of his grammar tedious and overminute. Indeed, it is possible, that until the mind appreciates the bearings of *any* accurate science, its elementary investigations must of necessity seem tedious. But those who know how highly important it is, in the study of language, to understand both the more general laws of euphony, and the characteristic tendencies of the particular language treated, are prepared to undergo some labour in the cause, and generally find their reward. In fact, in the English language, such inquiries are more than ordinarily essential, owing to the vast gap which separates our pronunciation from our spelling.

Mr. Latham takes some pains, we think successfully, on a rather curious point—viz., to establish that in such words as *shadow*, *pleasure*, the middle consonant (*d* or *s*) belongs to neither of the syllables exclusively; but that its sound is physically divisible into two, of which the former part belongs to the former syllable, the latter part to the latter. A dim consciousness of this fact appears to us to have given rise to the double *p* in *happy*, &c., rather than the reason assigned by Mr. Latham himself.

But we must now venture to take up two points of greater importance, which we have reserved for the last; which seem to us to deserve very accurate consideration, as affecting extensively the questions before us. For the opinions on each of them which Mr. Latham holds, he has perhaps to sustain but a very divided responsibility. It is highly probable that even for the latter he can quote very great names on his side.

The former question which we mean, is this:—Whether the modern English language—the language, we will say, of Henry VII.—has developed itself entirely out of the literate Anglo-Saxon by a process of continuous growth? Mr. Latham appears to regard this as a certain fact. He speaks of the current doctrine, as imputing to the Norman conquest an influence on our language vastly greater than the truth;* and having set aside *that* view, he seems to see no alternative but the *other*. We will not undertake to defend the current opinion; not, indeed, quite knowing what really *is* current at present. So much, however, we are disposed to say in that direction; that the intermixture of two races and two languages surely afforded a very powerful impulse towards obliterating our Saxon inflections. It is no disproof of this to allege, that in Holland and elsewhere a like tendency has acted,

* Mr. Latham's expressions in one passage are startling in force (p. 68): 'What the present language of England would have been, had the Norman conquest never taken place, the analogy of Holland, Denmark, and of many other countries, enable us to determine. It would have been much as it is at present.'

without a *Norman* conquest. We reply; there has been a great fusion of tribes and races in all parts of Europe; and accordingly, the change in the organism of all the languages has been in the same direction. In Holland, according to Halbertsma, the number of dialects within a small territory is greater than anywhere else in Europe, except England. But as, besides the various Teutonic races in this island, we have encountered fusion with the yet more heterogeneous Norman tongue, so have its effects on our idiom been peculiarly great; the primitive grammar having been perhaps nowhere else obliterated in so great a degree. Nor, again, do we think it is any refutation of this view, to allege that the final changes of the language were later in time than the fusion of the races. Even if that is clearly made out, it is obvious to reply, that after it has become hopeless to preserve the old grammar in integrity, men cease to struggle for its remnants. A new principle has been set at work. They seek to perfect their speech by other helps, and the process of destroying inflections, once begun, is continued even after the exciting cause has ceased to act.

But we wish to turn rather to another part of the subject. When we compare the pronouns of English with those of Anglo-Saxon, we are unable to resist the conviction, that our tongue has developed itself in part out of Dutch, or even Danish, and *not* out of Anglo-Saxon. A few of the phenomena may here be cited.

Mr. Latham remarks more than once, that the words *him*, *whom*, *them*, *me*, as *her*, *thee*, *you*, in Anglo-Saxon, were dative, not accusative forms. Now in Dutch and Danish, they are accusative as well as dative. This, it will be said, is no mark that we have borrowed the words, but merely shews that the same process of obliterating the older inflections has acted similarly in all these tongues. We allow that this is a possible, though not very probable, solution; but let us pass on to a more striking fact.

The words *he*, *she*, *it*; *they*, *their*, *them*, are certainly irregular enough. The corresponding words in Anglo-Saxon are, *he*, *heo*, *hit*; *hi*, *hira*, *hi* (dative *him*): which are all formed from the single root *he*. To explain the anomaly in English, Mr. Latham and other etymologists point out that *she* is really borrowed from another Anglo-Saxon pronoun—viz., the definite article, masc. *se*, fem. *seo*. From the same definite article, they tell us, the words *they*, *their*, *them*, have been borrowed; which in comparatively late days have displaced *hi*, *hira*, *hi*; and thus the case is made out, that our tongue has grown out of the Anglo-Saxon alone in this matter.

At first sight the explanation is satisfactory; but not so, after we have compared the German and the Dutch. The latter tongue says—*hy* (he), *zy* (she), *het*, *'t* (it); *zy* (they); while in

German the same words are represented by *er, sic, es; sie*; and in Old Saxon* (of the continent) by *he, siu, it; sia*. It is evidently impossible to ascribe it to mere natural development, that these three languages are so similar to the English in this pronoun. We are forced to believe that the English has either imported these forms, or has retained them from some very early period. In any case, our language has not here developed itself out of the Anglo-Saxon of the books.

The words *hence, thence, whence*, point to the same conclusion. Mr. Latham (p. 352) calls them 'secondary genitives from *then, when, hin* (a Gothic form):' where we do not know whether he means, by a 'secondary genitive,' a genitive formed from another genitive. But it cannot be accidental, that *hans, dens*, are the true genitives in Danish and Swedish, from nominatives *han* (he), *den* (the, that); while *wiens*† is also the Dutch genitive, from *wie* (who). In all these cases the true Anglo-Saxon genitive, if our books of reference are trustworthy, is quite different.

Further; in Anglo-Saxon only one declension makes the genitive singular in *s*; and the genitive plural, we believe, never ends in that letter. Now in English, the genitive (or possessive) case, both singular and plural, is always made by annexing 's. It might, nevertheless, seem within possibility that the English even here had proceeded naturally out of the Anglo-Saxon, only that here also it is so much nearer to the Danish and Swedish. From Meidinger's Tentogothic Dictionary we extract the following:—

	SWEDISH.	DANISH.	ENGLISH.	ANGLO-SAX.
Nom.	fisk	fisk	a fish	fisc
Gen. sin. . .	fisks	fisks	fish's	fisces
Gen. plur.	fiskar	fiskes	‡ fishes'	fisca
Nom.	hâne	hâne	cock	hana
Gen. sin. . .	hanas	hanes	cock's	hanan
Gen. plur.	hanars	haners	‡ cocks'	hanena
Nom.	jord	jord	land	eordhe
Gen. sin. . .	jords	jords	land's	eordhan
Gen. plur.	jordars	jorders	‡ lands'	eordhena
Nom.	ord	ord	word	word
Gen. sin. . .	ords	ords	word's	wordes
Gen. plur.	ords	ords	‡ words'	worda

* We extract this from Meidinger's Tentogothic Etymological Dictionary.

† Meidinger gives also *diens* as the Dutch genitive of the demonstrative pronoun.

‡ That it is no mere orthographical fiction which gives us a plural possessive in *s*, is clear from our irregular plurals. Thus we say—the children's bread, the oxen's crib, the mice's nest.

This quite convinces us that the extensive use of final *s*, as the mark of our possessive, is a Scandinavian and not an Anglo-Saxon peculiarity. Indeed, we are confirmed in this conclusion by a yet more striking phenomenon in the *plural* of nouns. It is due, in no small measure, we are persuaded, to the influence of Norman-French upon our language, that we so uniformly make the plural by adding *s* or *es*. Mr. Latham (p. 211) justly remarks, that we are scarcely led to expect it, from the history of our tongue, since in Anglo-Saxon this method is confined to a certain declension and a certain gender. We cannot but think this to be a pregnant fact, as to the action of one language on another; but the whole subject appears to us to be one on which the current doctrines of our greatest etymologists need to be reconsidered.

These points are of real weight, because of the notorious difficulty of importing into a language new pronouns or new forms of cases. The presumption certainly is, that where such things have been borrowed, much besides has been borrowed too, at least as to vocabulary and idiom, if not in inflections; and if the modern English has, in the points noticed above, followed Dutch and Danish, to the abandonment of Anglo-Saxon, it seems more than probable that the influence has acted rather widely.

But what theory can be formed as to the conveyance of this influence, and the time of its acting? Mr. Latham's extracts prove that the Anglo-Saxon pronoun kept its place in the old English of Henry III. Are we to suppose that the modern pronouns were really *imported* after that era? This cannot for a moment be seriously held. But we must believe that of the Anti-Norman invaders of Britain, many spoke in dialects inclining towards the Danish and the Dutch type, as well as in the Anglo-Saxon of literature. The last language was only the *predominating* speech. After the Norman Conquest, the precedence which the Anglo-Saxon had before enjoyed as the court language was entirely destroyed; and the different idioms were left to struggle together, until a complete fusion had been brought about, of at least the higher ranks of Saxons with the Normans. In this way, certain Dutch or Danish peculiarities may at a somewhat later period have worked their way into our national speech. If our provincial dialects were thoroughly sifted and compared, it might even now be not too late to gain from them more definite information on this subject. Meanwhile we may remark, that what is called Anglo-Saxon was notoriously the language of the West and South of England; while the dialect of the North and East used to be called *Dano-Saxon* by our antiquarians: moreover, it is positively stated by Procopius, that *Friesians*, as well as Angles, peopled Britain; and the Friesians may be looked on as

of the Dutch type. Surely it is but natural to believe that these kindred tongues are that which has modified our Anglo-Saxon.

But we have tarried on this point longer than we intended, and must proceed to the other, which is Mr. Latham's doctrine concerning *hybridism*. Our complaint against him here is, not merely that he upholds a severe prohibition against our language working itself into homogeneity, but, what is perhaps a yet more serious point, that he disguises or singularly overlooks a most important and instructive fact pervading our whole tongue. But that we may not misrepresent him, we must quote his own words:

'There is [are] in the English language, two elements; the first Gothic, the second classical.' . . . 'To tack on to a Gothic root a classical termination (and *vice versâ*) is to be guilty of hybridism.' . . . 'The terminations—*ize* as in *criticize*, *ism* as in *criticism*, *ic* as in *comic*, these, amongst many others, are Greek terminations. To add them to words of other than Greek origin is to be guilty of hybridism. The terminations—*ble* as in *penetrable*, *bility* as in *penetrability*, *al* as in *parental*,—these, amongst many others, are Latin terminations. To add them to words of other than of Latin origin is to be guilty of hybridism.' . . . 'It must not, however, be concealed, that several [several!] well-established words are hybrid; and that even in the writings of the classical Roman authors there is hybridism between the Latin and the Greek. I regret to find that the author of the *Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences* (in speaking of the additions that might be made to the nomenclature of science) almost neutralizes, by the doctrine of his preface, the just and truly philosophical views that are taken of etymology in the body of his work. We are not at liberty to argue, from the analogy of expressions like *witticism* and *tobaccoist*, (hybrid words in current use,) in favour of fresh terms of the same sort.' . . . 'The etymological view' [*observe this*] 'of every word of foreign origin is, not that it is put together in England, but that it is brought whole from the language to which it is vernacular. Now no derived word can be brought whole from a language, unless in that language all its parts exist.'—pp. 347, 348.

Consistently with these principles, in p. 200, he condemns the words *shepherdess*, *huntress*, and *hostess*, on the ground that 'the radical part of the word is Germanic, and the secondary part classical.'

Before commenting on this very extraordinary doctrine, (for such, in its full extent, we feel it to be,) we must fairly avow that we partake of all Mr. Latham's aversion to many of the mongrel and clumsy words which scientific men often obtrude upon us; nor do we pretend to adopt as protégés such terms as *laudocracy*, *squirearchy*, which another school gives us. Deliberately to coin new words is to incur a responsibility. It should not be done at all without some valid and rather urgent reason; and when done, we should adhere to the purest rules of good taste which our

minds appreciate. We beg to say plainly, that we do not advocate any wanton barbarism or neglect. But we complain, first, that Mr. Latham slurs over, as though it were a rare accident, what is a glaring and instructive fact—the strong tendency of *all* languages to hybridism of the most virulent kind, and the enormous development of this tendency in English. Our native idiom is essentially mongrel, as regards its vocables; no wonder that it is impossible to hinder the same principle from penetrating into and pervading its etymology. We proceed, however, to verify our assertion, that hybridism is no rare casualty, but a rule. This will be best seen by a selection of classified words.

1. *Justness, vileness, rudeness, clearness, plainness, crudeness, extremeness.*
2. *Certainly, verily, evidently, plainly, distinctly, &c.*
3. *Masterly, courtly, saintly.*
4. *Faithful, beautiful, plentiful, painful, bashful, fanciful.*
5. *Larger, largest; grander, grandest; pleasanter, &c.; commoner, &c.; viler, ruder, clearer, plainer, &c.*
6. *Tiling, painting, &c.*
7. *Princedom, Christendom, bishopric.*
8. *Unequal, uncivil, uncourteous, uncertain, unexplored, unpardonable, unpretending, &c.*
9. *Undervalue, overvalue, underrate, overbalance, overproduction, &c.*
10. *Supposed, propounded, attached, &c.*
11. *Airy, sugary, savory, crotchety, (an exceedingly rare species.)*

In the above, we have confined ourselves to *Romanic roots* with *Gothic secondary parts*. We are quite aware that such coalitions do not easily take place until a root has sojourned so long among us, as to have become in a manner naturalized; and that, on this account, Norman words admit these formations much more easily than do Latin importations. In fact, this is in no small measure a test of naturalization. A foreigner who marries and raises up a family among us, passes in society as a native. Now it may be all very well to keep foreigners out of the country, and if Mr. Latham could effect this, and restore to us our pure old Saxon, it would be something; but as the fact is, that we cannot get rid of the foreigners, we see no use in forbidding their marriage, or in pronouncing their offspring illegitimate. There *is* a mongrel tongue in which poets and grammarians have established this absurdity, at least in written composition—we mean the modern Persian—according to Sir W. Jones and Mr. Lamsden; and an extraordinary monstrosity has been the necessary result. Mr. Lamsden tells us, that pieces of *Persian* poetry are often written, in which the alternate lines are pure Arabic, as to inflections and construction, quite as much as to roots; and Sir W. Jones illus-

trates* the heterogeneous pish-pash of their prose, by supposing an Englishman to write as follows:—‘The vera law naturæ is recta ratio; quam if any one sequitur, he will attain the highest felicitatem given humano kind.’ Now, in sober seriousness, we cannot see what other result could come of Mr. Latham’s principle, if fairly carried out. It is, indeed, singular that an eloquent Dutchman (Halbertsma) eulogizes the English language, for its eminent possession of a quality which Mr. Latham stigmatizes as a vice, and declares to exist only in ‘several’ words. ‘The old English principle,’ says Halbertsma, ‘lives and plays through all the veins of the (mixed) language. *It impregnates the innumerable strangers entering its dominions, with its own temper, and stains them with its colour, not unlike the Greek, which, in taking up the Oriental words, stript them of their foreign costumes, and bade them appear as native Greeks.*’

But we do not mean to contend for adopting, with equal freedom, *any* of our native inflections with all foreign roots which we have introduced: custom does not yet justify it, and perhaps never will. *Some* of them, however, as *ness, ly, ing, un, ed*, may and ought to be used, as often as convenience dictates. Even where we already have the Latin termination, this does not always supersede our native inflection. *Extremeness* cannot be advantageously changed into *extremity*; *justness* into *justice*; nor *crudeness* into *crudity*; *unsignificant* into *insignificant*; *readable* into *legible*.

Mr. Latham’s argument in favour of his dogma is probably drawn from a highly respectable German source, but we are unable to view it as intrinsically deserving respect. ‘*The etymological view* of every word of foreign origin, is, that it is brought whole from the language from which it is vernacular,’ &c. In other words, etymologists set up as ‘a view’ that which is a pure fiction and an obvious untruth; proved to be such not only by every instance of hybridism, but by innumerable other cases of words not hybrid; for example, the word *hybridism* itself—how old is it, we ask? Mr. Latham will hardly pretend that there is such a word in the Greek language. We cannot help suspecting, that, if he† has not made it himself, it has at least been made within these ten years; nor are we certain that it can be paralleled by any perfectly similar Greek formation. At any rate, the number of words which we have coined with Latin endings without incurring the charge of hybridism, is so large, that the matter

* We quote from memory, not having now access to the work; but we are quite sure of the *principle* which guided the construction of his sentence.

† We do not remember ever to have seen it before. Prichard, in his *Physical History of Man*, uses the word *hybridity*, with the Latin termination; on the ground, we presume, that *hybrida* became adopted as classical Latin.

is beyond all dispute. Who will imagine, for a moment, that such words as *poetess*, *lioness*, *professional*, *incomprehensibility*, *Newtonian*, *Elizabethan*, *educational*, were imported whole from Italy?

But another half of the subject remains behind, and the more interesting half—viz., the attaching of foreign inflections to native English roots. Here, likewise, we complain that Mr. Latham, treading close in the steps of his German guides, is blind to the fact which a student of our language ought to see vividly; that *nations may and do import and adopt foreign inflections*. It is assuredly just as disagreeable to comparative philologists to admit the fact, as it is to a natural historian to believe that a hybrid breed of animals can be propagated: for, *if* true, such a phenomenon exceedingly increases the difficulty of reasoning concerning the early history of ancient languages or of ancient races of animals. The physiological question we hand over to professed physiologists, on whose province we have no thought of intruding; but, we apprehend, no one who is not resolved to abide by an hypothesis, can refuse to admit that, even the unlearned part of the English nation—all, we mean, who read a newspaper freely—have as distinct a feeling of the sense of the inflections and prefixes, *ize*, *ism*, *ist*, *ite*, *able*, *ical*, *ess*, *age*, *ery*, *fy*, *co*, *non*, *mal*, *ex*, *anti*, *re*, as they have of *ness* or *ing*; and, moreover, they have so adopted the foreign terminations, as to invent new words from day to day by help of them, which words at once are understood by everybody, and pass current without exciting surprise. Once more we must ask leave to exhibit classified examples:—

FOREIGN INFLECTIONS.

1. Civilize, tranquillize, patronize, revolutionize, MacAdamize, Kyanize, vocalized, Latinized, &c.
2. Buonapartist, Carlist, Calvinist, Chartist, &c.
3. Puseyism, Irvingism, rationalism, &c.
4. Luddite, Jacobite, &c.
5. Bearable, saleable, serviceable, noticeable, pleasurable, untameable, palatable, readable.
6. Comical, coxcombical, academical, finical, &c.
7. Shepherdess, abbess, goddess, Jewess, huntress, songstress.
8. Wharfage, cartage, package, postage, cordage, &c.
9. Finery, foolery, foppery, popery, rookery, piggery, fishery, heronry, &c.
10. Co-pastor, co-trader, co-religionist, co-partner, &c.
11. Non-production, non-importation, &c.
12. Mal-administration, &c.
13. Ex-sheriff, ex-king, ex-pope, &c.
14. Anti-dry-rot, anti-corn-law, &c.
15. Re-taken, re-heard, re-call.

It is not denied, that some of these (as *mal, non, able, fy*) would hardly be joined with any but a Latin root : such an avowal merely shews, that our people still retain a feeling that the Latin part of our language is not their mother tongue. But the same is not true of the Norman : Norman roots have generally become thoroughly incorporated with Saxon, so that erudition alone distinguishes them. As for the termination *able*, it would often be so convenient, that we take it ill to be cramped as much as we are. We do not dare to *invent* such words (at least in writing) as *seeable, hearable, findable, saveable*, yet if they had already obtained any currency, we should gladly welcome them, and think it a gain to bring to life in our climate the transplanted root. But Mr. Latham's doctrine would force him to condemn the first three, and approve the last, because 'save' comes from the French. We cannot sympathize with the taste which makes it a question of *learning* whether or not such new coinage is admissible. In considering the words, *misdeed, misbehave, misdemeanour*, it appears to us a truly frigid criticism which should say that the first is right, but the two last are wrong, because the syllable *mis* is Gothic. What if it be demonstrated that those are right who derive the Latin *ble* from the Gothic root *Abul*? Will this, as it were, with a magician's wand, at once transmute *seeable, hearable, &c.*, into good English? Indeed, we might add, it seems to be almost forgotten, that if the pedigrees of words are to be consulted, in order to make their marriage legitimate, all the Indo-European languages have no small claim upon a mutual *jus connubii*.

We fear our readers may wonder why we dwell so much on this. It is because the English language presents hybrid phenomena of a more marked kind than any other in Europe ; a due consideration of which would, we think, shew that the German philologists and their followers are generalizing much too fast. If all the zeal of antiquarians and grammarians cannot prevent the English public from adopting those foreign terminations, in which we feel we are deficient, how abundantly would an illiterate nation be likely to adopt inflections as well as roots from a tribe possessed of a more cultivated language, with which it became intermingled ! That we have, in fact, introduced into English the French plural formation, has been already noticed ; we might have added that the pronouns *one, oneself*, are (as Mr. Latham shows) also of French origin ; *one* being the French *on*—in old French, *om* or *hom*—Latin, *homo*, man. Even the cultivated Greek language, when its pronunciation changed so as to confound its *u* with its *ê*, and hereby to obliterate the difference of sound between *humeis* (you) and *hemeis* (we), did not disdain to seek aid from the foreigner. The modern Greeks have accordingly adopted

seis (ye) and *sena* (thee) from the Turkish *siz* and *sena*. We do not for a moment question that it is harder to import into a language pronouns than common nouns, inflections than verbal roots; but that is very different from imagining the former process impossible. We believe, on the contrary, that it is a natural result of any great fusion of foreign tribes. The less perfect language, in this case, is sometimes extirpated, as happened with the old Gaulish and Spanish; but even then it leaves its mark on the conquering tongue. It surely ought not to be assumed impossible, for barbarous dialects actually to coalesce into one; but nothing is more unreasonable than to throw the burden of proof on those who allege this as possible. This is equivalent to demanding written memorials of unwritten languages. But because of this unreasonable demand, which is often pressed, we the more value such evidence as the English tongue eminently affords, of the strong tendency of mankind to hybridism, when much in intercourse with foreigners, and we take it ill that the fact be either overlooked or explained away.

Our readers will have seen how far we are from being disposed indiscriminately to praise up the new philology of the Germans, and that we especially feel the old danger of premature decision, in a new form. We nevertheless look for great advantage to our native tongue from the searching study of its primitive nature which the new school enforces. Not to dwell on other points, this induces a wholesome love of our genuine idiom, and will set a fresh barrier in the way of that flood of Europeanism which threatens to wash all colour out of us, and merge all salient points of style in a dead and barren level. But we fear we have already exceeded our limits. One word only may seem to be needed, concerning the style of English adopted by Mr. Latham himself. It is eminently terse, concise, and perspicuous; but tinged with a mathematical air, which in him is quite unaffected, yet would be very unpleasant in one who should imitate him. We may close by putting in our protest against using the mathematical word *given*,* most improperly, for *determined* or *determinate*. This is an abuse which mathematicians and Cambridge men are particularly bound to discountenance.

* In p. 172, Mr. Latham says, 'At a *given* period the alphabet of Palestine, Phœnicia, &c., consisted of twenty-two letters.' We suppose he means, 'there was a time when the alphabet,' &c.

Art. IV. *Christ's Discourse at Capernaum fatal to the doctrine of Transubstantiation, on the very principle of exposition adopted by the Divines of the Roman church, and suicidally maintained by Dr. Wiseman: associated with Remarks on Dr. Wiseman's Lectures on the principal doctrines and practices of the (Roman) Catholic church.* By George Stanley Faber, B.D., &c. London: Seeley and Burnside.

HISTORY records, that when the notorious Bishop Bonner heard of the retention of some of the popish ceremonies by the reformed church of England, he pithily and prophetically observed, '*They have begun to taste of our broth, and in time they will eat of our beef.*' It has proved but too true. The little leaven has long been working, and it has now every appearance of leavening the whole lump. Every day the cloud is thickening over the church of England. The battle within her walls is joined on every side: louder and fiercer is it becoming, and if, indeed, the clergy are to decide the great question by their numerical strength, there can be no doubt that popery is already the religion of the church of England. It may require some little delay to effect a reconciliation to Rome, but unless the lady-head of the church and the legislature should prove more sternly protestant than the clergy, that reconciliation may be considered neither difficult nor distant. Some of the clergy have scarcely patience to wait till it can be effected in an orderly and official manner. Their affection outsteps their prudence. They seem to feel like the lady who, having turned papist, was asked by Archbishop Laud, *Why she had changed her religion?* and who answered, *Because I have always hated a crowd;* and being requested to explain her meaning, replied, *I perceive your Grace and many others are hastening thither as fast as you can, and therefore, to prevent a press, I went before you.*

The matter, however, is of importance to all the people of England; and as the nation is theoretically the church, to the nation the final appeal must be, whether its clergy shall be popish or protestant. This must be our apology, if any be required, for introducing this subject so frequently into our pages. It is a question not limited to the active litigants on either side. It draws with it consequences which affect ourselves and the constitution of our country. It involves the whole state of the Christian religion in this kingdom, and is therefore with ourselves and the entire body of Bible Christians a matter of life and death. The defection of such a man as Mr. Sibthorp, and a score of such, would in itself be of little detriment to the protestant interest, and an unimportant accession to popery, if the body left behind were sound. But viewed as a symptom along

with others not questionable, it indicates the spirit that prevails, and affords an augury for what is yet to come. In so far as the clergy are concerned, it is manifest enough that their protestantism stands on a slender basis. They are evidently ready to burst their bands asunder. It is but a thread that holds them. A nod from the throne, or a secret message from the treasury, and they would despatch a commission to his holiness to treat for an affiliation without delay.

To ourselves we confess there is nothing surprising in the general fact that the clergy of the church of England have come forward so boldly and extensively, with such concert and such skill, to teach and preach popery, because we have long seen it in their standards, and long known that it was in their spirit; but that the sect within the church called, *par excellence*, *evangelical*, should have yielded so extensively and so readily to the leaven of popery, that they should have renounced their protestantism, and adopted the fathers and tradition, is, we acknowledge, an event for which we were not prepared, and which we cannot harmonize, either with the integrity of their former professions, or the sincerity of their present movement. With this point, however, we will not intermeddle, further than to declare our own difficulties. They may have resorted to their new views in the hope of casting a bulwark around the church; and to this measure they may have been constrained, perhaps not willingly, but through fear of the hostile bodies which have long been gaining ground upon them. They may have supposed that their position in relation to rival sects, and in the retention of their remaining people, would be strengthened by taking higher ground for the priesthood and the sacraments, as well as by buckling on the rotten armour of the fathers and tradition; but they ought to have had more reverence for the Bible-alone principle, which is, after all, the only life-boat of their church and the glory of its martyrs, than to have thrown it overboard at the first cry of the alarmists. The *ship*, they might have believed, was in danger of sinking, but that life-boat for the church of Christ, the Bible only, ought to have sufficed for their own safety and that of their people. Assuredly it will weather the storm and bring its crew into the haven of eternal peace, when those who have abandoned it for the sake of the crazy vessel built by human hands, will find that in shunning Charybdis they have fallen into Sylla. The evangelicals ought at all events to have looked well to the question, whether the fathers and tradition could be identified with their former professed principle, before they had allied themselves with the men who are gone mad after antiquity. They have, however, at all hazards, renounced protestantism, and the poor outcast must henceforth look for protection among protestant

dissenters. The true principles of the Reformation are legitimately theirs. They have always been defenders of them, and they will not now prove traitors. The church of England may strike its colours and hoist the Roman standard as soon as it pleases, but this will only indicate its share in the overthrow to which the mystic Babylon is divinely foredoomed.

We have perused Mr. Faber's volume with all the attention it deserves, and with the utmost respect for his undoubted learning and ability. The book is composed of two very distinct parts or subjects. The principal part of the text contains an able vindication of the Saviour's discourse at Capernaum from the subtle but unfounded interpretation of Dr. Wiseman, in favour of the popish nostrum of transubstantiation; but the notes, which constitute a very large part of the volume, keep up a sort of running fire against the true protestant doctrine, and in favour of tradition and the fathers. Mr. Faber seems to think he can harmonize these with the Scriptures, and that, therefore, we ought to accept the Bible as interpreted by Catholic tradition. His success, however, in the attempt, even as far as it goes, is most unsatisfactory; and besides that, if he is allowed to interpret Scripture by the fathers, other people must do the same; and then we are quite confident he cannot deny, that other citations may be made from the fathers bearing a very different sense from that which he has culled out of them.

Upon this undeniable fact, it has long been our settled conviction, that no scholar or divine living can harmonize all the views of the fathers, either with one another or with the Scriptures, and that if he could, he has added no weight to the latter; he has cast no light upon them. His interpretation of the opinions of the fathers is just as much a private judgment as any other man's, and the opinions of the fathers themselves are just as much dependent upon private judgment as any collection of the opinions of divines in the present day. To us, therefore, no alternative presents itself, but to abide by the written word of God. In professing such a view of the subject, we shall, of course, excite no surprise in Mr. Faber's mind. It is just what he is prepared to expect from protestant dissenters. He will place us in the same category with our contemporary, 'The Christian Observer,' which he designates as *ultra-protestant*, and to which he administers his rebukes in a spirit sufficiently contemptuous, though hardly sufficiently fraternal, seeing it is identified with brother clergy of the same church. Few of our readers could have supposed that the 'Christian Observer' had sinned in being too much attached to the Bible-alone principle, or too little zealous of church authority. But so it is, in Mr. Faber's opinion. It teaches ultra-protestantism, and this is more hateful than downright

popery. The following extract, in which he endeavours to exhibit the weakness of such protestantism, is intended by this protestant divine to apply to the ‘Christian Observer,’ and to all who will not agree that the sense of Scripture is to be interpreted by an appeal to tradition. It is a notable specimen, either of the skill or the candour of a gentleman who professes to be pre-eminently a dialectician:—

‘1. We object, says the Ultra-protestant, to your pretended Unwritten Rule of Faith; and we determine to abide solely by what we *both* acknowledge, whether Papists or Protestants, even the undoubted verity of the Written Rule.

‘Why so, replies the Romanist? Each rule *alike* proceeds from God; the Unwritten One, to which you so vehemently object, having been delivered by Christ to his Apostles, and by the Apostles, to their successors, insomuch that *every* doctrine, which we hold, has existed, and has been taught in the Catholic Church ever since the time of the Apostles; and *your* mere dogmatical denial of the Unwritten Rule, without the adduction of a shadow of *evidence* cannot, in the mind of any reasonable person, who well knows that bold denial is no proof, set aside that same Unwritten Rule, which we know ourselves to have received from Christ and his Apostles, through a regular transmission and in an unbroken succession.

‘2. But, says the Ultra-protestant, your pretended Unwritten Rule *cannot* have proceeded from God; because, in its items, as given by Pope Pius, under the form of the Tridentine Supplement to the Nicene Creed, it propounds various matters which occur not in the Written Rule.

‘Verily, replies the Romanist, this is most extraordinary logic. We are fully assured of the existence of *two* rules, equal in authority, inasmuch as each *alike* proceeds from God; and, because *one* propounds certain matters not included in the *other*, just as even one written Gospel propounds certain matters not included in another written Gospel, we are told, forsooth, that it cannot be God’s genuine Word. Why, the very idea of a Mishna, or Second Rule of Faith imports, not only that it explains the First Rule, but likewise that it propounds matters not contained in the First Rule; for, if the First Rule contained all that God was pleased to reveal, what need could there be of a Second or Supplementary Rule?

‘3. Yes, says the Ultra-protestant, but your pretended Unwritten Rule, as any one may see who reads the items of it summed up by Pope Pius in his already alleged statement of the Tridentine Faith, not only *adds* to the true Written Word, but even flatly *contradicts* it; is not only *extra-scriptural*, but is likewise *unscriptural*. Consequently, under this precise aspect of *absolute contradictoriness* to the Written Word, we stand pledged to reject what you call the Unwritten Word. An acknowledged genuine rule of faith, is *flatly contradicted* by what you would persuade us to receive with equal reverence and affection, (*pari pietatis affectu ac reverentia*) as an additional rule of faith.

‘Fair and softly, replies the Romanist, as trained and instructed by the hermaneutic ingenuity of Dr. Wiseman; you are drifting into the paralogism of a *petitio principii*; you assume, that what you rapidly *imagine* to be a contradiction *must* be a contradiction; and, upon the strength of this, your wonderful perspicacity, you complacently lay it down, as a clear case, that the Written Word is *contradicted* by the Unwritten Word. Now, from the fact of *an uninterrupted successive reception from Christ and his Apostles*, we can demonstrate that the Unwritten Word is *no less* a divine revelation than the Written Word. Hence, more modest and less presumptuous than yourself, *we* feel humbly assured, that what you *call* contradictions are no *real* contradictions. We think, that even we ourselves can very fairly reconcile these *apparent* oppositions of the Unwritten Word to the Written Word, by the simple process of explaining our sentiments, and thus broadly denying the charges which the admirers of the Reformation are marvellously fond of bringing against us. But be this as it may, we, at all events, are quite sure that there can be no real opposition of *one* part of God’s Word, to another part of God’s Word.

‘In short, my good friend, instead of giving me *proof*, you are treating me with a *hysteron-proteron*; or, as we say, in common parlance, instead of decently employing the horse to draw the cart, you are whimsically putting the cart before the horse. For how runs the carrying out of your very original principle of ratiocination? Instead of *first* evidentially proving the Unwritten Word to be an imposition, and then pointing out, as a natural *consequence*, its contradictoriness to the Written Word, you exactly invert the process, and from your own mere *gratuitous fancy* of the existence of contradictions, which we deny to exist, you would thence, illogically, demonstrate the spuriousness of the Unwritten Word. If this be all that you have to say in the way of *proof*, we shall feel ourselves greatly obliged by your attack, for a failure on the part of an assailant serves only to strengthen the position of the assailed.

‘Here, as far as I can see, our zealous Ultra-protestant, on his own cherished antipatristic principles, comes to what our transatlantic cousins, not unaptly, though perhaps not quite classically, denominate *a fix*.’—pp. 12—18.

This is written to serve a purpose, to land us half way between the Thames and the Tiber. We are not, however, bound to Mr. Faber’s representation of the protestant principle, and we beg to tell him that if he thinks the protestant cause has come to *a fix*, he is only half a protestant for thinking so. We disown his representation of the protestant argument. His *petitio principii* lies with the catholic who assumes the very first principle, that there is any such thing in existence as apostolic tradition. The true protestant denies the very foundation upon which the argument for the authority of tradition rests. The burden of proof Mr. Faber makes the catholic throw upon the protestant, whereas it really lies with the catholic to show that he possesses

pure apostolic tradition, and to prove it by vouchers parallel in weight to those which prove the inspiration of the apostles. Till this is done, the protestant is under no obligation to prove the negative. Mr. Faber represents the assertion of the catholic as bringing the protestant to *a fix*, instead of which, it is evident upon the face of the extract that any skilful protestant would, in a moment, demand proof of the supposed inspired unwritten tradition. The very pretence is an imposition, since no man can determine, apart from the written word, what were the precise sentiments of the church for more than one hundred years after apostolic times. The gap which occurs, as every student of ecclesiastical history well knows, is such as to render it perfectly absurd, to assume the traditions of the second and third centuries as purely, or even in any tolerable degree, apostolic. Let the traditionists make good their first step from the apostles before they assert the firmness of their second. This, they know, is indeed *a fix* from which they cannot stir, and there we leave them.

Mr. Faber may, if he will, think it eminently unwise for churchmen to narrow the controversy with Romanists to the plain ground of Scripture, we think it pre-eminently perilous to extend it to tradition. The present state of his own church is a proof of that danger. It is already more than half gone over to downright popery, and the book Mr. Faber has written will accelerate the further step. The danger which Mr. Faber foresees in what he denominates ultra-protestantism, attaches only to that cause which cannot abide by the issues of a Scriptural test. Every true protestant is bound to say, 'let the Scriptures stand alone, though my church, as a system of ecclesiastical government, should fall.' Danger there very likely is in pure protestantism, for those whose system has been formed partly upon tradition and partly upon Scripture; but for those who have no church and no church principles to defend, except such as are derived expressly, or by fair inference, from the Bible, there is none. They can repudiate tradition without a regret or a fear. Its loss they can afford to bear. Its admission would only obscure and encumber the written word.

It is but too evident that Mr. Faber coincides mainly in principle, though perhaps not in detail, with his 'excellent friends of the Oxford tract party,' though he does not come out fully as an abettor of their novelties; and though he leaves us in doubt to what extent the written testimony of the fathers is to be accounted authoritative. So far as we can learn from the present volume, he abides by the writings, or so much of ancient authority as is written and may be accounted universal or catholic; but sometimes he seems scarcely to give to the writings of the

fathers the authority of deciding, because he would accept them only on those grand leading principles in which they are agreed among themselves, and agree with Scripture. But then, after all, this is very much like bringing them to the test of Scripture; and if so, we can see no practical difference between this and what he denominates the ultra-protestantism of the present day. And yet of this very theory, he says, 'Here, so far as I can see, our zealous ultra-protestant, on his own cherished antipatristic principles, comes to what our transatlantic cousins not unaptly, though perhaps not quite classically, denominate *a. fix.*' It appears, therefore, that according to Mr. Faber's opinion of the genuine, that is, in his language, the ultra-protestant principle of the present day, the Romanist would have the best of the argument, and protestantism must go to the wall.

We confess that we take a very different view of the controversy, and that of all the opponents of Rome, those appear to us to be the only sound reasoners, and the only successful combatants who repudiate all authority as final, but that which can show the seal of inspiration. We are, however, far from being confident that we understand Mr. Faber, a perplexity in which we suspect many others will find themselves involved. There prevails throughout his volume a severe condemnation of ultra-protestantism, and yet we cannot discover wherein Mr. Faber would place any real authority in the hands of the fathers, nor wherein, after all, he would allow them to add anything to the Divine testimony, nor even authoritatively to interpret it, so as to make it binding upon the individual conscience to take their sense as infallible. He would not be an ultra-protestant on any account, and yet he would, after all, merely apply the testimony of the fathers to historical fact—that is to say, he himself trusts not to their judgment of truth, in any matter requiring the balancing of reasons, but he would admit their testimony to fact. Now this, though sometimes a matter requiring skilful steering to avoid rocks on either hand, is, we presume, the very protestantism which he brands as ultra.

It is undoubtedly our own protestantism, provided only that the admission of early patristic testimony be strictly limited to matter of fact; but if the matters of fact which the early written testimony is to prove, become implicated with matters of opinion, or dogmatic truth, then we become suspicious, and beg to decline being bound by the testimony of our Christian ancestors. Their sincerity and veracity we are not inclined to dispute, but of their discretion and discrimination we more than doubt, while of their weakness there are lamentable and superabundant proofs.

It is quite certain that to the early church we are and must be

indebted for the canon of the New Testament. We must admit that they were competent to testify to the genuineness of the apostolic documents. It was only requisite that they should be honest men to do this. Though, at the same time, the evidence for the canon rests not wholly upon their testimony, but is quite as efficiently supported by the express admissions of heretics and unbelievers, who were their contemporaries. Some minor elucidations of matters in church order and discipline may be extracted from them, and we by no means despise their testimony, as it may enable us to judge of their own agreement with the apostolic writings, or gradual departure from them. But beyond the mere use of showing how the precepts and doctrines of Scripture were carried out among themselves, and thereby of enabling us to judge whether they themselves faithfully obeyed, and rightly understood Scripture, we are not disposed to go. Mr. Faber, with the anti-protestants of Oxford, may ridicule the doctrine of ultra-protestantism; he may feel confident in his dexterity in the use of the fathers; but he has yet to show us that he could prove any important point from them that he could not prove equally well from the text of Scripture, or that anything is binding upon Christian consciences that owes its proof to the fathers, because it cannot be proved from Scripture; and if it can be proved from Scripture, then the superaddition of patristic evidence can be valuable only by way of illustration. What is divinely established admits of no further support, and what is destitute of that support loses all obligation as an article of faith. No testimony of the church, however early or however general, can add a single iota to the doctrine of Christianity, or a single precept to the law of Christ and his apostles.

It is a fundamental error which has long existed in the church of Rome, and has been adopted by the church of England, that 'the church hath power and authority to decree,' &c., 'and hath authority in controversies of faith.' We have never yet discovered any inspired foundation of this claim; neither can it be maintained with even a shadow of consistency by the church of England, because it has violated and openly denied the principle in the case of the mother church from which it dissented. If there is any truth in the principle, and if it derives its obligation upon our consciences from inspired authority, then it was as applicable to the church of England when she seceded from that of Rome, and repudiated her authority *in toto*, as it is to the claims of the church of England herself. If the church of England has denied this power and authority to Rome, ought she to be angry or surprised if others deny it to her? 'Yes, but,' says the church of England, 'we are the true, reformed, apostolical church, and this authority belongs exclusively to the true church, because the

true church alone possesses the authority of ordaining genuine successors to the apostles, who derive their doctrine and spiritual authority by regular transmission from the age of Christ.' This is the reasoning of nearly all the advocates of the high church notions, which are at present so popular with the clergy; and a pretty specimen it is of ecclesiastical logic. If these self-styled successors of the Apostles could be induced to survey the bearings of their argument, we cannot but believe they have acuteness enough to perceive its weakness. If the church of England has any transmitted authority in religious affairs, undoubtedly it comes through Rome. If there is any life in the Anglican branch, it must be by virtue of the living stock on which once it grew, and from which it violently rent itself, and which rent could be justified, and was justified at the time, and has been justified ever since, solely on the ground of the departure of Rome from apostolic truth and purity. But any such departure from inspired authority as could justify such a separation, was a loss or forfeiture of the supposed delegated virtue and power of Christ; so that the matter resolves itself thus—either the church of Rome, at the time when the church of England set up for itself as an independent church, was in the possession of that supposed spiritual transmitted authority conferred by ordination, or it was not. If it was in possession of it, and if it be that solemn, authoritative, exclusive authority which no other minister out of the line of transmission can possibly possess, then of course the dissent of the church of England was utterly unjustifiable; it was a falling away from the true apostolic, authoritative church, by a mere fraction of its clergy and people, who thereby repudiated the entire authority of that church which was, by supposition, possessed of this mystical power of ordination; and how, then, can the church of England pretend to any such power when it has no connexion with the early and apostolic church, but through the pope and bishops of the church of Rome, which it denounces and rejects as 'a foul and filthy harlot?' The church of Rome cannot be alleged to have transmitted that which it did not possess, and the church of England cannot have derived from her that which the same church of England denied to her at the very moment, and by the very act of separation. Again: if the church of Rome had not the true ordination authority, and the church of England has it, then it is incumbent upon the said church to prove that she came honestly by it; let her show *her* line of transmission, if she pleads for the necessity of transmission, and then she must either justify and authorize Rome, or she must prove another pure and untainted line which connects her with the Apostles. This is an impossibility. If she possess anything transmitted—we mean anything of official authority—

then she vindicates Rome and condemns herself for having violated that apostolical authority which she ascribes to Rome ; or, if she vindicates her own orders as underrived and commenced *de novo*, from the directions and authority of sacred Scripture alone, then she sets an example which, being imitated by other bodies in seceding from her, she can, with no consistency, disallow.

But the dilemma in which she places herself by the figment of transmitted authority, other than by the Scriptures, to all societies of true believers, demonstrates the absurdity of the entire theory of ordinative power and virtue, or personal succession in office from the apostles. It is nonsense, and worse than nonsense. It involves the church of England, which pretends to it, in the sin of heresy and schism, upon its own showing, by rebelling against the authorized bishops, upon the ground of its own private opinion of the divergence of the existing church from apostolic rule ; while, at the same time, these same rebels against the authority of the universal church, turn round upon those that rebel against her, deny to their ministers any right to preach, and refuse to the people any right of private judgment, which said right they had before used as the foundation of their own dissent from Rome.

Thus they become at once the patrons and the deniers of apostolically-transmitted authority ; the abettors, and yet the revilers of private judgment ; the advocates, and yet the opponents of ordinative authority ; the reclaimants against the judgment of the universal church, and yet the claimants of a power and authority to decide controversies and bind consciences ; the reprovers of independent churches and ministers, as it respects themselves, and yet the supporters of independence as it respects Rome. They have hereby woven for themselves a net which entangles all their movements, the embarrassment of which many of their number painfully feel, and from which they would fain escape, by creeping back to Rome, while they abuse and condemn, as ultra-protestants, all who boldly burst through the meshes of this net, and place themselves on the firm foundation of Divine truth, the only rock of the church upon which it is secured against the attacks of infidelity and popery.

The key to all the sophistry of these pseudo-protestants is to be found, we humbly conceive, in their ecclesiastical notions of apostolical succession, the veriest legend of superstition, a mere piece of official delusion and imposition, which has been the bugbear of the church for ages, which is still eulogized by the interested, and swallowed by the credulous, as a divine and Christian verity.

Art. V. *A History of the Life of Richard Cœur-de-Lion, King of England.* By G. P. R. James, Esq. 2 vols. London: Saunders and Otley. 1842.

OF all our monarchs since the Conquest, Richard Cœur-de-Lion occupies, perhaps, the foremost place in the memories of Englishmen. It is true, that political and religious feeling have awarded to other sovereigns a degree of honour among certain classes far superior to the dim traditionary renown which invests our second Plantagenet, but none have a fame wide as his, whose wild and spirit-stirring adventures have not only been told in heroic verse and laboured prose, but have formed the theme of the rude ballad, and even of the nursery tale. Nor is this surprising. Belonging to a period too remote to involve any modern question of religion or politics—known as the monarch unmatched for personal strength and wild daring, and yet more for knightly courtesy and minstrel skill—Richard presents in his character the very elements of a hero of chivalrous romance, while the circumstances of his short life are admirably fitted to form one. The monarch who, almost before the splendours of his coronation feast had passed away, braced on his mail for paynim warfare—who set forth on his expedition in such splendid array; whose deeds of wild and romantic valour in Palestine—those deeds of surpassing prowess which rendered his very name, centuries after, a word of rebuke and fear to the Saracen war-steed—was the very hero of romance. And then his homeward journey, undertaken with distrust and in disguise—his capture, his stern and solitary imprisonment, yet beguiled by song—and then his joyful return, and his gallant defiance of the king of France—even the obscure and mysterious tale of his death—for the account which finds a place in our popular histories is most apocryphal—all combined to form a story which could not but lay strong hold on the popular mind; and we wonder not that the fame of the victor of Cressy fades, and even that of the hero of Azincour becomes dim, before the renown of

‘Richard, who robbed the lion of his heart,
And fought the holy wars in Palestine.’

With these recollections we were prepared to welcome Mr. James' promised work, nor, for these only, but for the light which it might throw upon the political state of society in England, at a most important, though very neglected period of our history. It is true, that Richard's claims on our regard as a *sovereign* are few indeed, but from the circumstance of his being absent from England during the greater part of his reign, popular feeling and popular opinion found wide scope for their display; and in the history of the contest with Longchamp, his hated justiciar, as recorded in the contemporary chronicles, the reader

only accustomed to modern versions of the story would be surprised to find the enunciation of principles, and the assertion of rights, which he has been accustomed to consider as belonging to a far later age. On the more interesting, as well as on the more important parts of Cœur-de-Lion's life, Mr. James, however, has not entered; the second volume of the work before us, closing with the year 1177, twelve years previous to the commencement of his reign, and when he was only in his twentieth year.

This work commences with a view of the state of society in England during the reign of our first Plantagenet, and then goes on to detail at length the various events of the first twenty-two years of his reign, an important period, for England made rapid advances in civilization during this time, and then, too, the contest between the spiritual and civil power first commenced, which, in whatever light we may view the chief actors, was certainly most beneficial to popular liberty, since it aided in after years to array a numerous body of the clergy on the side of the commons, and thus enabled them to enter the battle-field on more equal terms. To the struggles of the people in later times, public attention of late years has been frequently called, but to those earlier, and surely not less important contests, since it was to these that the writers of the Long Parliament refer, and to regain the results of which, snatched from them by the Tudors, and refused by the Stuarts, the parliament soldiers fought, the attention even of professed historians has been so little directed, that, as Mr. Hallam justly remarks, a large proportion of writers holding liberal opinions, actually view the strife for the great Charter but as a struggle between an arbitrary monarch and a few selfish nobles, while with greater injustice still, every English historian, and we lament we must include Mr. Hallam among them, points out the great champion of freedom, Simon de Montfort, but as a turbulent and ambitious baron, whom the incapacity of his sovereign tempted to rebellion. That superficial writers should have thus carelessly passed over the struggles of a period, which for want of knowing better, they term barbarous, is not surprising, but that historians well qualified for their task should so often have done so, must excite our regret. The reason, we think, will probably be found in the wide scope which too many take, compressing and abridging the history, social and ecclesiastical, as well as political, of six or seven centuries, into the narrow compass of three, four, or perhaps six volumes, and in which, as a necessary consequence, the earlier portion of the narrative is hurried over, that sufficient space may be left for the later, although better known period. It has sometimes been said, How can much be written respecting a period of which so little can be known? To this question, which we are sorry to say has

sometimes been asked even by intelligent people, the only answer is, to point to the voluminous records of those very times, which popular opinion believes have left scarcely a page; while, if we are met by another question,—a very favourite one in some quarters,—What have we to do with the contests of feudal tyrants and their slaves? the most fitting answer will be,—Do you know what the feudal system really was?—an answer to which the inquirer need not expect, since the original question proves that nothing is known of the subject. To enlighten a few of the speakers at public meetings as to the real state of our barbarous forefathers, and to prevent many promising young writers from making woful blunders in middle-age history, especially in using the word ‘vassalage’ as a synonym for slavery, we will, with the aid of a few pleasant extracts from Mr. James’ volumes, endeavour to give a view of the social and political condition of England in the twelfth century.

That the Saxons brought with them from their pine-forests the principles of freedom, is acknowledged by every writer, but the degree to which those principles were developed, when they became denizens in England, and subjects of a monarchy, it is difficult to ascertain. By some writers they have been represented as enjoying an extent of wild freedom scarcely compatible with a well-ordered government, while by others they have been viewed as possessing but few clearly recognised rights. It is not impossible that both these opinions may be correct, and that according as the rule of the sovereign was energetic or feeble, so political freedom receded or advanced. Still, that even at their worst state, the Saxons possessed rights which placed them in the rank of a free people, cannot be denied. Their system of frank-pledge, their modified ‘trial by jury,’ their ‘inestimable right of deciding civil and criminal suits in their own county-court; an institution which contributed in no small degree to fix the liberties of England upon a broad and popular basis,’ all prove this. But the Saxon power was overthrown, and the Norman William brought in,—entirely a new order of things, say some writers,—but that he brought in a system of the most crushing and grievous tyranny is an opinion maintained by every historian until but as yesterday. Now the great alteration made by William, was the introduction of the feudal system—a system at that period prevailing throughout the greater part of Europe, and already ‘the custom of Normandy;’ whether that system was one of tyranny, or compatible with free institutions, the following extract from Mr. James’ work, which we quote as giving a very short and clear view of this ill-understood subject, will prove:—

‘It was, in its commencement, a certain constitutional organization, adopted by a great society of military adventurers, for the purposes of

general defence and mutual support in conquered countries; and its chief distinguishing feature or characteristic, was the general distribution of the territory amongst the soldiery, in unequal portions, but upon one general principle and condition, namely, that of military service upon the part of the holder of each estate to the leader from whom he obtained it. This general holding of the great bulk of the territory by such tenure, seems to me the *sine qua non* of the feudal system; and from it, indeed, that system derives its name. In countries where it did not exist as the general rule, there might be some feudal institutions—there might be some customs and laws resembling those of feudalism; but the feudal system was not established.

‘Of course this system was not framed at once; but was gradually produced by the necessities of the northern invaders of the Roman empire, when placed in a new situation by the effects of their own conquests. They brought the rude materials of their government from their native wilds, but fashioned them according to the circumstances in which they were placed in the lands they acquired.

‘The unequal distribution of corporeal and mental qualities, has always impressed the mind of man in a social state with a conviction that it is necessary some should lead and some should follow; and the only difference in this point between the most purely democratical and the most purely monarchical forms of society, consists in the method of selecting the leaders. What was the method adopted by the northern invaders of Rome, while in their native wilds, matters little; nor is it of much consequence at what period a regular subordination of chiefs was established, from the great leader of a mighty host to the patriarch who was followed to the field by his five or six sons. As they were all essentially warlike nations, and all from a very early period were engaged in active enterprise, it is probable that military qualities were the original titles to command, and that they soon adopted a general gradation of leaders.

‘It would occupy too much space to inquire into the origin of the different tenures which we find in the earlier ages of feudalism, or to investigate why certain estates appear from the first to have been hereditary, while others were resumable at the will of the sovereign. All—not without exception, as we shall see hereafter, but as a general rule—very soon became hereditary through the greater part of Europe; and the grand distinction that remained was between allodial, or free-lands, and lands feudal, or held upon the condition of military service. The natural progress of feudal institutions, however, and the superior protection enjoyed by the feudal vassal, had converted almost all allodial lands on the Continent into feudal lands before the invasion of England by William, called the Conqueror; so that by that time, the feudal system had not only reached its highest degree of perfection in most of the European monarchies, but had become the general law of policy, beyond the limits of which men’s minds could conceive no beneficial institutions.’—vol. i. pp. 3—8.

Nor is this to be wondered at, when we remember that the feudal system was founded on the principle of reciprocity—

unquestionable proof that it was intended for freemen. The freeman profiered service, 'suit and service of life and limb,' as the old phrase expresses it, and the lord, in receiving that service, bound himself to corresponding duties, to aid and protect his vassal whenever he should claim aid or protection. And if the lord denied that protection, and the vassal refused his service, the whole body of the feudal law declared that he had done right. Now, how such a system could ever have been viewed as slavish, is very astonishing. However, the circumstance that bondage existed throughout the greater part of Europe, during the supremacy of the feudal system, has, we think, been in great measure the cause of this opinion. But nothing can be more incorrect;—slavery, prædial and domestic, has subsisted under every form of government; among the free people of Greece, as well as among the subjects of Asiatic despotism, and America at this present moment is the most republican of states, and the greatest of slave-holders. It therefore proves nothing against the feudal system, that slavery which had subsisted before, still continued to subsist. Even to the bondsman, the feudal system, if it brought not freedom, brought somewhat of relief, for the protection which the lord promised his vassal for free military service, was granted to the poor tiller of the ground for his inferior duties; and in an age when personal valour was so highly prized, because so important, that tiller of the ground if he displayed superior prowess, would be advanced, by the very exigencies of the times, from the plough, to the defence of the castle wall. This system was established in England at the Conquest, and 'in as perfect a form,' says Mr. James, 'as perhaps in any part of the world.'

'The state was now organized in the following grades:—Barons holding of the crown in chief; vassors holding under them; and vavasini holding under the vassor, generally possessing one or more knight's fees. These were all military tenants, and took the field when called upon by their sovereign, with a number of armed men proportioned to their land. Below these came the yeomanry, holding by what is called *free soccage*, and owing no military duty except the general one of realm-defence; and last, appeared the villeins or slaves, who in some respects were in a better situation under the Norman than under the Saxon yoke; while the important fact that the Norman law tended strongly to their general enfranchisement, is proved by the rapid extinction of villeinage in England after the Conquest.

'One of his most remarkable operations, and one which may be said to have given a degree of perfection to feudalism which was unknown in continental countries, was the division of the whole territory into knight's fees; that is to say, into portions judged sufficient to furnish, each, one horseman completely armed to a feudal army. The quantity of land so charged, it would appear, varied in extent; probably on account of the nature and quality of the soil in different parts of the

kingdom. Unfortunately, we have lost the data on which the calculation was first made; but in the latter part of William's reign, a general survey of the whole kingdom was undertaken and completed by commissioners empowered to empanel juries in the various hundreds, and to investigate the nature, quality, extent, and division of the soil. Every statistical fact of interest came under their investigation; and from the information thus acquired, was compiled the famous Doom's-day Book, the most extraordinary and interesting of our national records. What were the real views with which this survey was ordered, I cannot tell; but one of the results was, to enable the sovereign to ascertain at once the number of men which each barony was bound to furnish; and I find no clear proof of such a statistical proceeding having taken place in any other part of Europe before the invasion of England.

Horrible oppression, frequent warfare, and the claims and exactions of contending barons, rendered it absolutely necessary that monarchs should either afford effectual protection to the laborious and increasing inhabitants of cities and towns, or should justify them in defending themselves. The latter alternative, as the most certain, was the one most desired by the citizens; and kings saw therein the seeds of a force, which they clearly perceived might counterbalance, in some degree, the overgrown power of their ambitious baronage, though they did not look forward to the time when that force might become dangerous to their own authority. The crown therefore encouraged the erections of communes, gave charters to towns and cities, daily enlarged their privileges and immunities, employed the troops raised by the citizens in its own wars, and created a militia, which rendered it less dependent upon the great vassals for military support.

The permanent sources of revenue varied very much in different reigns, some monarchs claiming what other sovereigns renounced; but we find that the rents of the crown lands, which at first were paid in kind, were put upon another footing by Henry I.; and after some shameful exactions committed by his officers, were equitably settled on a pecuniary estimation. During a long period, a considerable revenue was derived from the shameful custom of selling the hands of heiresses and the ward of minors to the best bidders. Sometimes it would seem that an heiress ventured to select a husband for herself; but she had no chance of uniting her fate to his, unless the price he could give was equal to that offered by another competitor, or that she herself purchased out of her inheritance the right of choice. Wealthy widows were also a subject of traffic with our Norman kings; and the ward of heirs, which conveyed the proceeds of their estates to the guardians during their minority, was another great source of revenue. The pretence upon which these exactions were founded, was, that the lord might not lose the advantages of his vassal's service, either by the minority or sex of the heir. The claim thus established was magnified and extended by the ingenuity of feudal lawyers; but the real object was the profit accruing to the sovereign and to his barons.

Henry I., in his memorable charter, promised a reform of many abuses which had taken place in consequence of the law regarding the

marriages of daughters; but we find the absolute sale of the hand of heiresses going on at a much later period. The dues called reliefs formed another constant income. These were paid by the vassal to his lord on taking possession of his fief; and the relief, which actually means 'the taking up' of a knight's fee, was fixed by William the Conqueror at one hundred shillings, a very considerable sum at the period of which we speak. The relief of the barony was supposed to be fixed by the number of knights' fees it contained; but was left vague, and was often oppressive.

'Besides these sources of revenue, there were aids, some of which were appointed on certain defined occasions, as when the monarch made his eldest son a knight, or on the marriage of his eldest daughter, or on his falling into captivity. But aids or benevolences were called for on many other occasions; and would have been even more oppressive than they proved, had not the barons and clergy claimed the right of fixing the amount, and the manner of levying the tax. Customs and dues on bridges, fairs, imports and exports, also increased the royal finances, as did also various fines upon the granting or renewing of privileges to towns, guilds, and even individuals. Talliage, and various taxes upon certain classes of the people, and danegeld and other dues levied upon land, might be enumerated; but it would occupy too much time to enter into all the particulars of the royal revenue, some of which offer very obscure and difficult points. We must not fail to add, however, that the sale of public justice upon a large and small scale, and the pecuniary amercements which the Norman law assigned to almost all offences, contributed greatly to the wealth of the sovereign.'—*Ib.* pp. 14—24.

Of these military tenants, there is every reason to believe that all were Normans, so generally had confiscation and spoliation prevailed; among the free soccage tenants there were many Saxons, but the number cannot be clearly ascertained. The villeins, whom Mr. James here seems to confound with the serfs, or '*servi*,' were certainly the conquered Saxons; and the question whether they were actual bondsmen, has been of late stoutly contended. Mr. Hallam is inclined to consider them rather as an inferior order of tenants paying, by service, for the produce of their land; an opinion which Sir Francis Palgrave firmly maintains, and which is certainly corroborated by the oldest legal documents, especially the '*Rolls of the King's Court*.' For these villeins, the conquest operated beneficially; for in that astonishing monument of the Conqueror's far-reaching views, *Doom'sday book*, we find expressly stated, what services the villeins belonging to each manor were required to perform, and this we are told on unimpeachable authority, was for the purpose of preventing any infringement of their rights at a future period. The lowest class were the serfs, or '*servi*;' these were certainly Saxon bondsmen, and as in *Doom'sday book* they appear to have been four times as numerous as the villeins, they were certainly 'the hewers of wood and drawers of water' of the community.

These, however, by means which we can scarcely ascertain, are early lost sight of, having either become inhabitants of those walled towns, within which, residence for a year and a day constituted them freemen, or else they 'had become blended with the territorial villeinage,' before the accession of Plantagenet. But the Conqueror, although he established the feudal system throughout the land, well knew that for the encouragement of trade, another system was needed; and thus he bent his powerful mind to the establishment or protection of those walled towns, in which ere long the spirit of freedom found an asylum. Many of these are now but of second or third-rate importance; but one, the metropolis of the land, although at this period the second city,—for Winchester was then capital of the kingdom,—can trace from the very day when the Conqueror gave to William, her 'good bishop,' that precious slip of parchment, written in the Saxon character, which declared her 'lawworthy,' a steady course of advancing greatness. It was a wise policy in the Conqueror, thus to elevate and protect his walled towns, for these presented in after years a formidable counterbalance to the power of the aristocracy; nor was it a less beneficial policy as regarded the people, that the fiefs of the greater nobles were dispersed through various counties, instead of being, like those of France, joined together in one large territory; while the arrangement which left the civil institutions of the land 'undestroyed, or at most new named,' assured to the people the eventual advantage of all that 'joyous freedom,' which under his stern rule they had well nigh forgotten. That the Conquest was most advantageous to England can scarcely, we think, be denied by any one who will but be at the trouble to trace the rapid and steady progress of civilization and national greatness, from that period to the days of Edward the Third; nor, although between the death of the first William and the accession of Plantagenet, tyrannical exactions on the part of the monarchs, and civil wars on the parts of both monarch and nobles, followed in rapid succession, can we deny it was an era of great improvement.

If the short reign of William Rufus passed away, unmarked by any benefits to the people, the succeeding reign of Beauclerc abundantly compensated. A youngest son, and hated by his brothers, as the youngest favourite often is; ridiculed by the stern followers of his father for his more peaceful tastes, and passing the interval of his brother's reign in actual poverty, when Henry the First ascended a throne to which he had scarcely a legal claim, he seems to have determined to make his proud nobles feel the concentrated weight of that anger, which for many years he had been forced to conceal. Astute as his father, he soon perceived, too, that the severity with which he treated his nobles, rendered him the véry idol of the Saxon race, and

to elevate them, and to curb his aristocracy, became from henceforth the grand object of his policy; and that in this he succeeded, to the deep mortification of the latter, is proved by the Saxon nicknames, which we find were bestowed by them on Henry and his Saxon queen. It was in pursuance of this line of policy, that Henry married that wife, the 'good queen Maude;' that he confirmed and extended the privileges of the walled towns, that he exercised such cruel severities on the mint-masters, who debased the coin—a subject of rejoicing to the worthy inditers of the venerable Saxon chronicle, although they generally lament the stern policy that doomed 'strong thieves' to the gallows tree; while to afford the native language of the mass of the people some chance of regaining its former station, he both spoke and wrote it,—a charter of his, addressed to Archbishop Anselm, still remaining a proof, and tradition having recorded, that to him his Saxon subjects owe the translation of Esop into their own tongue. But although Beauclerc sought to repress the power of his greater nobles, his general policy toward his Norman subjects was beneficial: he made advantageous alterations in the services due by the crown tenants, afforded many alleviations of the more oppressive dues; he patronised manufactures, and superintended the formation of a canal which united the Trent and the Witham; while his general and munificent patronage of literature, in which he was imitated by both his queens, aroused not only the Norman mind to a more eager pursuit of intellectual advancement, but stimulated the more sluggish Saxon. Cruel and licentious as Beauclerc was in his private character, as the monarch of two hostile races, both eminently warlike, but both imperfectly civilized, we cannot deny him the praise of being a wise king; and we willingly join, viewing him in his *public* character alone, in the eulogy of the Saxon chronicle: 'A good man was he, and there was great dread of him. No man durst do wrong to another in his day. Peace he made for man and beast.'

In the reign of Beauclerc, we find the first specific notices of the state of London. These are contained in the Pipe Roll of the 31st year of his reign, being the accounts rendered by the four sheriffs of London, at the Exchequer. Among these are £25, a sum equal at least to £600 in the present day, for making 'two arches of London bridge;' these must have been of wood, and, from subsequent accounts, it would seem doubtful if they lasted twenty years. There is also an entry of £17 for 'works in the Tower of London.' The list of fines, and payments for various purposes is very curious, and throws some light on the state of trade. 'Adelulf, the Fleming, pays one gold mark (equal to nine silver marks, and of the present value of about £250) to the king, for licence to make over a bill of exchange which he had drawn upon Galfrid Bukerel': and Galfrid pays

the sum of 100s. for a similar purpose. The London merchants, even at this early period, must have been extensively engaged in commerce, to have been able to pay what may be considered as a sort of stamp-duty of so large an amount. Among the other 'ways and means' of our Norman sovereigns, a kind of legacy duty finds a place. 'Robert, son of Ernucean, and William, son of Herlewin,' are recorded as owing one gold mark, 'that they may have their father's debts.' Another pays two gold marks for the same object; and Ingenolda, a widow, is to pay two gold marks, that she may take possession of her dower and chattels. At this time we find 'the men of London' paying a hundred marks, not a very large sum for so important a privilege, for the right of choosing their own sheriffs. The office of sheriff, however important, does not seem at this period to have been greatly coveted by the 'magnates' of London, for in a subsequent page, we find four persons, probably the newly-elected sheriffs, paying each, two gold marks, that they might vacate the office. In a general list of fines which follows, we find Saxon names in a greater proportion than Norman; an important proof that the ancient capital of Mercia, maintained those rights, said to have been conferred on her by King Offa, alike through the turbulent period consequent on the Conquest, and during the crushing tyranny which succeeded.

The notices which this curious roll affords of the state of the Jews, a people greatly patronised by Beauclerc, on account of their high scientific attainments, are very interesting. We find them paying a kind of premium to the king, that they may recover debts due to them, and among these entries it is curious to observe how often the wife is mentioned as joining in payment with her husband, a fact which would seem to prove that Jewish females, during the middle ages, occupied a far more important position than they do in the present day. The sums which they pay for licence to recover (we should suppose in the king's name) their debts, prove that they lent money to a very large amount—six, and even ten, gold marks being assigned for that purpose. The last sum is paid by a number of them, that they may obtain the money due to them from 'Earl Ranulph.' This was most likely the powerful Earl of Chester, who, as a Count palatine, and lord of the Welsh marches, might probably consider he might easily set the demand of a Jew at defiance. But the next curious entry relating to them is, their having to pay two thousand pounds—a sum equal to near fifty thousand—'for the sick man whom they killed,' (*pro infirmo quem interfecerent.*) That the man was not murdered, is proved by the king admitting them to fine, since we have no instance of Beauclerc allowing actual murder to be commuted into a mere money payment; but when we call to mind that the Jews at this period were the

great physicians, it seems most probable that the man died, by the administration, perhaps, of some new drug, or, which would amount to the same, was *believed* to have so died, and that this enormous fine was paid, probably to stay inquiry, at any rate, to allow them to continue in their former standing. That Beauchere continued his patronage toward them until the end of his life is certain; and, indeed, almost the next entry to this represents some of their number as paying highly for licence to recover debts. We have largely quoted from this curious roll,* not merely because it is but little known, and difficult to translate, from the contractions with which it abounds, but more so, because, in introducing Fitz-Stephen's curious description of London, these earlier notices corroborate his statements of the wealth and power of her citizens, statements which have not infrequently been attributed to mere monkish exaggeration and bombast. Ere passing onward, we may observe, that nearly all of the chief conventual and charitable institutions of London had their origin during Beauchere's reign, a valuable proof of the estimation in which he held Saxon London, and of the respect that was generally felt for the rising metropolis of the land. To Queen Maude, London owed the establishment of the Priory of the Holy Trinity at Aldgate, and the House of Lepers at St. Giles'-in-the-fields, and the patronage, if not foundation, of the House of Cripples at Cripplegate; to two Norman knights, the refoundation of St. Mary Overies; to Jordein Brisset and Muriel his wife, these two great establishments—the Priory for Nuns at Clerkenwell, and the Commandery of the Knights Hospitallers; and to Rahere, a former follower of King Henry's court, the Priory and Hospital of St. Bartholomew the Great.

Leaving no direct male heir, Beauchere, previously to his death, seems to have feared the contests of a disputed succession, and endeavoured to provide against them, by three times calling on his vassals to swear fealty to the Empress Maude. But however acute might be the devotional feelings of the age, the moral sense was obtuse enough. The thrice-repeated oath was broken, and Stephen of Blois, aided by his brother, the Bishop of Winchester, who though young was a profound politician, and yet more by Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, the high justiciar, and as such, protector of the kingdom, took possession of the vacant throne. The nineteen years of civil war and anarchy that followed were melancholy enough, if viewed solely in reference to the spoliations of the powerful, and the sorrows endured by those who dwelt in the vicinity of those scenes of warfare; but still, as the storm itself often produces those beneficial results, which the

* It is edited by the Rev. J. Hunter, and was published by the Record Com., in 1835.

spring-tide gales and summer sun fail to do, even that long period of civil war effected important alterations in the condition of the people. It is to this period that we may assign the extinction of actual bondage. All was unsettled; and therefore what could prevent the serf from flying to the walled town, where his strong arm might do good service, or to the neighbouring forests, where, if he slew the king's deer, he at least enjoyed the rights of a free man. There is also an important effect, too, produced by civil war; melancholy, in many respects, as *all* war, and *civil* war beyond any, undoubtedly is. In some states of society, especially the earlier, where, from the limited extent of the population, and the wide extent of land, subsistence is easily, perhaps even pleasantly obtained, men unaccustomed to thought, unless aroused by the resistless pressure of outward circumstances, are apt to idle their whole lives away. Now, to arouse the feelings of a whole people, and through that medium their minds, civil war, injurious as it must be in detail, is actually the best means. The most sluggish is aroused to action when the enemy is at his very door; and the most indolent is forced to determine the course he shall pursue, when men of the same city, of the same family, of the same household, are pledged to the death in support of conflicting claims. It was in this respect that the long and disastrous wars of this period produced a beneficial result; and thus is the anomaly cleared up which has struck many an historian, that during 'this wasteful period of civil war, the Anglo-Norman mind was extensively educating itself.'

On the respective conditions of the two races, which as yet had not amalgamated, these wars also produced advantageous results. It was no longer a strife between the conquered and the conquerors; for, of the great Norman nobles, some took part with Stephen and some with Maude. Indeed, Stephen, foreign both by father and mother, as well as grandson to the Conqueror, received the homage and support of Saxon London, rather than the Empress, who, although daughter of the Saxon princess, was driven from thence by the adherents of her opponent. It should also be borne in mind that, during the whole of this contest, if the people obtained no additional liberties, they were not forced to relinquish any, and thus, when Henry Plantagenet ascended the throne, the people, in regard to actual rights, stood on important vantage-ground, as compared with their fathers, almost a century before. In using the term 'rights,' we are well aware that the concessions which had been made were scarcely tangible enough to deserve that name; still that even Plantagenet himself, unscrupulous as he was, respected them, is proof that they bore to him somewhat of the force of law.

At the close of the year 1154, the first of that illustrious family, who, for more than three hundred years wore the English crown, ascended the throne, and was welcomed alike by his Norman and Saxon subjects; by the former, because brave, bold, and intelligent, he gave promise of a prosperous reign; by the latter, because they viewed him as the descendant of their Saxon monarchs, and trusted that under his rule they should again obtain their Saxon laws, and their Saxon pre-eminence. 'But the son of Geoffrey Plantagenet was a stranger by birth and education, and the Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence was finally subverted by the restorer of the Anglo-Saxon line.' The earlier years of his reign, however, were marked by most beneficial arrangements. During the two first years, he caused the castles which had in the last reign become the strongholds of oppression and cruelty to be dismantled; and he called in the debased coinage, and re-issued a new, restored to its proper weight and standard. This last act was alone sufficient to determine his popularity with his Saxon subjects; while the successful wars which he carried on in Wales, in Brittany, and subsequently in the south of France, gratified alike the thirst for military glory, and the wild love of adventure of the enterprising Normans. It is to this period that the view which Mr. James gives of the state of society will refer, we think, rather than to an earlier; and the curious picture which Fitz-Stephen gives of London may be well taken, although written some twenty years later, for a description of our metropolis as it then appeared.

London, he tells us, is a strong and well-guarded city, girdled by a wall of thick masonry, flanked by turrets along the northern side, and defended at either end by a strong castle (the Tower and Castle Baynard). It contained thirteen great conventual churches, and *one hundred and twenty-six* parish churches. The following is curious and amusing:—

“Everywhere adjoining the houses in the suburbs,” he says, “the citizens have spacious and beautiful gardens, one joining the other, and planted with trees. Round about on the north side of London there are various principal fountains of sweet water, salubrious, clear, and flowing amongst shining pebbles, amongst which those called the Holy Well, the Clerk’s Well, (now Clerkenwell,) and Saint Clement’s Well, are the most celebrated, and most frequented of scholars and citizens going out in the summer evenings to take the air. The city must certainly be good, as it has a good lord. In London,” continues Fitz-Stephen, “three principal churches have three schools, by privilege and ancient dignity; nevertheless, by favour of some persons or certain teachers who are noted, and eminent for philosophy, there are other schools, by leave and permission. On holidays, the masters with their scholars celebrate assemblies at the festival churches. The scholars

dispute there, some demonstratively, some dialectically, others recite enthymems, others better use perfect syllogisms. Some exercise disputation for ostentation, as struggling together; others, for truth, which is the grace of perfection.'—*Ib.* pp. 33, 34.

The schools here referred to were those of St. Paul's, St. Martin's-le-grand, and probably that at the Holy Trinity. There was also a school at Westminster; indeed, at this period, the directions of Lanfranc were strictly complied with, and each Benedictine establishment possessed a school. But, provision, and apparently ample provision, was made for body as well as mind:—

‘The exercisers of each office, the sellers of each thing, and each hired labourer, are all every morning to be found distinguished by their places as by their offices. There is besides in London, upon the bank of the river, amongst the wine ships and wine cellars, a public kitchen, where every day may be found dishes of meat roasted, sodden, and fried; fish, small fish, meats of coarse kinds for the poor, and more delicate for the rich, as venison, fowl, or small birds. If by chance, any one of the citizens should be visited suddenly by friends wearied with travel, and it be not pleasant to let them wait fasting till food can be bought and cooked, let the servants give water for the hands, and bread, while some one runs to the bank of the river, where everything desirable is ready. Whatsoever multitude of soldiers or travellers enter the city, at whatever hour of the day or night, or are about to go out of the city, that the one may not remain fasting, and that the other may not go out without their dinner, they can turn hither, if they please, and each refresh himself according to his own fashion. Those who wish to take care of themselves delicately, may take a goose, nor need they seek for the African fowl, or the Ionian godwit—delicacies which will be found there ready. This public cookery, indeed, is very convenient, and belongs to the city.’

‘To this city, from every nation under heaven, merchants carry on a commerce by sea: Arabia sends gold; the Sabæan, spices and frankincense; the Scythian, arms; the prolific soil of Babylon sends oil from its rich wood of palms. The Nile furnishes precious stones; the East Indies, purple garments; Norway and Russia, vair, fur, and sables; the French, their wines. According to chronicles of authority it is older than the city of Rome. Both were from the same Trojan stock, this, however, being built by Brute before that was built by Romulus and Remus. Whence probably their ancient customs and laws were so much the same. Thus, in a similar manner, London is divided into regions, (or wards,) has annual sheriffs instead of consuls, a senatorial dignity, and inferior magistrates, has sewers and aqueducts in the highways. All sorts of causes, deliberative, demonstrative, and judicial, have their proper places of judgment and separate courts; the council has its meetings on appointed days. I do not think there is any city where there are more orderly customs of visiting churches, honouring the ordinances of God, observing holydays, giving alms, shewing hospitality, keeping engagements, contracting espousals, celebrating nup-

tials, ornamenting festivals, cheering guests, even in performing funerals, and inhuming the dead. The sole plagues of London are the immoderate drinking of fools, and frequent fires. Besides, almost all bishops, abbots, and nobles of England are, as it were, citizens and freemen of London, having their fine houses where they resort, and incur great expenses, being called thither to councils and important assemblies by the king or their metropolitan, or drawn by their own business.'

This was in Eastcheap, where Lydgate, two hundred and fifty years after, was assailed by cooks crying, 'Hot ribs of beef,' and proffering French and Rhenish wines in pewter pots, and where there was noise, and singing, and minstrelsy of all kinds, and, as may well be imagined, a plentiful resort of the riotous and dissolute. Fitz-Stephen's description of the Smithfield (Smoothfield is his name) Friday horse-market, is curious, as proving at how early a period England was celebrated for its horses; his eulogistic enumeration of the varieties and extent of London commerce must, we think, be taken with some limitation; while his boast of London having been built *before* Rome, and its undoubted Trojan origin, prove what firm hold the 'British History' of Geoffrey, of Monmouth, although presented to the world little more than half a century before, had already taken on the popular mind.

Although we cannot believe that all those distant nations specified by Fitz-Stephen had commercial dealings with London, still, that she carried on a more extensive trade than many writers have supposed, is evident, not merely from the ample supply of foreign luxuries, of which we find mention, but from the known maritime skill of her citizens. The gold, and other Eastern produce mentioned by him, were, however, neither brought by her own vessels, nor by those of the Mediterranean; but the Italians were the great Indian merchants, and they transported from Alexandria the various kinds of Eastern produce to Venice or Genoa, and from thence they were brought by land to the southern coast of France, and thus conveyed into England. The great fairs of the south of France furnished a mart for the resort of merchants, and thither the 'spiccers and mercers' repaired to exchange the produce of England for the luxuries of the far East. But the Northern seas were navigated to a very high latitude by the London vessels, and the skimmers and fishmongers penetrated as far as Iceland. And wonderful tales did these Northern mariners relate of sea-serpents, and fishes, living islands in shape and size; and mermaids, too, which, from a rather minute description of one, seems to have been a Laplander with her boat, which they considered to be fins and tail.

The concluding part of Fitz-Stephen's description affords a pleasant view of the every-day life of our forefathers; for it proves them not to have been a population weighed down by

anxiety and keen strife to obtain bread; while his subsequent description of the amusements in which the youth of the city indulged, prove, from the very character of the sports, their racings, their football games, their friendly contests on the ice and on the river, that they were a hardy and a spirited race. Ere passing from this part of the subject, we may observe that London still continued to be governed by her Saxon laws, and the high independence of her citizens is proved not merely by the long list of immunities contained in Henry the First's charter, but from it being recorded in this very reign, that not even the king's own servants could claim 'hospitation' (the right of being in any dwelling) if the owner refused it.

The first seven years of Plantagenet's reign were prosperous abroad and peaceable at home. With the elevation of the celebrated Becket to the see of Canterbury, in 1162, a season of great turbulence commenced. To enter properly upon this subject, to which Mr. James has devoted nearly half of his first volume, would far exceed our limits; we may, however, remark, that whatever may be thought of the conduct of Becket, in regard to the celebrated constitutions of Clarendon, in what light can we view the conduct of a monarch, who, having called his prelates and nobles together, for the express purpose of deliberation, when, after three days' debate, the former still adhered to their own opinions, acted thus:—

‘ On the third day,’ says the Bishop of London, ‘ when all the princes and nobles of the realm had been excited to the utmost fury, after a tremendous noise and shouting, they entered the meeting where we sat, and with their mantles cast back, and outstretched arms, addressed us thus: ‘ Listen, oh ye who contemn the statutes of the realm, and will not receive the commands of the king; not ours are these hands that you behold, not ours these arms, not ours even these bodies, but they are those of our Lord the King, ready at his nod to revenge his injuries, ready to do his will promptly, let it be whatsoever it will; whatever shall be his mandate, shall be to us most just, and we will execute it willingly. Change your determination, incline your minds to obedience, in order that you may avoid, while it is yet easy, a peril which must soon be inevitable.’ What then?’ continues Foliot, ‘ Who fled? Who turned their back? Whose spirit gave way?’

‘ The bishop goes on to say that no one yielded; and he names all the prelates present, down to himself, with the exception of Becket, asserting that every one of them remained firm in the defence of the church; but he then proceeds: ‘ The general of the host turned his back, the leader of the camp fled from it, from his brethren, and from the council; the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury withdrew himself, and after a space given to conference apart, he returned to us, and spoke these words: ‘ It is the will of my Lord that I should perjure myself, and at present I submit, and incur perjury, for which I may do penance hereafter.’

‘ The bishop proceeds to describe the stupified astonishment into

which these words cast the bishops. They yielded, however, to the will of Becket, and led by him, like sheep, took the oath demanded of them, promising in truth and sincerity faithfully to observe the ancient customs of the country, which had been written down from the general testimony of the elder members of the assembly.'

Could anything be more disgraceful than the conduct of the king in this instance? or anything in English history more similar to the actions of an Eastern despot and his armed slaves? And yet, for the truth of this statement we have the undeniable authority of a supporter of the king's measures, a bitter enemy of Becket, Gilbert Foliot, who, forced to accept the see of London instead of the primacy of Canterbury, pursued Becket to his death with the bitterest hatred. We are sorry to find this part of Mr. James' work injured by a most violent spirit of partizanship. We should hope that the sternest dissenter could not read the foregoing statement without indignation at the tyrant who sent armed men, according to another authority, 'brandishing their shining battle-axes as if prepared to smite the heads of the bishops,' into an assembly of unarmed, and, for the most part, aged men; but, Mr. James, although he writes himself a churchman, and while he 'cannot help admiring their firmness, constancy, and courage,' regrets that 'they should ever have combined to struggle for privileges subject to such dark and terrible abuses,' yet has not a word of regret for the king's outrageous conduct. But this very writer, we refer to his novels, can point to the Parliamentarians as scarcely Christians, because they considered the episcopal order might be dispensed with. Now, we should greatly like to know if, in the wildest and fiercest scenes of the last civil war, anything occurred like this?

The sequel of Henry's contest with Becket is well known; but sufficient prominency, except in the writings of violent partizans of Becket, has not been given to the various acts of gross injustice perpetrated by the king against his former favourite. These should be taken into account, not alone because common justice requires it, but because it will serve to account, in some measure, for the warm feeling which the people certainly expressed for Becket during his life, and which, after his death, deepened into a feeling of worship. Indeed, little as it may be suspected, we are strongly inclined to believe that the first manifestations of popular feeling, and the first assertions of popular rights, are closely linked with the contest of Henry and Becket. Certain it is, that in after years, throughout the whole of the thirteenth century, as well as during the fourteenth, his name was as often referred to, in connexion with civil liberty, as, at a later period, those of Russell and Sydney have been; and that in the contemporary writers of these times, whether in monkish Latin, in courtly Anglo-Norman, or in rude English, 'the cause in which

blessed St. Thomas laid down his life,' occupies just the same place, as 'the cause for which Hampden died,' does in the political writings of modern days. Now that Becket *died*, battling for what he deemed the rights of the church, is an unassailable fact; it must therefore be to the opinions expressed by him during his lifetime, perhaps to his conduct while chancellor, and which probably the populace considered were the actual reasons of the king's subsequent persecution, that we must look. It is to be regretted, that while the opinions and correspondence of Becket's contemporaries have been largely brought forward, so little of his own correspondence has been produced; for notwithstanding that set phraseology, and childish love of antithesis which the epistolary style of the middle ages exhibits, we could not fail, in turning over the vast collection of his letters, to find some traces of what this much-lauded, much-abused prelate, really was. Contemporary history exhibits him as a Londoner, of Saxon race—the first who attained to a high station in the king's court. Thus his *early* associations must have been favourable to freedom; and although, from some recorded points of his history, he seems subsequently to have adopted views more in accordance with those of his right royal master, yet irritated at that master's after-conduct, he might again have recurred to his early principles, and denounced the rapacious exactions of the monarch, his fines, his tallages, the bribes which he received from the laity for the expediting of justice, as sternly as he had denounced monarchical interference with the rights of the church. The case really is, that we want an entirely new life of Becket, collected solely from contemporary documents, and undertaken neither to support the cause of the king nor the archbishop, but to illustrate the political and ecclesiastical history of a very important period. Such a work would be valuable; for on no actors in our history, save perhaps Cromwell, have harder names been bestowed, than upon Henry and Becket.

The character of Henry has, we think, found strange favour in the eyes of our historians. That his private character was unmarked by a single domestic virtue, is certain; and even that fondness for his children on which some writers have dwelt, perhaps to deepen the guilt of their rebellion, appears in all its manifestations, but as the instinctive feeling which prompts the mere animal to caress its young ones while weak and helpless, and to chase them away, when no longer requiring its care. Thus Plantagenet, while his children were young, seems to have been a most indulgent father,—but indulgent parents are not always the most just; and thus when his sons, arrived at manhood, demanded the performance of those contracts which he had deliberately entered into, he refused, and right royally bade them

be content with his own good pleasure. This was the foundation of their rebellion.

That Plantagenet was arbitrary and overbearing beyond any other sovereign, save Henry VIII., between whom and the subject of our present remarks, some singular coincidences may be traced, is evident from every part of his history. According to Mr. James' own shewing, he broke faith with his continental allies, as unscrupulously as he broke faith with his sons; and treated his feudatories with about the same degree of justice as he did his archbishop. That Henry VIII. and his 'indentured servants,' the chroniclers of his reign, should have treated the memory of the first Plantagenet with extraordinary respect, is not surprising, for in his public character the Eighth Henry certainly aimed at emulating his predecessor, and in his private life, although he did not imitate that boundless licentiousness, still his conduct toward his wives was evidently modelled on the worthy example of Plantagenet's toward Elinor of Aquitaine.

And yet writers who were not at all bound to hold to the opinions of the Tudor dynasty, writers who are friendly to liberty, have viewed the character of Henry II. with a favour which it is difficult to account for, if the chief acts of his reign are dispassionately viewed. Now to account for this, we must contemplate him as a legislator, and bear in mind that the writer who describes his legislative enactments most fully, is also his great eulogist; for, were every record of the first Plantagenet swept away, save the work of his favourite chief justiciar Glanville, we should be led to consider him as one of the most just and enlightened of monarchs. But admirable codes of laws have not infrequently emanated from the most arbitrary and despotic sovereigns. This has, however, been lost sight of, and because the Second Henry originated many beneficial legal enactments, he has too hastily been pronounced an excellent king. By some he has been viewed as the *founder* of our present legal constitution, but 'although in strictness,' (we quote from Sir F. Palgrave's excellent work on the 'English Commonwealth,') 'he was not the inventor of that legal constitution which succeeded to the Anglo-Saxon polity, yet, 'trial by the country' owes its stability, if not its origin, to his jurisprudence; that administration of justice which is said to bring the law home to every man's doors, was permanently established in his reign; and perhaps even the remedial court of parliament itself, is a remote consequence of the jurisprudence of the Anglo-Norman king.'

These were important advantages, although more profitable to their descendants than to the people of those days; but among the more specific advantages obtained by them, we may place the indirect effects of the contests in which Henry engaged,

successively, with his clergy, and with his sons and chief nobles. As, in the former instance, he attacked the ecclesiastical power, so in the latter he attacked the feudal; and though he eventually reduced some of his nobles to obedience, still the power of the feudal system, as it had presented a formidable opposition, so it continued to present a barrier to the encroachments of kingly power. Able, in those unsettled and warlike times, to bring a well organized military force into the field, the nobles could often successfully resist the encroachments of the royal prerogative, and by these conflicting powers that balance was produced which assured to the people the rights they already possessed, and encouraged them to seek after greater. The ecclesiastical strife produced a still more beneficial result, for it awakened the national mind; and whether the part of the king or of the primate was adhered to, there was a theme of debate, perhaps of inquiry, which exercised advantageously minds which had comparatively few objects to arouse them. Thus, during the whole reign of the first Plantagenet, various and conflicting elements both moral and political were 'working together,' to foster and build up the national character to its future strength and greatness. The development was reserved for the future. The next reign witnessed the first assertion of popular rights, and then throughout the following century the first great battle was fought.

Our limits warn us to conclude, although but on the threshold of our subject; we shall probably recur ere long to it again, and trace the progress of popular feeling throughout Cœur-de-Lion's reign, onward to the great struggle with John. In taking leave of Mr. James' two introductory volumes, although we cannot agree with him in his favourable estimate of our first Plantagenet's character and policy, we cheerfully yield him the praise of having written a very laborious and well studied work. His account of the first crusade, with which the second volume concludes, we have been much pleased with, and from his well-known descriptive powers as a novelist, we shall be well inclined to revisit with him that 'fair land over the seas,' to witness there the prowess of his hero, Cœur-de-Lion.

ART. VI. *Sermons by the late Rev. Luke Forster, of Saffron Walden; with a Sketch of his Life.* By the Rev. John Ely, of Leeds. London: Jackson and Walford.

A VOLUME of posthumous sermons is seldom attractive to the general public; it is usually a memento—a kind of legacy, bequeathed to the congregation and private circle of the admired and beloved preacher or pastor who is removed from them by

death, and of whom they wish to retain some characteristic and affectionate memorial. It is, therefore, read by few, and rapidly passes into oblivion. To this, however, there have been some occasional and splendid exceptions, and among them we may justly class the volume before us. The sermons are not only of a high intellectual order, but they breathe a spirit of ardent, evangelical piety; with the truths which are the peculiar glory of Christianity, they are full even to overflowing; and their style and tone of composition are admirably adapted to the pulpit. When announced by the living voice, with tones, and looks, and gestures, such as Mr. Forster had it always in his power to command, or rather, were so natural that they did not wait for his bidding, these sermons must have produced a most salutary impression. Yet, we are assured by Mr. Ely, that his 'freer effusions far exceeded his more set compositions.' To some of these he alludes, and particularly mentions a funeral address to a party of half-a-dozen mourners. 'Had there been a thousand auditors, there could not have been more eloquence; but it was eloquence befitting the occasion—beautiful, gentle, soothing, hallowing—in which he drew a sweet and striking contrast between the mourning group gathered round the coffin, and the glorious company to which the disembodied spirit had been welcomed.'

We think Mr. Ely's estimate of Mr. Forster's intellectual powers and arguments is more than borne out and justified by these posthumous sermons: 'He had the unusual alliance of a vivid imagination and great sobriety of judgment. He could, if he pleased, delight you with a flower of no ordinary beauty; but he never gave you this when you stood in need of plain truth.' We can also easily believe, from the specimens before us, that his 'style of preaching was always interesting, often brilliant, and uniformly exhibiting a remarkable tone of experimental piety.'

The sermons are twelve in number, and the subjects the most important that can demand the attention of fallen, responsible, and immortal beings. The first is on 'The Power of Evil Habit.' In this sermon, there are passages of great force, and the tendency of the whole is to awaken, to alarm, and reclaim.

After illustrating the important propositions, which are the basis of the first part of his discourse, namely, that 'one sin leads to the commission of another; by strengthening the depraved desire which it gratifies;' that 'one sin leads to others, by rendering them necessary to its concealment;' and that 'one sin leads to another, by placing the sinner in circumstances amidst which he is presented with temptations he cannot resist;' the preacher, in the second part of his sermon, proceeds to the con-

sideration of the power of evil habit, and his proof, derived from the habit of drunkenness, is not only valuable for its truth, but as a specimen of Mr. Forster's mode of addressing himself to an audience :—

‘ This, like other evil habits, is acquired by frequent indulgence in the sin of drunkenness. It is not of its formation, however, that we have now to speak; but of the power with which it holds a man bound when it has been matured and firmly established. The dreadful force of this evil habit is most strikingly manifested in the successful resistance which it offers to all the considerations which may be suggested for its destruction. What can destroy it? The loss of reputation cannot overcome it. There are many who have the certain prospect of this before them who still persevere. They indulge in private, or under the shades of night; they practise every art of concealment which their ingenuity, taxed to the utmost, can devise; their friends try to veil their disgrace, servants are bribed, silence is bought, excessive abstinence is observed in public to lull suspicion; but when they see all these methods failing, the power of habit still urges them onward. Whatever loss they may sustain, though their friends abandon them, though their kindred renounce them, though their employers threaten to dismiss them, though their business decline, and grim poverty, deep disgrace, and fell disease stare them in the face, they will still quaff the intoxicating draught. What then shall destroy the power of such a habit? The domestic wretchedness and ruin which it occasions cannot do it. There is nothing which endows a man with a more certain power of filling the domestic abode with misery and moral ruin, than the habit of drunkenness; yet the drunkard can steadily survey the mischief he is making, and recklessly advance to finish it. He beholds his wife vainly striving against the stream of woe which his vice has opened; he marks her efforts, hears her complaints, sees her gradually sinking under an ever-accumulating load of intolerable mortification and prospective wretchedness; or perhaps reproaches, which nature cannot stifle, lead to fierce commotions, loud curses, and fearful strife, turning his house into another pandemonium; he sees his children growing up into life without education, without government, without affection, without respect, gaunt with hunger, clad with rags, lisping oaths, mocking his authority, and aspiring to an imitation of his vice. Yet all this cannot effectually restrain him. His evil habit yields not amidst a scene, which, but, for its absolute dominion, would break his heart and sink him into the grave. The fearful sufferings, mental and bodily, which this evil habit induces are just as ineffectual in delivering the drunkard from its power. His horrid sensations, his raging fever, his excessive thirst, his racking head-ache, his quivering tremulousness, when the hours of debauch have closed; the sinking consciousness of shame and degradation, the stings of conscience, the pangs of remorse, the prospect of death, judgment, and hell, thrilling his soul with horror—these cannot free him. They may check him in his course, but they cannot turn him from it; he may partially reform, and for a while become remarkably sober; he may even lay himself

under the most solemn vow to commit his easily-besetting sin no more ; but he is powerless, and lost. No sooner does the craving for strong drink return, no sooner is he furnished with the means of gratifying it, than his remorse, vows, and resolutions are all forgotten. Thus does he go on, alternately sinning and repenting, till death closes his wretched and disgusting career.'—pp. 16, 17.

'The influence of the Holy Spirit,' is the subject of the second Sermon, and is a clear elucidation of the scriptural doctrine, and a principal application of it to the hearts and consciences of the hearers.

The third discourse is one of pre-eminent value, and to minds of a certain temperament, it must be deeply interesting. The subject has been often discussed : it is one which every minister ought to be prepared to bring before his congregation. But we confess, in all the hitherto published discourses which we have read, it has been most unsatisfactorily treated. That 'the sin against the Holy Ghost' is a subject involved in some difficulty and obscurity, is readily admitted ; but that so few should have attempted its thorough investigation, and that none should have fixed upon the explanation by which Mr. Forster has rendered the nature of this tremendous crime, and the conditions necessary to its perpetration, so obvious, is a matter of just surprise. Mr. Forster enters upon his task under the influence of a benevolent solicitude to relieve from anxiety, on the subject, an interesting and somewhat numerous class.

We must refer to the sermon itself for the reasonings, logical and scriptural, by which the preacher sustains the views which he states in the following paragraph :—

'I do not suppose that the individuals whom Christ addressed had actually committed the unpardonable blasphemy against which he warned them, but they were under the dominion of that temper which would infallibly lead to it ; they had not passed the limits of mercy, but they had nearly approached them ; they had not fallen over the precipice, but they stood on its brink ; and Christ, who saw all the peril of their condition, mercifully warned them of their awful danger. It was not against the Holy Spirit that their blasphemy had hitherto been directed, but against Christ himself, and his address to them will admit of the following explanation : 'Hitherto ye have spoken merely against me ; all your rancorous hatred and open hostility have been directed against my character and pretensions ; the miracle which I have just wrought, and which ye know could not have been performed without Divine power, ye have maliciously attributed to the devil. I tell you, however, that the Holy Spirit is about to give more splendid and numerous attestations to the divinity of my claims than have yet been afforded. Take heed lest you speak against him, for I warn you, that if you permit your enmity to go so far as to say that the works which *ye shall know to be his* are performed by the devil, ye will commit a sin which will never be forgiven.'—pp. 60, 61.

Placing the passages referring to this terrible subject, recorded in the sixth and tenth chapters of the Epistle to the Hebrews, in connexion with his text, of which they are in some degree explanatory, after a good deal of acute discrimination, the preacher arrives at this conclusion, which is certainly entitled to a candid and thorough examination:—

‘ From the tenour of these remarks, you must have perceived, that the sin, after which it became impossible to renew the sinner to repentance, was committed under circumstances which no longer exist. We learn, from the passages just referred to, that the Spirit was blasphemed by those who *witnessed* his miracles, just as the Son of Man had been blasphemed by those who *saw* him eject a devil. *This, in my opinion, would be sufficient to confine the sin to the age of miracles*; but this is not all. The individual who committed a sin so awful and so damning, had been made ‘ a partaker of the Holy Ghost ;’ that is, he had been empowered by him to *work* miracles. When *he* fell away under the circumstances which the apostle has specified, the *peculiar aggravation* of his sin consisted, not in his having been a witness of miracles, but in his having been enabled to work miracles himself, and having, therefore, in his own experience, the greatest of all evidence in favour of Christianity which even God could afford. His was no *common apostasy*. He trampled under foot the Son of God, and did despite to the Spirit of grace, after having been divinely favoured with that peculiar testimony in their behalf, which to none, since his age, has ever been afforded. The privileges which he, and such as he, possessed, gave to their crimes an unparalleled atrocity; ‘ for it is impossible, if *they* should fall away, to renew *them* again unto repentance.’ Since no one is now gifted and circumstanced as they were, so I apprehend that no one can now commit a sin of such aggravated guilt as theirs. It is my opinion that that unpardonable sin was confined to their age, and, most probably, to those who, in that case, had been miraculously endowed by the Holy Spirit, and if any, since the era of miracles closed, have regretted that they were not gifted with those high endowments, they have had more than sufficient to remove all such regret, in the consideration that they never possessed the awful power of passing those limits, beyond which the voice of mercy is never heard, and the blessings of salvation are never dispensed.’—pp. 78—80.

The other subjects of this volume, each of which deserves a separate notice, and furnishes passages that we should be glad to introduce into our pages, we must content ourselves with barely announcing. They are the following:—the Doctrine of Election; the Lamb of God; Job’s Confidence in the Redeemer; the Redemption of the Soul; the Difficulties attending the Salvation of the Righteous, and the fearful prospect of the Ungodly and the Sinner; the Gospel received and diffused by the Thessalonians; Brotherly Kindness; Duties of a Church to its Pastor; Submission to God.

Where these sermons were preached, and the preacher was

known, they were invested with the beauty of his living example, and enforced with all the power of a man of God, equally beloved and revered by his hearers, who were persuaded of the sincerity of his zeal for the divine glory, and the ardour of his affection for the perishing souls of men.

Nor is this wholly wanting, now he addresses us from the press. The sketch of his life, by Mr. Ely, brings the Christian, the pastor, and the friend, vividly before us, and we can vouch for the truth of every feature. It is a just portraiture of one of the most estimable men it has been our privilege to know. No man could win hearts sooner, nor retain them longer. Indeed, he never lost a friend, and many, many feel his death as a chasm in their circle of social enjoyment that must remain till the reunion of kindred spirits in that bright world, where adieus and farewells are a sound unknown.

For the particulars of his short life, we refer to the narrative; but there are one or two passages which so justly describe the character of our departed friend, that we must introduce them.

‘His social intercourse was peculiarly attractive. There was a beaming welcome in his countenance—it sparkled with benevolence. In his conversation, there was a smartness that ever put you on the alert; he could be on occasion good-humouredly sarcastic; he was often brilliant. He was much attached to young people, (I quote from one who knew him well.) He was like an elder brother, anxious to make every one happy around him. In the presence of the young, he displayed the cheerfulness and playfulness of one belonging to their own age and station. Luke Forster never appeared more completely himself than when surrounded by a juvenile party. He could be their companion and their instructor too.

‘Nor was it in the social circle only, he won the young. In the pulpit he addressed them with an affection which arrested their attention and touched their sensibilities. His New Year’s Sermon to youth, preached annually at Blackburn, and alternately with the Rev. Mr. Wilkinson, the Baptist minister at Walden, was usually, if not invariably, followed by the awakening and conversion of some of his youthful charge. Nor was his winning and engaging manner less successful in private; for many were led by it to open their hearts to him, who were ready to suppose that they could never undergo the ordeal of admission to the church, but who found all their reserve melt away while he conversed with them. The consequence was, that on naming an evening for conversation, at his own house, with any who were under awakenings of mind, many availed themselves of the privilege, and many became candidates for admission to the fellowship of the church.

‘His friendships were sincere and hearty, and his kindly sensibilities were ever ready on behalf of the comparative stranger, as well as the acknowledged friend. One who often sojourned under his roof bears the following testimony: ‘As to the affections of his heart, it may be said, that they lost, as years advanced, none of their freshness.

Those for whom he evinced regard might confidently calculate on his gratulations in their joy, and his sympathy in their sorrows.'

' His heart was the seat of every noble and benevolent affection ; it overflowed with kindness ; its sensibilities had been awakened and nourished in the domestic circle at Brandon, and so he was fitted to become the ardent friend, the devoted husband, the fondly-complacent father. His vivacity might sometimes border on levity, but he was ever serious on serious things. In his abhorrence of all meanness, he might sometimes be unsparing in his expressions in reference to such as seemed to him chargeable with it ; but there was no bitterness in his spirit. The smartness of his repartee might sometimes startle, but could never offend. In a temperament so lively, you might have expected to find something capricious ; but never was there more stability. After the lapse of a dozen years, with all its varying influences, you might safely calculate on finding him unchanged in principle, in character, or attainment. His piety, while it was the hallowing and crowning grace of his character, derived not a few of its characteristics from constitutional temperament. Evangelical in doctrine, devout, fervent, practical, he shrunk from all display ; he threw his whole soul into his office ; he had a heart to expand with the expanding schemes of the church ; and his ministry was distinguished by substantial instruction, directness of aim, and animated zeal.'

Such was the man whose sermons are, in this volume, presented to the public. The productions are worthy of the author. In the concluding words of the memoir, ' Let the reader of the following Sermons peruse them with awe-struck spirit, for the hand that penned them is mouldering in the tomb, and the spirit that indited them is now before the throne of God and the Lamb, in the midst of those dread and glorious realities to which they all have an ultimate reference.'

ART. VII. 1. *Speech of Sir Robert Peel on the Corn Laws, in the House of Commons, Wednesday, February 9, 1842.* London: Painter, 342, Strand.

2. *Financial Statement of Sir Robert Peel in the House of Commons, Friday, March 11, 1842.* Third Edit. London: Painter.

3. *On the Taxation of the United Kingdom, comprising Remarks on the Tax upon Income proposed to the House of Commons in 1842 ; and on a less objectionable direct Tax.* London: Hooper, Pall Mall East, and Richardson, Cornhill. pp. 62. 8vo.

4. *Speech of Lord Brougham in the House of Lords, on Thursday, March 17, 1842, on moving his Resolutions respecting an Income Tax.* Morning Chronicle, 18th March, 1842.

THERE is a good story told by Doctor Franklin of himself, when a little boy, to the following purport:—He had saved up his

money to go to a fair, where, amongst a variety of tempting objects, his eyes fastened upon a whistle; for which he at once emptied his pockets, in accomplishing its purchase. Straying afterwards amongst other stalls, he found he had nothing left to gratify any other inclination; so that regret and disappointment burnt into his mind the valuable piece of experience, that too much might be given for a whistle! As a philosopher, in after life, he frequently applied the parable to many a fool in this sublunary world, who, without counting the cost, procures an attractive trifle at some exorbitant rate, which produces on reflection nothing but bitterness or mortification. Now our worthy contemporaries, the Tories, are precisely in a parallel predicament. They hastened to Vanity Fair, not a great while ago, resolved upon buying power and place for their favourite premier, let the elections cost whatever they would. Unhappily, as we think, for the country and for themselves, they succeeded; and they are at length brought to most dismal confessions—that they have paid too much for their whistle! Sir Robert Peel seems one of the ablest politicians in existence for bottling a secret. He foresaw from the beginning well enough, that he must of necessity fail to satisfy his followers and worshippers. Therefore he took care to be installed in office, without affording a single definite promise as to what line of policy he should pursue. His sole and incessant cry was just the opposite to that of Sterne's starling, in his Sentimental Journey. It was an unvarying note of *Let me in,—Let me in!* When at some moment of genial excitement, his constituents gave him a dinner, and then gaped with all their mouths open afterwards to hear what the great man was going to say, his address might have been paraphrased into some such words of wisdom as these:—‘I am no less a person than the celebrated Doctor Peel, with a nostrum in my possession which will cure all the disorders of the body politic; but the efficacy of which depends upon my now saying not a word more about it. Let me first receive my fee, on being called in, and then let me feel the pulse and look at the tongue of this poor drooping, dying patient; and then, having dismissed all the other physicians, surgeons, chemists, and apothecaries, we will *let matters quite alone for the next six months!*’ So said this wonderful Katterfelto of the state; and those who looked on, or listened, testified their approval with various rounds of applause, duly intermingled with volleys of Kentish fire. *Omne ignotum pro magnifico* was their motto and principle. Their enthusiasm of praise kept a precise ratio of proportion to their real unacquaintedness with what all their friends told them, was so very much to be admired. The less that was spoken, the more was to be done. If here and there some singular conservative ventured upon any further inquiries, his apparent doubts and impertinences were presently drowned amidst their triumphant

airs, sounded from one end of the land to the other, upon the whistle which agricultural and monopolizing patriotism had resolved, at all risks, to purchase; and which now, as intimated already, turns out to be rather an expensive one, its purchasers themselves being the judges.

These things being so, we are only furnished with another illustration of what we have often taken the liberty of pointing out to our readers; namely, that the government of this country has never been what it professes to be. Hence the charlatanism of party thrives in an atmosphere of imposture. From Henry the Seventh to the Civil War, England never missed an opportunity of extolling her liberal constitution, whilst all the while the sovereign was in fact little else than a tyrant invested with autocratic power. From the Revolution to the Reform Bill, this same liberal constitution, which the crown had, in former ages, overlaid, experienced a similar fate from the aristocracy. What our Oxford friends would call a *catena oratorum*, could easily be produced, full of empty laudation, as to the freedom which our country enjoyed nowhere but upon paper, from the days of Sir John Fortescue and his famous treatise, down to the equally renowned Commentaries of Judge Blackstone. One generation passed away after another, each echoing, for the most part, the sentiments and expressions of its predecessor; until the glorious Long Parliament sowed the seeds of genuine liberty, and the middle classes had learned to co-operate for gathering in its future harvest. So long, however, as the coronet could retain undisturbed that paramount influence, which it had usurped, over both the sceptre and the lower house of parliament, so long our magnates made hay for themselves while the sun shone, and that without mercy, from the wealth and sinews of their subjects. Such truths will be discovered to bear directly upon our views in the present article; which is intended to be a decided protest against all class-legislation, of every sort or kind whatsoever. The Reform Bill might appear for an instant to have exorcised the principle of evil from our representation and cabinet; but if we do not take care, it will, after wandering through dry places seeking rest, combine with seven other spirits more wicked than itself, and return to its former abodes in a plenitude of malice, as well as with augmented capabilities for mischief. We repeat it, then, that through the eighteenth century, an oligarchy reigned and revelled. Under the veil of constitutional forms, it guided and moulded the laws, and fleeced the people. As taxation became more and more onerous, it dexterously shifted its burthens from the shoulders of property to those of industry. It hired to work its will, and perpetuate that delusion under which injustice and oppression throve, the choicest spirits of every profession,—

the foremost men at the bar and on the bench—in the army and in the navy—in the press and on the hustings; besides a state-clergyman in every one of the thousand parishes, whether presbyterian or episcopal, of Great Britain and Ireland. George the Third moved to and fro between Windsor and St. James', or between Westminster and Weymouth, like one of his own favourite bees, weighed down with golden and purple harness, seeming to be the idol, yet in reality being the victim of those who urged him forward. Whigs, in this respect, behaved very little, if at all, better than Tories. There were three sections of the nation; namely, the two which have just been mentioned, and a third, constituting the masses, upon which the other twain fed and fattened, in their turns. The benefit, performed and conferred by the Foxites, lay in their political creed and professions, and in a very slight degree in their actions. Nevertheless, this verbal benefit was not to be despised. It kept hope alive. The corruption of Walpole, the leaden stupidity of the Pelhams, the stolid bigotry of Lord Bute and his coterie 'behind and around the throne,' the infatuated arrogance of Lord North and the Duke of Grafton, found Whiggery to be to them, just what Cicero somewhere says the soul was to certain Epicureans, an essence which merely served to keep them on the safe side of putrefaction. Liberty had to live upon very short commons under the four Georges. Property meanwhile accumulated to such a degree, in spite of bad government, that John Bull fancied himself the happiest and only honest man in the world, because he grew puffy and portly. His good humour prevailed over his good sense, unless a French Revolution scared him with visions of a guillotine and the sans-culottes; or his amiable consort, the church, bade him beware of his ears, for that her lawn sleeves stood a chance of being ruffled and tumbled by the rudeness and forwardness of nonconformity. With these occasional exceptions, the old gentleman rarely allowed the equanimity of his temper to be disturbed, even when it could be proved to demonstration, that his larder was robbed, and his best property played ducks and drakes with, on all sides. The plunderers wore scarlet and ermine, and frequently made him excessively handsome bows; besides pronouncing eloquent eulogiums upon his own proper worth and importance on sundry public and even critical conjunctures. If by any chance, his wrath should ever appear to be rising, such orations, addressed to his vanity, acted like oil upon the troubled waves. The peers, in one word, domineered as they pleased, until death knocked at the palace-gate of the most profligate of our modern monarchs, and the new King William summoned Earl Grey to his councils.

Then, indeed, ensued another phasis of affairs. The deposition

of the Bourbons from the noblest of the continental thrones, had so struck upon all the popular associations of these kingdoms, that they thrilled and vibrated with joy. Dissatisfaction had up to that moment, stalked over our wealthiest provinces. By the light of the firebrand, men read as they ran, that something must be done. Had that undefined something been effectually realized, we should never have been where we are now. The nation plunged into a magnificent struggle against fearful odds; for the priesthood fulminated anathemas, and the aristocracy formed their mightiest phalanxes to defend Gaton and Old Sarum. Public opinion, however, prevailed, as it always will in the long run, and rotten boroughs received, as was supposed, their final quietus. The Quarterly Review in vain reasoned, expostulated, and despaired. Amidst the smoke and dust of that grand contention, which was then raised, our Crokers and Horace Twisses could not perceive, and therefore, of course, could not lay the flattering unction to their souls that all the roots of their evil system remained yet in the ground; that the scythe of reform only acted in the way of mowing down, and not of plucking up; and that within twelve summers a change would come over the spirit of the dream, and seat Conservatism once more at the helm, with a majority of ninety at its back, and the blessings of an income tax in its hand. It must be admitted, we think, that the genius of Reform failed to become wise in its sadly short-lived, yet not inglorious generation. The energies of thirty years were concentrated into the brief compass of a decade: and where are they now? Our pages will prove that we are not amongst the number of those who are disposed to underrate the good effects of the two liberal administrations, which have now gone the way of all flesh; but certainly our feeling is, that vastly more might have been done, than was done, on behalf of an oppressed people. It is, however, a melancholy truth, that the bow of their strength was broken, when Sir Robert Peel took office for a few months in 1834-5. The subsequent majorities for Lord Melbourne were insufficient for the wear and tear of the great task which lay before them. Conciliation and coercion were attempted respectively at the wrong times, and in the wrong places. The Whig Chancellor of the Exchequer, too, was not an able financier. Neither popularity, nor confidence, nor the voice of parliament or of the country attended him, except when he took off taxes. This last he tried to the uttermost, and millions experienced immense relief from fiscal pressure. There were occasions, however, when, had the ministry manfully met their difficulties, and appealed to their friends out of doors, a rally might yet have been made. Their anti-monopoly measures came just one session too late; postponed, as Mr. Roebuck says, like the baptism of Con-

stantine, to atone for a life of doubtful virtue by an apparently appropriate death. The monopolists flew to their arms, and their posts, with an unanimity of purpose and action, which liberals would do well to imitate. A general election astonished the world with its results; but on these we need not now dwell. Public affairs looked disastrous. The revenue had fallen, whilst expenditure had increased. The entire framework of society has ever since acknowledged itself crazy and out of joint. Ireland is as sullen and unsound as one of her own quagmires, externally presenting no particularly visible peril, though destruction waits for the traveller who may lose his path, and essay to cross the bog. Scotland pauses to see what is to turn up next; her presbytery and manufactures being anything but in a healthy state. England resounds with sorrow and complaint. Capital renders back little or no profit. Our artisans go about our streets, hungry, pale, and discontented. The rights of labour few persons have as yet condescended to take into account. Chartistism will have to teach our senators wisdom, on this as well as other points. Events are rapidly hurrying us forward upon a new era, which Toryism is slightly prepared for, and which Edmund Burke never predicted. Prince Polignac has often said, that the Orleans dynasty in France would go to pieces upon the shoal of her finances: we venture to imagine also, that the important changes about to occur amongst ourselves will sooner or later originate from our monetary embarrassments. Let us therefore glance, as we go along, at the respective merits of the Whig and Tory budgets; for there is a sense in which the old Greek aphorism is true, that *τω ἀργυρίω υποτάσσεται πάντα!*

An annual deficit had appeared to the extent of something like two millions and a half, for three years; neither had the additional per centage on the taxes succeeded, as Lord Montague expected it would. His successor, Mr. Francis Baring, was then directed, after the fullest deliberations of an united cabinet, to attempt a reconstruction of our entire financial system. The doctrines of free trade were to be realized, through the reformation of our tariff and the gradual abolition of monopoly. Sugar, corn, and timber, which raised seven millions of revenue, were to be made far more productive than ever, by processes which no Conservative could possibly understand. There are many alive who can well remember the amazement felt, and the contempt expressed by Mr. Vansittart, when bold declarations were uttered within the walls of parliament, that in political economy two and two do not always make four! Experience, nevertheless, abundantly bore out Sir Henry Parnell and others, as appeared in the instance of the coffee duty. Previous to 1808 it had been two shillings per pound, of which the

average returns for the three previous years amounted to 144,725*l.* The tax came to be reduced to sixpence, when instead of returning only a quarter of what it did before, the revenue from it almost quadrupled, being 484,975*l.* in 1829. High duties lessen public income in many cases, and offer enormous temptations for smuggling in all. The price of sugar had been raised beyond what it ought to have been, by protecting duties on the foreign article, and prohibitions of its refinement in the colonies for importation into the United Kingdom. The President of the Board of Trade proposed to admit Brazilian and Havannah sugars at thirty-six shillings per cwt.; the result of which measure would be, as he conjectured, a gain to the treasury of at least £700,000. Events have manifested that it would have been nearer £900,000, independently of the relief afforded to the consumer through the reduction of prices. This proposal was met by a couple of heavy accusations: one, that a similar proposition on the part of Mr. Ewart, in the former session, had been opposed by Mr. Labouchere, which was true: another, that it was a blow levelled at the anti-slavery party, which was false. No one can lament more than we did, the folly of a liberal ministry in resisting the reasonable resolution advocated by the member for Wigan. No one would be more jealous than ourselves, we hope and trust, in watching over the genuine interests of the oppressed sons of Africa. But this sudden outcry against a species of iniquity, which those who chiefly raised it used for half a century to consider scarcely any iniquity at all, filled us with disgust, as having hypocrisy for its staple material. The best mode of exerting anti-slavery influence in foreign affairs, Lord Palmerston well contended, was to augment our means of controlling the commercial interests of such an empire as Brazil. Sir Robert Peel himself has confirmed the correctness of such statements, both verbally and officially, in the expression of his future intentions with regard to any renewal of the treaty with the court at Rio Janeiro. This, then, constituted the first feature of Lord Melbourne's new and more liberal policy; by which, instead of increasing fiscal pressure, the impost on a most important article of consumption was to be so reduced as to relieve the consumer, on the one hand, whilst the general revenue was to be improved on the other to an extent of nearly a million sterling. The next item was that of corn. Lord John Russell proposed a fixed duty of eight shillings per quarter on wheat, with corresponding duties on barley, oats, and rye, in lieu of the present sliding-scale. Never was a plan more assailed by unmerited obloquy and dishonest subterfuge. Our own humble judgment is now, and has always been, that the Corn and Provision Laws ought never to have existed; and that

having been brought into most pernicious operation, they ought, with the least possible postponement, to be abolished altogether. Yet until this can be effected, and as an instalment of what is due to our beloved country, the plan of Lord John Russell had many recommendations. It would have established what our monopolists seem most of all to apprehend,—a regular trade in food. Supposing that we should annually have to import, taking any fair average of years, about 2,500,000 quarters, there would arise a million of revenue from wheat alone, with a corresponding exportation of our manufactures, instead of our having as now to pay for the staff of life in bullion, whenever foreign grain or flour may be wanted, to the inevitable derangement of the currency, and ruinous fluctuations in the prices of commodities. Sir Robert Peel inquired, with prodigious triumph, whether such a fixed duty could be maintained, if wheat rose to ninety or one hundred shillings the quarter? But this catastrophe is precisely that which nothing is so likely to prevent, as our being permitted to have access, upon fixed commercial principles, to all the corn-growing countries in the world, from America to the Baltic. That neither the present premier, nor his colleague Lord Stanley, had really probed the subject, is evident by their concurring in the strange assertion, that as to Russia, the territories of Tamboff alone might produce, in plentiful harvests, no less an amount of grain than 38,000,000 imperial quarters! Who has forgotten the almost uncourteous indignation displayed by the member for Tamworth, when a ministerialist ventured to interrupt this absurd and astounding statement, with an exclamation of ‘Impossible!’ We challenge any man to peruse the debates on the evening of Friday, the 27th of August last, and say that Sir Robert Peel did not believe, that at the moment he was adducing a crushing fact, quite sufficient to extend the mightiest of his antagonists upon the floor of the House of Commons. Next in consequence to corn came timber. This had always been a favourite monopoly with those who imagined that selfishness was the soul of sound policy. The burdens upon it affected and injured industry in a vast variety of ways, from its constituting one of the main materials in ships, buildings, and machinery. ‘Countries possessing forests,’ observes the author of Financial Reform, ‘in the vicinity of navigable rivers, enjoy great advantages over our ship-builders; and to lay a duty upon timber is still further to increase those advantages.’ But what could be said in defence of our mode and measure in imposing such duties? Battens of a certain description from North America pay one pound per six score: the same articles, in the same quantities, from Prussia, pay ten pounds sterling! Oars, again, from Canada, are taxed at the rate of nineteen shillings

and sixpence for every hundred and twenty; but from all other places, at the rate of £14. 19s. 3*d.*; and so on, in many instances, presenting a differential scale of protection for colonial produce, varying from five to ten, and even fifteen fold! It was notorious that the existing arrangement of ten shillings a load on North American timber, and two pounds fifteen shillings a load on the European article, forced the use of the former kind, although of very inferior quality. Twelve years ago, it was shewn, that by maintaining only one general impost of thirty shillings per load upon all timber, the prices would fall twenty-five shillings, and the revenue be benefited to the extent of from one million to one million and a half sterling. Who denies this now? The late ministry, therefore, resolved to strike into this new and noble path of fiscal reform. The modifications submitted by them to parliament, by no means going the entire lengths to which zealous free-traders would have carried them, would nevertheless have raised an augmentation to the treasury, from the timber trade, of at least £600,000 per annum.

We dwell for a few minutes upon dry details of this kind, to recall to the memories of our readers three or four plain facts of the case: that the Whig budget carried within it certain sound principles, which must at no very great distance of time have annihilated monopoly; that it would have raised a revenue by the very reduction of taxation; that it would have lowered prices to the consumer; and that it would have largely extended the trade and commerce of the country. What, let us ask, is monopoly, but a monster against which industry and liberty have been contending in these kingdoms for more than two hundred years? Monarchical legislation, under the Tudors and Stuarts, practised and protected it upon a slender scale, our industrial energies being then in their infancy. Aristocratical legislation seemed to grow with the growth of the prize, that its golden advantages might be engrossed by a class, instead of being diffused as elements of happiness, civilization, and prosperity, throughout every section of the commonwealth. When the reformers entered upon office, not less than £17,000,000 per annum were pulloined, in the shape of protections and prohibitions, from the pockets of the people, just as if corn, sugar, tea, and timber, had been openly taxed to that amount, and the result handed over to the Exchequer. An additional misfortune however was, that government was not the party who really got the money, which might have gone far, had matters been otherwise, towards liquidating two-thirds of the dividends of our national debt of £800,000,000! The plunder went amongst a body of landlords, or a few companies of capitalists. In 1830,

moreover, above £6,000,000 per annum were extorted from raw materials alone, to the incalculable detriment of our manufactures. Lord Grey, at least, circumscribed the magnitude of the evil, within three years, to £3,000,000. Weeding out all the apostates from amongst his supporters, the remainder have always been ready to demonstrate, that free trade affords the most extensive employment of capital and labour, thus contributing to the greatest possible amount of annual productions, and the most rapid accumulation of national wealth. The advocates for it desire nothing more than to have its merits decided by the practical utility of its principles, as they are illustrated by experience. Mutual dependence would appear to be the mighty, yet beneficial law of social humanity. Were men once allowed to take their own way, they would quickly convert the world from the absurdities of exclusive or protective systems, and shew that the passage of merchandise from one state or country to another ought to be as free as air or water. The present Lord Congleton has earned his peerage in having acted as schoolmaster to his colleagues, as well as to his countrymen, with regard to matters which were once veiled under technicalities, or buried in vast volumes; but which his masculine and perspicacious mind rendered plain both to the few and to the many. The rejected resolutions of the late chancellor of the exchequer, the president of the board of trade, and the home secretary, embodied some of the most important propositions put forth in his 'Financial Reform.' Their object was, that with due regard to vested interests, and the avoidance of too sudden changes, 'every country should be as a general and common fair for the sale of goods, and the individual or nation which makes the best commodity should find the greatest advantage. The distance and expense of carriage are sufficient reasons to induce any nation to prefer its own goods before those of others; and when these obstacles cease, the stranger is preferable to our own countrymen; or otherwise, domestic trade is injured, instead of being favoured. Restraints, regulations, inspections, have now no success. All that is wanted is, to let loose from commercial restriction, protection, and monopoly, the means which the country possesses within itself, through the force of individual exertion, to secure our future career from disadvantage or disaster.'—Parnell, p. 302. Hence, it should never be forgotten, that liberalism is, *ex natura rerum*, the best ally, next to Christianity, which national prosperity can ever lean upon. Conservatism, being composed of remarkably 'squeezable materials,' has condescended to steal many leaves from the horn-book of its noble rival. And this brings us at once to the counter plans of Sir Robert Peel

and his perplexed, yet most obedient adherents. The countenances of the last are much longer and paler than they were a few moons ago!

Our premier has laid upon the table of parliament three separate measures, each, however, holding its peculiar position in the scheme which is to rescue the country from all its embarrassments. These are—a new corn law, a reformed tariff, and an income tax. Never had public expectation been raised higher, nor did it ever experience more signal disappointment, than when the minister, on the memorable 9th of February, unfolded the paltry arrangement, which had absorbed so many months in its gestation. He admitted the universal distress, and that he could offer no effectual remedy for it! For what object, then, had three kingdoms been agitated? For what purpose had a cabinet been dismissed, well known to be consonant to the royal predilections? With what view had famine, and penury, and affliction, been nobly and patiently endured from harvest-time to Christmas? His hasty but heartless survey of our various national interests neither satisfied his partisans, nor soothed the natural irritation of those whose hopes were at once dashed to the ground. He dwelt upon joint-stock banks; on the condition of our operatives, as compared with the labouring classes on the continent; on the consumption of bread, meat, sugar, tobacco, cotton, and tea; on the averages of wages in the Netherlands; on the similar amount of odium which must attach to the proposers of a fixed duty, and the friends to a sliding-scale; on the connexion of prices with the Tithe Commutation Act; and finally, after mentioning many minor but multifarious details, on the necessity of protection to agriculture. This protection he proposes so to modify as to maintain the price of wheat somewhere between fifty-four and fifty-eight shillings. When the quarter is under fifty-one, a duty of twenty shillings is to be levied; and in no case may that amount of impost be exceeded. When wheat with us is at seventy-four shillings, the tax touches its lowest point: its range between these two pivots being graduated rather more skilfully than on the existing plan. There would seem to be little doubt amongst practical men but that large quantities of foreign grain will be admitted, should the bill pass into a law, as all sensible observers now believe it will. Sir Robert Peel, in announcing and expatiating upon his intentions, had to enact precisely that part which we ventured to assign him in October last. In every gyration of his harangue he felt that he was looking one way and rowing another. His sphere of operation lies always behind the curtains of mystery. Even the *Times* newspaper poured forth no inconsiderable amount of commiseration for an unhappy squirearchy, lost irretrievably in the labyrinth of politics, and pricking up their astonished ears

at the novel and wonderful things which their leaders called upon them to support, and even ordered them to applaud. They had always thought, for instance, that the national welfare rested upon agriculture, that agriculture reposed upon high rents; just as the Hindoos believe that the world stands upon a large elephant, and the elephant upon an enormous tortoise. We may conceive, then, what their surprise must have been, when the great politician in whom alone they trusted, and for whom many of them had added fresh mortgages to their estates, through the expenses of the recent elections, thus delivered his sentiments:— ‘The protection which I retain is not for the benefit of any particular class; for I think protection cannot be vindicated on that principle. The only protection which can be vindicated is that which is consistent with general and comprehensive interests,—with the prosperity of all classes of the community. I should not be a friend to agriculture, if I asked for it protection *to prop up rents*, or with any view of defending the interests of a particular class. *I disclaim altogether any such intention!*’ Either the right honourable baronet was sincere or insincere. If the former, where was his agreement with Lord Stanley, who had acknowledged so lately and candidly before his constituents, that the object of the corn laws was to raise the rate of rents? If the latter, where is the consistency of his adherents returned for a pledged and specific purpose from agricultural counties? In either case, where are common sense, honour of position, or dignity of character, in bowing the neck of three kingdoms under the yoke of a landed aristocracy, one of whose ducal members declared before the assembled peerage, that they had placed Sir Robert Peel in power to favour their own interests, which should he fail in doing, they would as readily turn him out again. Perchance they may be as good as their word!

In his oration on the tariff he certainly managed much better. There was more scope for his peculiar talents in the way of perspicuous and clever development of figures. The actual revenue, from April, 1841, to the same month in 1842, was £48,053,000; whilst, per contra, the expenditure has been such as to present a deficit of about £2,500,000; so that, taking into the account past deficiencies and probable prospective expenses, from ten to eleven millions may be deemed as having been added to our public debt within a period of six years. Annual loans would prove neither economical nor satisfactory to any party in the long run; and it would seem that we have arrived, according to the premier, at the limits of profitable taxation on articles of subsistence. We doubt this latter statement altogether; it is the mere unsupported dictum of an advocate, speaking from his brief for a specific purpose, after some additional cramming from his

attorney. Sir Robert had to shew that there must be fresh imposts, and therefore, in the line of assertion, his genius stuck at nothing. To propitiate, however, the possessors of income, who, of course, constitute a very important portion of the spending tribes, and upon whose backs he was about to fit rather a galling saddle, he turned to our commercial tariff, with all its absurdities and anomalies, presenting no less than twelve hundred articles subject to various rates of duty. Out of these, 750 are to undergo modification, upon a plan of removing prohibition in every case, and of relieving raw materials used in manufactures, so as that their burden shall, in scarcely any instance, exceed 5 per cent. The duties upon articles partially manufactured are, generally speaking, not to go beyond 12 per cent.; upon articles entirely manufactured, 20 per cent. is to be the limit. The whole scheme is arranged under twenty different heads, or chapters; the first including live animals or provisions; the second, spices; the third, seeds; the fourth, woods for furniture; the fifth, minerals, metals, ores; and so on; all articles of the same character being, as nearly as possible, classed together. Coffee from British possessions is henceforward to pay only fourpence a pound; from foreign ones, eight-pence. The imposts on foreign deals, from the 5th of April, 1844, are to be reduced from fifty-five to thirty shillings; on foreign timber, from about forty-one to twenty-five shillings the load; and on laths, they will then fall to twenty. Meanwhile, for the current year, deals are not to pay more than thirty-five shillings. Canadian produce is to bear but one shilling a load for general timber, two shillings for deals, and three for laths. The total loss, through these reductions, Sir Robert estimated at £600,000; far over the mark, in our humble judgment. Certain export duties on woollens, yarns, silks, manufactured iron, earthenware, and provisions, to the extent of about £103,000, are to be abolished, as affecting British manufactures. He expects also to lose by a reduction of the duty on stage-coaches, £70,000; on the coffee returns, £170,000; and on other various items, £270,000 more. The whole reform of the tariff will cost, upon his statement, about £1,210,000; although most persons with whom we have had the pleasure of conversing on the subject, conceive that, from the augmented demand for many of the articles, even one million sterling ought to be considered as a very high estimate. Experience alone can demonstrate the real result.

The fabric, however, of this improvement upon antiquated and exclusive systems is reared upon the foundation of an income tax of seven-pence in the pound; to terminate, professedly, at the end of three, or, at the utmost, of five years. It is to take effect upon all incomes above £150 per annum, whether derived

from lands, houses, funds, permanent life or terminable annuities, or the profits of trades or professions. From the rent of land, taken at £39,400,000; from that on houses, taken at £25,000,000; from tithes and shares in mines, railways, or the like, taken at £8,400,000; from the public funds, taken at £30,000,000; from trades and professions, taken at £56,000,000; and from public officers, taken in 1814 at nearly £12,000,000, but now at not more than £7,000,000; the respective amounts, allowing for the deductions in each class, are anticipated to turn out as follow:—

From the rental of lands, houses, tithes, mines, and rail-ways	£1,600,000
From the occupiers of farms, taking the value of each occupation at a moiety of the rent	150,000
From the public stocks	646,000
From trades and professions	1,220,000
From public servants	155,000
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Grand total	£3,771,000

Besides which, there is to be a stamp-duty in Ireland, which is to return £160,000; an additional duty on spirits in that island, from which £250,000 will arise; and an impost upon exported coal, whether taken in British or foreign vessels, which will probably produce £200,000 more; making, therefore, the entire amount from the new imposts about £4,310,000. This will provide for the deficit on the year, for the losses on the tariff, and yet leave a considerable surplus for contingencies. Irish absentees are to pay the same income tax which they would have to pay were their estates in England. The occupying farmers are excessively favoured, as must be apparent to every observer. Sir Robert has calculated the gross income from all the classes above mentioned at something above £200,000,000; an enormous aggregate, and yet, according to some financiers, very much under the mark. We beg to relieve the necessary dullness of this part of our paper with the premier's peroration, at once manly and eloquent (although we by no means coincide in his assertions), and which appropriately concluded his address on the 11th of March.

‘I have performed, on the part of her Majesty’s government, my duty. I have proposed, with the full weight and authority of the government, that which I believe to be conducive to the public welfare. I now devolve upon you the duty, which properly belongs to you, of maturely considering and finally deciding upon the adoption or rejection of the measures I propose. We live in an important era of human affairs. There may be a natural tendency to overrate the magnitude of the crisis in which we live, or those particular events with

which we are ourselves conversant; but I think it is impossible to deny that the period in which our lot, and the lot of our fathers, has been cast,—the period which has elapsed since the first outbreak of the first French revolution,—has been one of the most memorable periods that the history of the world will afford. The course which we have pursued during that period will attract, for ages to come, the contemplation, and, I trust, the admiration of posterity. That period may be divided into two parts, of almost equal duration; a period of twenty-five years of continued conflict, the most momentous which ever engaged the energies of a nation; and twenty-five years, in which most of us have lived, of profound European peace, produced by the sacrifices made during the years of war. There will be a time when those countless millions that are sprung from our loins, occupying many parts of the globe, living under institutions unchanged from ours, speaking the same language in which we convey our thoughts and feelings,—for such will be the ultimate results of our wide-spread colonization,—the time will come when those countless millions will view with pride and admiration the example of constancy and fortitude which our fathers set during the momentous period of war. They will view with admiration our previous achievements by land and sea, our determination to uphold the public credit, and all those qualities by the exhibition of which we were enabled ultimately, by the pattern we set to foreign nations, to ensure the deliverance of Europe. In the review of that period, the conduct of our fathers, during the years of war, will be brought into close contrast with the conduct of those of us who have lived only during the years of peace. I am now addressing you after the duration of peace for twenty-five years; I am now exhibiting to you the financial difficulties and embarrassments in which you are placed; and my confident hope and belief is, that, following the example of those who preceded you, you will look those difficulties in the face, and not refuse similar sacrifices to those which your fathers made, for the purpose of upholding the public credit. You will bear in mind, that this is no casual and occasional difficulty; you will bear in mind, that there are indications amongst all the upper classes of increased comfort and enjoyment, of increased prosperity and wealth; and that, concurrently with these indications, there exists a mighty evil, which has been growing up for the last seven years, and which you are now called upon to meet. If you have, as I believe you have, the fortitude and constancy of which you have been set the example, you will not consent, with folded arms, to witness the annual growth of this mighty evil; you will not reconcile it to your consciences to hope for relief from diminished taxation; [Why not, we would ask, if certain fiscal modifications are to render the revenue more productive?] ‘you will not adopt the miserable expedient during peace, and in the midst of those indications of wealth and increasing prosperity, of adding to the burdens which posterity will be called upon to bear; you will not permit this evil to gain such gigantic growth, as ultimately to place it far beyond your power to check or control. If you do permit this evil to continue, you must expect the severe but just judgment of a reflective

and retrospective posterity. Your conduct will be contrasted with the conduct of your fathers, under difficulties infinitely less pressing than theirs; your conduct will be contrasted with that of your fathers, who, with a mutiny at the Nore, a rebellion in Ireland, and disaster abroad, yet submitted, with buoyant vigour and universal applause (with the funds as low as 52), to a property tax of 10 per cent. I believe that you will not subject yourselves to an injurious or unworthy contrast. It is my firm belief, that you will feel the necessity of preserving inviolate the public credit; that you will not throw away the means of maintaining it, by reducing, in the most legitimate manner, the burdens of the nation. My confident hope is, that now, when I devolve the responsibility upon you, you will prove yourselves worthy of the mission,—of your mission,—as the representatives of a mighty people, and that you will not tarnish the fame which it is your duty to cherish as a most glorious inheritance; that you will not impair the character for fortitude, for good faith, which, in proportion as the sceptre of opinion supersedes and predominates over that of physical force, constitutes for every people, but, above all, for the people of England (I speak of reputation and character), the main instrument by which a powerful race can repel hostile aggressions, and sustain an extended empire!—pp. 31, 32.

We have now the scheme of the great Conservative leader before us, with its three subdivisions, which, as must be obvious to all, are destined to touch and handle the interests of every individual in the land. We will endeavour to express our opinion upon its merits and demerits in as few and plain words as possible.

Amongst the former, we may certainly admit the *value of its concessions*. Liberalism, at the close of the war, was a system everywhere denounced as the atheism of politics, if we may use the expression; as a sort of *monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens, cui lumen ademptum*, in the opinion of gentler Tories, who had just Latin enough to construe that single line, and apply it to what they could not understand; as the spirit of anarchy, connected with social confusion, and the destruction of our most cherished institutions. Let us only fancy old Lord Chancellor Eldon in the gallery of the House of Commons when his former pupil was violating the sanctity of the corn laws, and laying profane hands upon a tariff rendered illustrious, in the minds of monopolists, through the very mouldiness it had borrowed from antiquity. The farmers may well be amazed, as Lord John Russell observes, at their own front ranks turning round upon them, and firing in their faces. Many a joint is cut off from the tail of exclusiveness by the very arm and knife of its chosen champion. That system which for so many years was to realize the imaginary brazen wall of Bishop Berkeley, which was so to shut out all foreign grain from Great Britain, as that her landlords should enjoy their war-rental throughout a quarter of a

century of peace; that contrivance, extolled as the perfection of wisdom, because it pilfered upon such a scale of robbery as almost to approach the sublime of public wickedness; that sacred corn law has been modified by Sir Robert Peel;—in other words, it has been altered; and if altered this year, why may it not be altered next year, and so on, until the grand grievance of a nation shall be at length abated? The value of the surrender made to the spirit of the age just comes to this, that restrictions affecting food are no longer among the laws of the Medes and Persians. An outwork of monopoly has been stormed and taken; whilst the garrison, moreover, now driven into the citadel, mingle curses over their cups at what they term the pusillanimity and treachery of their own officers. The Anti-Corn-Law League will throw up their next parallel with far greater facility and effect than their first. Bread and meat are destined to be cheaper, through measures containing a certain amount of the principles of free-trade having been extorted from a Conservative ministry. Agitation and liberalism have got thus much, and in due time must obtain more. The premier himself is the personification of a sliding-scale, adjusting itself to the pressure from without, with all possible respect to the counteracting yet weaker momentum of the pressure from within. In the eyes of his own partisans, he possesses much of the inconvenience of radicalism, without a feature of its consistency. Between the two contending parties he is a Janus, wearing a mask on both his faces. A large proportion of his policy is disguised whiggery, which proves to be just so much homage, however reluctantly offered, to the soundness and correctness of that liberal creed, spoken against by himself on various suitable occasions, and by his supporters most cordially abhorred.

Another merit of the scheme we take to be its *intelligibility and comprehensiveness*; an admission on our part which has relation principally to the tariff and income tax. These are both of them measures very little liable to be misunderstood by any of us. Whether just or unjust measures, they have less about them of that mystery and conjuration from which Sir Robert Peel can never entirely separate himself. We speak, therefore, in a comparative sense only. Nor can we help seeing their probable *effectiveness for their intended purpose*. The whole plan is full enough of decision. The revenue aimed at will be raised beyond a doubt, and much more also. Toryism has ever been an enormous and well-compacted organization for extracting public treasure. Like Midas, it hungers and thirsts for the precious metals, although, as an appropriate punishment, history and posterity have doomed it to assume the head of an ass for its pains. We are not altogether opposed, as some of our contemporaries are,

to a degree of direct taxation. France raises from a third to one half of her public income after this fashion; and other continental states do the same, without their subjects generally desiring to have matters altered. Sir Robert Peel will not come off as Gil Blas of Santillane did, in his first attempt as a knight of the road, when he stopped a sleek monk and demanded his purse, with no little agitation and politeness. His reverence, as our readers doubtless remember, let fall a heavy bag, which abundantly satisfied the young highwayman, until it was ascertained to be full of relics, and not money! The income tax will be rather such an applicant as the beggar with a blunderbuss, upon the good old principle of 'stand and deliver!' Allowing, for an instant, that whatever fiscal arrangements are established by law ought to be effective, the threefold plan of Sir Robert appears to our minds just so well arranged, as that the object he calculates upon will be obtained. Many, we know, can discern nothing that is not perfectly odious in the entire scheme. Its demerits, indeed, are both numerous and fearful.

1. It comes before the nation as an attempted *compromise between good and evil*. It is not so much that it perpetrates the last for the sake of the first, which would be bad enough, as that it graciously vouchsafes to wink at the first, contrary to the nature and habit of its abettors, for the sake of the last. It comes down from its former high ground of open and avowed oppressiveness, to relieve the consumer, upon liberal principles, that it may purchase the perpetuation of an infamous corn-law. Small monopolies—the lesser fry of exclusiveness, are surrendered, with as gentle a grace and as honest an air as possible, to save the grand leviathan! Its very intelligibility and largeness seem assumed to serve a purpose, to operate merely as external advantages, which may draw off attention from the wickedness of political principle, which, after all, forms the heart and core of the entire contrivance. A few years more will illustrate these things, when the public mind shall have awaked from its apathy, to analyze and then extinguish the ingenious injustice. Multifarious characteristics of hypocrisy will then be discovered throughout its length and breadth. Some of them break out already; as, for instance, with regard to the additional towns, whence the averages are to be taken. The premier declares that little or no fraud attended the old practice. Why then introduce any new ones? The vice-president of the Board of Trade affirms, that they will make not the slightest difference either one way or the other! Why then, as Mr. Villiers observes, create such an outcry about a matter of detail, which has no real object, and is to produce no result? But all these minor affairs constitute so many portions of the juggle. They at least answer the purpose

of distracting observation. Farmers and landlords are led to hope for something from them; by commercial men they are looked upon as just so many *anguis in herbâ*: whilst both remain for the moment breathless and stupified, *inter spemque metumque dubii!* Plenty of Huskissonianism is quoted from all quarters; by these, with the view of sanctioning, by those, under the idea of resisting, spoliation and robbery. When a balance-sheet comes to be added up at the end of this mighty contention, none will be found to have gained, except the landocracy—that is to say, so long as the masses may think proper to evince passive or even grumbling obedience. Our own conviction is, that Sir Robert Peel will have done more for the promotion of chartism than forty Feargus O'Connors. All compromises, connected with internal wrongs, attempted for the time to be concealed, aggravate and exasperate bad tempers, when the season of discovery and retribution has arrived. People can ill endure to be deceived, as well as plundered. The footpad is less contemptible than an artful dodger!

2. But no demerits of this entire scheme are greater than those which must fall under the head of *omissions*. What it ought to have done has both darkened and deepened the guiltiness of what it promises to do. The members and supporters of the late ministry have proved over and over again the non-necessity of an income-tax at all. Their proposed modifications of the corn, sugar, and timber duties, would have nearly met the deficiency on the year; and for the relief of trade and manufactures to a far larger extent than is now advocated by the premier, even to go so far as to permit him to abolish the excise on glass, soap, and bricks, there remained the application of the probate and legacy duties to real property. The following is an extract from an eminent conveyancer, who had carefully investigated his subject, under advantages which few persons beside himself could hope to possess:—‘We have seen,’ he says, ‘that the stamp duties charged on real and personal estates, though about equal in amount, affect totally different transactions regarding them. Thus, on the one hand, land is not charged with any duties on the following occurrences:—1. Settlements; 2. Devises; 3. Succession on intestacy, although personalty is charged to the amount of nearly £2,000,000 per annum, under these different articles. On the other hand, personal estate, or at least the most important part of it in this country, namely, the Public Funds, Bank, and East India Stock, is not charged with any duties on sale, while these form an item among taxes on land, amounting, after making allowances for mortgages, to about £1,800,000. Let then each of the foregoing classes of real and personal property be charged with the stamp duties, from which it is at present free, but which are borne by the other of them, and an additional revenue will

be produced of about £3,500,000, [equivalent nearly to the anticipated returns from the £3 per cent. income tax !] collected at the smallest expense, with a machinery already established, and either included in the transaction, as on sales, or paid with alacrity by those who at the same instant succeed to the property.' Mr. Humphreys, to whom we are indebted for the above, further shows, that some of the scales of duties on sales of land and mortgages require a more equitable adjustment ; that the duties on probates and wills should be graduated by an equal per centage ; and that corporations aggregate—a phrase well understood by lawyers—need some special provisions to subject them to a charge corresponding to a succession tax of whatever description. There is no doubt that, apart from the legacy imposts, a revision of our entire stamp duties might be made to produce an additional million of revenue, through the impartial introduction of a proper sliding-scale ; but it is remarkable that our aristocracy, although enamoured of this instrument when others are to be the sufferers, have the most nervous horror respecting it when it is to affect what they are pleased to consider their own peculiar interests. To prop up high rents, it is an angel of light ; to tax their property equally with that of the vulgar community, it is a demon of darkness. Had Sir Robert Peel been the minister of his age, he would have boldly brought the peerage and their estates under the operation of the legacy duties ; and the country would, beyond all question, have supported him in doing so. That William Pitt made the attempt, and failed, nearly fifty years ago, would have been to an honest politician the very reason that so palpable an injustice should no longer be tolerated. Its existence down to the present moment has deprived the country of £300,000,000 sterling, which would have cleared off more than a third of our national debt, and which has in fact been kept back by pure selfishness, to gild the Corinthian columns of the State ! In the days of Pitt, moreover, the House of Commons manifested all homage and subjection to the House of Lords. The profession of our day is, that matters are reversed ; part, again, it is too true, of what Carlyle calls the GREAT SHAM ; for, disguise the fact however we may, their lordships are still our masters. Let the whole *Vectigal Cartæ* be reformed and arranged upon the plan proposed by Mr. Humphrey ; and we shall be at once looking up and cheerful, instead of being, as now, downcast and dejected. Lord Althorp, as many will bear in mind, proposed a small tax upon the transfer of stock ; which was abandoned after a protest against it, on the part of Sir Robert Peel, in terms which we would respectfully recommend to his reconsideration. We transcribe it from the pamphlet on the income tax at the head of this article ; nor can we discern a shadow of

difference *as to the principle* of what the premier now proposes with regard to the funds, and that which he so energetically denounced, when out of power, and doing his best to embarrass a liberal administration:—

‘Has the noble lord read the words of the contract made by the State with the public creditor, when he advanced his money in times of great difficulty and peril? Can words be more expressive or explicit? It is quite impossible we can evade such terms. We may adopt the proposition of the noble lord, but we can only do so by *violating the public faith*, and descending from that proud position, *as regards public faith*, in which we have stood, in contradistinction to every country in the world, up to the present time. No ingenuity of argument can possibly get rid of the force of the obligation, or justify a departure from the terms of the contract. ‘But,’ said an honourable member, ‘this is no new violation of the contract with the public creditor, for that has been already violated by the imposition of the income tax.’ Is the defence, then, because the act of parliament *has been violated, they shall be at liberty to violate it again?* I fear that that, at all events, will be the inference which will be drawn hereafter from this *violation of the public faith*, if it be once permitted. What security will the public creditor have, if in the present circumstances of the country we impose a duty in *violation of his contract*, and quote this *violation of the public faith* as a justification for our violating it again? This is not a question of policy or prudence—it is a question of morality. If the state is not prepared to keep its engagement with the public creditor, shut up your courts of justice at once, and do not call upon individuals to fulfil theirs: and where is the difference between an individual and the state in such circumstances? And if the state, without pressure of difficulties,—and *I can conceive no pressure of difficulties which could justify such a step*,—be prepared to violate its solemn engagements with the public creditor, should we be surprised, if an individual were to follow our example and do so also? If the question is not to be determined by every man’s sense of justice and honour,—if we are to refer to the subordinate questions of policy and prudence,—I am content to take up the matter, even upon such grounds, and to demonstrate the injurious effects that would flow from the adoption of such a proposition, which appears to me *defensible upon no ground, nor under any pretext.*—*Times newspaper*, 12th February, 1831. *Income Tax*, pp. 11, 12.

Our readers, we conceive, cannot fail to be struck with the different senses which Sir Robert Peel appears to have attached to the *violation of public faith*, as harped upon by himself the other day and eleven years ago! Supposing the sentiments sincere which he then expressed, in opposition to any, even the slightest approach to taxation of the public funds, we do say that, as a commonly honest man, he was bound to prefer some such scheme as that of Mr. Humphrey, or resign the helm of office, rather than fly in the face of his conscientious convictions. His political obliquity, in the way of omissions, will of itself prevent

him from being enrolled by impartial fame amongst the foremost leaders of his generation.

3. But beside all this, there is the *immediate pressure of the new code arising out of the peculiar difficulties of the times*. These embarrassments are precisely of that nature which render an income tax not desirable. The arguments of Sir Robert Peel remind us of the old-fashioned weather-gauges, which we used to see in the cottages of our peasantry: when fine days were predicted, out of the box came forth a lady,—but if the skies were to be stormy, a gentleman! When the premier was advocating his corn-bill, every symptom of affairs abroad wore the most pacific aspect; but when an income tax is to be supported, then we hear of nothing but *bella, horrida bella*—wars and rumours of wars. The fact is, that our main perplexities are at home. There the cancer of distress is raging and spreading, until it almost threatens the most vital portions of the body-politic. Abolish the corn-laws,—annihilate monopolies,—revive trade,—and by the blessing of Providence, this country will face the world! None can lament more than ourselves the lamentable loss of life and treasure, with regard to China and Affghanistan; but in the speeches of the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the First Lord of the Treasury these matters are shadowed out before our half-witted country gentlemen, as the monsters of a phantasmagoria-lanthorn are used to frighten children into good behaviour. No wonder, indeed, that Sir Robert Peel treats them thus, after their conduct in eating up their own pledges,—such pledges as would destroy the digestion of an ostrich; at least, if the bird were not a tory! But we repeat it, that the gangrene which menaces our welfare is nearer the heart than the extremities of the social frame. Our middle classes, our large capitalists, our manufacturers and shopkeepers, are at their wits' end, and that through no fault of their own. An income tax must always prove an annoyance to them, even if wealth and prosperity were at their flood-tide with the shopocracy and wholesalers: at the present crisis, we fear it may become a sentence of ruin to myriads. It will just spring their last leak, and consign them to commercial shipwreck. Connected with the whole scheme, there must be of necessity the most *inquisitorial processes*. In ordinary circumstances an opulent house may little care at bottom for the development of its affairs. It is then a mere point of personal delicacy and feeling. It will now shake all credit and confidence between man and man to its centre. The income tax will be an Argus of inquisition in a wilderness of broken fortunes. We are well aware that Sir Henry Parnell expressed himself favourably to some such scheme, on a suitable occasion; but not at such a conjuncture as the present. Privacy, if not banished altogether, will be taken into partner-

ship with dishonesty ; and then, *heu prisca fides!* Hence must inevitably proceed demoralization and perjury. It is notorious that, under the former system, Manchester returned its general income at only £300,000 ; and Glasgow at £600,000! Men of honour and uprightness were perpetually resigning their offices through disgust at what they had daily to witness, if they happened to be at all mixed up with its odious machinery. In 1814 there were eleven thousand surcharges in London alone ; of which only 3000 ran the gauntlet of an expensive appeal and correspondent exposure. The remainder submitted to the injustice, if such it really were ; and imagining for a moment that it were not so, then is the picture covered with a still darker hue of attempted fraud and evasion. The old property-tax, at the close of the war, was extinguished amidst execration so universal, that the records connected with it were committed to the flames ; after weeks of debate, and piles upon piles of petitions, had at length broken down the dull, Dutch, and, as it was once thought, almost invincible patience of Mr. Vansittart and his colleagues.

4. Another mighty objection against the new scheme is, that it will *multiply class differences*, and so go far towards loosening those bonds which ought to hold society together. There is plenty of division and subdivision amongst us already ; but one section will be now set against another more than ever. The agricultural part of the community has had its protection secured to it ; so far, we mean, as parchment can ever secure barefaced injustice. Commerce, on the other hand, has been differently treated ; although, as can be shewn, every £100 invested in manufactures sets in motion a sixfold, or even greater amount of human labour than the same sum does when invested in the occupation of land. Parliament has consented to regulate the rents of landlords upon terms exceedingly advantageous to them ; but it has refused, as of course it must do, to regulate the wages of labour, except that it has abandoned them to the tender mercies of the oppressor, and taxed the operative to the very marrow of his bones. The upper and lower classes, therefore, when the system comes to work, will go on less harmoniously together than ever before. Their positions are rendered more antagonistic. So again the farmer is to be rated, with very little investigation at all, merely at half his rental ; the tradesman will have to return his profits upon an average of the last three years, with his ledger too, under his arm, and the inquisitors frowning over his balance-sheet. The agricultural middle classes, therefore, are to produce no more than £150,000 ; trades and professions will have to pay £1,220,000 ! Allowing for all that is implied under the head of liberal professions, yet the difference is still so enormous,—the partiality so outstaring,—that with half an eye a Hottentot might

discern who originated the arrangement, and that it is my lord number-one taking care of himself! Such a course of conduct as this appears to us the most impolitic that can well be pursued. If the prospect be so dark and dangerous as the premier declares it to be, (and we do not deny that it is so,) why then, in the name of common sense, let us so modify our plans as to generate the highest degree of harmony at home, rather than the greatest amount of discord, heart-burning, and jealousy. The ancient maxim about union constituting strength, the old picturesque fable of the father, his children, and the bundle of sticks, ought surely not to have been absent from the mind of Sir Robert Peel. Again: the vicious principle of colonial protection pervades the new tariff, even in its improved form. We are still to cling to the exploded notion of mere territory being strength, and that too at the distance of many thousand miles, even though we are manifest losers by the bargain, both at home and abroad. Here again may be perceived the seeds of future discord. The evil genius of restriction will never be cast down from his throne, until liberalism shall be once more lord of the ascendant.

5. There is yet one more disadvantage attached to the triple project, which should never be lost sight of, and that is, the *increase of functionarism*. Such an impost as the income tax will prove a Nile of mud, pregnant with the frogs of a political Egypt. These official vermin will be coming into our houses, and bedchambers, and kneading-troughs. It is impossible to hear Sir R. Peel descanting upon his land-tax and stamp-commissioners, the additional commissioners, the sub-commissioners, the local commissioners, the commissioners of appeal, and the secret commissioners, (these last like the mysterious Council of Ten at Venice,) 'sworn to silence, and whose decision is to be final,' without feeling indescribable creepings and loathings with regard to the whole affair. A cabinet may gloat over the prospects of abundant and superabundant patronage, quickened, under the auspices of this aristocratic measure, into sudden and corrupt existence. Without dreading exactly all that Mr. Laing may anticipate from it, we nevertheless foresee the evil, and respectfully yet earnestly warn our fellow-countrymen against the authors of it. The honesty of reform had circumscribed of late the messes of pottage with which power is ever too ready to purchase the birthrights of a people. Under Lord Liverpool, £11,730,000 formed the prodigious aggregate of income, dispensed among public servants of all classes. It has since been curtailed, as already mentioned, to £7,000,000; but before three twelvemonths shall have flown over our heads, the amount will probably be again augmented to from eight to ten millions annually. Posts and pay will raise out of the ground an army of interested persons, who will live and move and act as

so many centres of organization for the perpetuation of the nuisance, out of which they so magnificently subsist, from one lustrum to another. The prospect held out of an extinction at the end of autumn 1845, is evidently a mere *ignis fatuus*. Should Conservatism then have the seals of office in its grasp, of course the present parliament will not have lived out its lease, the premier will be able to take his own course. Should it answer his purposes to carry on the impost, he will take due care to do so, by the same means with which he now palms his propositions on the British world. Should he feel it advantageous to reap a golden harvest of popularity, previous to a dissolution, by the surrender of an obnoxious screw, which by that time will have wrung an enormous surplus of revenue from the nation, he may do so; or, in lieu of it, proceed still further in a course of liberalism, and relieve the springs of industry. His temper, at all events, has not improved with his power; in wielding which, it strikes us as somewhat pitiful to hear him bemoaning his difficulties. For who inflicted those difficulties upon him? Who multiplied his personal responsibilities? Who placed him in office, where, to say the least, his political opponents would have been more welcome to that branch of the legislature which, as Toryism announced in 1835, ought to be allowed to select its own ministers? Conservatives can adopt very constitutional professions, and scatter them to the four winds of heaven in their practice, if office may be thereby retained, or monopolies protected. With regard to appointing the new income-tax functionaries, innumerable promises are made, which, from circumstances, it will be found better to keep in the breach than in the observance. Let it not be forgotten that, as recently as 1840, the premier avowed, in parliament, his cordial disapproval of that very form of taxation which he is now inflicting, or about to inflict, on these kingdoms.

Our constituencies, however, after all, are much the most to blame. They will pardon us for saying, that they acquired a trust, under the Reform Bill, which they were bound to exercise for the benefit of the entire country. On the one side, they beheld a cabinet at length coming forward with a really liberal commercial code. The revenue had become deficient, not through their wastefulness and extravagance, but by a generous remission of taxation and augmented expenditure. Under the head of remission, relief had been afforded to the extent of six millions sterling per annum in the clear; under the head of expenditure, must be included a grant of twenty millions to the proprietors of slaves, those proprietors being able to get up a strong party in parliament, and obtain an outrageous compensation for an abominable grievance. Even with respect to the deficiency, the Melbourne administration offered to meet it through

improved fiscal returns, rendered so by reducing prices to the consumer. On the lowest estimate, their plan would have afforded an additional income to the State of £1,800,000; on the highest, it would have realized £2,500,000; besides which, had it been necessary, it now appears that they would not have spared the hereditary succession to real property. The constituencies, therefore, be it spoken with all deference, holding the elective franchise, as a mighty public trust for the welfare of all classes, ought to have selected such men for their representatives as would have supported this liberal administration, and enabled the members of it to carry their measures through the House of Lords. In not doing so,—in suffering themselves to be bribed, intimidated, or coerced,—they failed in their solemn obligations, and betrayed the dearest interests of three kingdoms. Now, what did they do? They permitted the aristocracy to seat its nominees and supporters, just as under the antiquated system of rotten boroughs. Scions of nobility, and lords of a certain extent of land, whose heads, Lord John Russell rightly observed, ‘seem to have been made out of the stiff, cold, heavy, and clayey soils which they either own or cultivate,’ have been enabled to expel liberalism from its place beside the throne, and substitute a Conservative cabinet in its stead. That cabinet has recollected its old instincts, and acted accordingly. It has deceived its worshippers indeed, in conceding to public opinion what could no longer be withheld; but it is nevertheless gathering up its energies to play its ancient part upon the political stage. After its own peculiar fashion, it is going to try and do a modicum of good, to keep up appearances, and imitate its predecessors; but its grand result is, the imposition of from four to five millions of fresh taxation. Yes; there can be no mistake here; *this is the price of the whistle!* Let every nonconformist of every denomination, every liberal son or daughter of the church of England, every farmer and tradesman driven to the poll during the recent elections,—let each and all of them bear in mind, that by union, by energy, by co-operation, and clear-sightedness, by a little less wilfulness, and a little more self-sacrifice, they might have saved themselves from an income tax of seven-pence in the pound, from all the host of inquisitorial officials about to pry into their affairs, from the present paralysis of trade and commerce, and from the future prospects of popular discontent and social disorganization. How far the abolition of church-rates, the concession of the ballot, an enlargement of the suffrage, a revival of our industrial prosperity, and a thousand other blessings, may be affected by affairs as they now are, we should consider it beside the purpose of this paper to say. The commencement, middle, and termination of our remarks are to be summed

up in one hearty protest against all exclusive or partial legislation.

Wisdom will arrive at last for the justification of all her children. Even the most cumbrous machine that dulness ever contrived, when once set in motion down an inclined plane, cannot easily be arrested. Did our readers ever fall in with a wagon, slowly, yet irresistibly, descending a steep hill in Devonshire? They must have observed, behind the vehicle, sometimes two, and now and then four horses, placed there to pull upwards and check the momentum of the descent. What a singular spectacle is presented! The poor dumb creatures, drawn backwards, snort, and tear, and slide, in the midst of dust and perspiration, resisting to their uttermost, but all in vain. Onward, and in safety, moves the mighty wain, with all its mountain-pile of goods and passengers, unless the latter perhaps prefer walking to witness the sight, and insure their necks from jeopardy. Just such is the inglorious destiny of Sir Robert Peel, Sir James Graham, Sir Robert Inglis, and Lord Stanley. Against their wills and wishes they may be forced every now and then to confer benefits upon their fellow-subjects. To arrest public opinion will be found immensely beyond their capabilities. Let Great Britain and her dependencies be but true to themselves, and no party efforts, no section of exclusionists or monopolists, will be able ultimately to maintain their ground, or much longer frustrate the fair hopes of an enlightened patriotism.

Brief Notices.

One hundred and ninety Sermons on the 119th Psalm. By the Rev. Thomas Manton, D.D. *With a complete alphabetical table directing to the principal matters contained therein.* 3 vols. 8vo. Third Edition. *To which is prefixed the Life of the Author.* By William Harris, D.D. London: William Brown, 130, Old-street.

Manton belonged to a class of divines who have never been surpassed in ministerial fidelity and excellence. Deeply versed in religious truth, and experimentally acquainted with its practical influence on the human heart, they spoke and wrote with a directness and depth of feeling which clothed their words with power. Amongst this class, Manton occupied a distinguished place. His qualities as a preacher were of a high order, and his character was beyond reproach. His eminence secured him the appointment of chaplain to Cromwell, in which station he exerted himself to the utmost on behalf of some royalists who had engaged in treasonable conspiracies against the Protector's government. In common with the presbyterian party to which he belonged, he did his utmost to promote the restoration of

Charles the Second, in reward for which he was speedily ejected from his living.

His Exposition of the 119th Psalm has long been a scarce and a dear book, and we are therefore glad to see it presented in the neat and cheap form of the edition now before us. The work was first published in 1681, and consists of sermons delivered in the usual course of his weekly ministrations. The matter of these sermons is eminently spiritual, and bespeaks on the part of the author an intimate acquaintance with the practical operation of religion. He writes like one who could readily sympathize with all the moods of the Psalmist's heart, and there is, therefore, notwithstanding the current defects of his age, great interest and great power in his discourses. 'Their design,' remarks Mr. Alsop, 'is practical, beginning with the understanding, dealing with the affections, but still driving on the design of practical holiness.'

The large infusion of evangelical sentiment and of warm-hearted and earnest piety throughout the work, may be advantageously imitated by our rising ministry.

The Comedies, Histories, Tragedies, and Poems of William Shakspeare.

Edited by Charles Knight. Second Edition. Vol. II. London: Knight and Co.

The second volume of an edition which promises to accomplish, on behalf of the text and illustration of Shakspeare, all which can reasonably be looked for at the hands of an enlightened and reverential criticism. It is scarcely necessary to say, that the volume is got up in a thoroughly handsome style, so as to be in perfect keeping with the editorial skill and labour which have been expended on it. It contains a 'Midsummer Night's Dream,' 'The Taming of the Shrew,' 'The Merchant of Venice,' and 'Much Ado about Nothing.'

The Works of William Jay, collected and revised by himself. Vol. II.

Morning and Evening Exercises. London: C. A. Bartlett.

This volume, which constitutes the second of the uniform edition, contains the morning and evening exercises for April, May, and June. The character of its contents is too well known to need extended description. It is enough to say, that they form a storehouse of practical wisdom and experimental piety, to which there are few superiors in our language. As a devotional companion, these Exercises will be found invaluable, whilst the style of the author, by the novel and striking mode in which it sometimes exhibits religious truth, is admirably adapted to awaken attention, and to lead on the mind to serious and profitable reflections.

The Modern Persecutor Delineated. London: J. Dinnis.

Dr. Vaughan is known to be the author of this seasonable tract, which addresses itself to the correction of an evil under which many of our brethren groan. Those of us who inhabit large towns are hap-

pily exempted from its operation; but others less favourably situated are subjected to a thousand annoyances affecting their social position and secular prosperity. We hear of these things from every quarter of the country, and are indignant at the meanness and rancour which they evidence. 'Our complaint just now,' as Dr. Vaughan remarks, 'is not so much of bad laws, or bad rulers, as of the wrongs inflicted by the abuse of private wealth and private power. By this means, Protestant dissenters are punished—punished as such, and punished often without mercy. They almost everywhere find, that to be honest in religion is to become subject to privation and injury in their worldly affairs; their landlords, their customers, and their employers, become their persecutors for this cause. The course expected from them is, that they shall go to church, and not to the dissenting chapel; and in the case of the more dependent, it is required that their children also shall be sent for education to the schools of the established church, and not to schools connected with dissenters.' This is the new Act of Uniformity which churchmen have set up, and the punishment for non-compliance is discountenance and loss. Against such a state of things it becomes every friend of religious liberty to set himself. It is at once most vicious in principle and pernicious in operation—is so bad, so utterly abhorrent from the temper of Christianity, that its general exposure cannot fail, from very shame, to effect its partial correction. We thank Dr. Vaughan for the good service he has rendered in the publication of this tract, and strongly recommend its extensive circulation wherever such cases of petty persecution occur.

Hints Illustrative of the Duty of Dissent. By the Rev. Thomas Binney. Third Edition. London: Dinnis.

A Manual Explanatory of Congregational Principles. By George Payne, LL.D. London: Dinnis.

We have sometimes thought that our reverend brethren, the dissenting ministry, and our sagacious brethren, the dissenting laity, evince about as much wisdom in relation to their principles as any set of personages to be found within the limits of this kingdom. Of course, we have never ventured to think aloud on any topic half so profane as this sort of thinking would be deemed; but, somehow or other, such a train of cogitation has often forced itself upon us, as we have marked how common it is for such persons to lament the inroads made upon dissent about them, and wholly to forget that they have themselves done nothing, or next to nothing, to prevent these inroads. In truth, so limited, in general, are the local efforts made to familiarize the minds of young or old with any just view of our principles, that were it not for the obvious scripturalness, reasonableness, and excellence which those principles carry along with them, they must, in a multitude of directions, have died out entirely, like an unfed lamp.

The tracts at the head of this notice are both excellent, bearing strongly the characteristics of their respective authors. Dissenting ministers, or public-spirited laymen, should purchase such publications by scores, and make it a matter of business, by sale or gift, to put

them into wide circulation. If we would reap in favour of Nonconformist principles, we must sow in favour of them—a very elementary lesson this, but one, unhappily, which thousands among us have yet to learn.

The Plain Christian guarded against some popular errors respecting the Scriptures. A Tract for these Times. By the Rev. J. Leif-child, D.D.

Directions for the right and profitable reading of the Scriptures. A Second Tract for these Times. By the same. London: Ward and Co.

Two admirable tracts, of the sound sense and useful tendency of which it would be difficult to speak too highly. The first discusses the *inspiration, sufficiency, intelligibleness, and design* of the Scriptures, in a manner well adapted to correct prevalent misconceptions, and to preserve the popular mind from being ensnared by the errors which our Oxford men are so industriously propagating. The second carries on the same subject, and lays down some general directions which evince the author's practical knowledge of his theme, and an enlightened apprehension of the requirements of the case. Dr. Leif-child has acted wisely in taking high ground. If first principles are to be perpetually reasoned out as if doubtful, the practical applications of religious truth will and must be neglected, and the prime object of Christianity be thereby lost. It is surely time that the Christian teacher should assume the truth of the system he expounds, and our author has done this in admirable keeping with a due respect for the intellect of his readers. His style is clear and forcible, and there is a directness and practical cast in his logic and exhortations which win esteem, while they command attention. We trust he will continue his useful and unostentatious labours.

A Manual of Electricity, Magnetism, and Meteorology. By Dionysius Lardner, F.R.S., &c. In two volumes. Vol. I. pp. 439.

This is one of the concluding works of the Cabinet Cyclopædia, and promises to be of considerable value and interest. When the work is completed we shall have more to say upon it. In the meantime, we may remark, that the present volume contains, in the shape of an extended 'Introduction,' a very full and clearly-written history of the origin and progress of electrical science.

The Young Islanders. A Tale of the Last Century. By Jeffrey Taylor. London: Tilt and Bogue, Fleet-street. 12mo.

Pretty good. We wish we could have dispensed with the qualifying word which comes first. The incidents are striking, and many of them well managed, especially that on which the tale is founded. The illustrations also are interesting, and the whole volume well got up; but the style in many places is not that which is best adapted to children. It is not simple enough, not sufficiently like De Foe. It is an amusing volume, nevertheless, and we doubt not will

be acceptable to youth. We recommend our young friends, however, not to trouble themselves about the Introduction, which contains one of the usual clumsy devices for representing a tale, which the author knows (and knows that *we* all know) to be his own, and written but yesterday, as one edited from an old MS. of the last century. This is so stale a device that it argues some poverty of invention to resort to it. We must also be permitted to take exception to the ambitiously smart way in which the said Introduction is written. A simple, plain preface would have been a thousand times better.

Treatises on Printing and Type Founding. By T. C. Hansard. Reprinted from the Seventh Edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica. Edinburgh: Black. 1841. 12mo. pp. 234.

The plan of republishing, in a cheap and portable form, the many valuable scientific treatises contained in the Encyclopædia Britannica, must commend itself to every one's approval. By this means, many of the most important portions of that great work are accessible to those who could not afford to buy the whole. Each may obtain, in a form sufficiently full for all ordinary purposes, a treatise on the branch or branches of science most interesting to him. Not less than twenty of these treatises have now been published, of which that at the head of this article is certainly not the *least* valuable. It is compiled by a writer in every way most competent; it is written with great perspicuity, even the more technical parts being expressed with sufficient clearness to be understood by the general reader; it is full of information, either curious or useful, or both; includes all that concerns either the ancient history or the modern condition of the Art of Printing; and is illustrated by some beautiful engravings, giving specimens of fac-similes of early types and characters, some of them in the coloured inks formerly used. There is also an engraving of the different kinds of implements and machinery employed in the printing art, while many *fac-similes* also occur in the pages of the work itself. Perhaps our readers will get the best idea of the variety of the subjects treated in this volume, by an enumeration of the principal heads of the table of contents. Before we proceed to do this, however, we may remark that the value of the work is greatly increased by the addition of the Essay on Lithographic Printing, contributed to the Encyclopædia Britannica by Mr. William Nichol.—The principal topics, each of which is treated with great fulness, are as follows:—Origin and History of the Art of Letter-press Printing—Account of the First Presses—Account of the Methods of Printing, as now practised—Stereotyping—Polypage—Printing in Colours—Bank Notes—Printing Presses—Printing Machines—Reader's Marks of Corrections—Scales of Prices of Composition—Acts of Parliament affecting Printers—Copperplate Printing—Lithography—History and Practice of the Art—Invention and Method of Type-founding—Specimens of Types and Plates. The work ought to find a place in the library of every one who takes an interest in this noble art. To literary men, some such work is indispensable; and we do not think they could have a better.

Literary Intelligence.

In the Press.

The Rev. S. DAVIDSON, LL.D., of Belfast, has now in the Press, his Second Volume on Biblical Science. The title is, *Sacred Hermeneutics developed and applied*. It will contain a History of Biblical Interpretation, from the New-Testament times to the period of the Reformation, including an Account of the Fathers, and of their merits as Expositors of Scripture.

Just Published,

The Comedies, Histories, Tragedies, and other Poems, of William Shakspeare. Edited by Charles Knight. Second Edition. Vol. II.

The Jubilee of the World. An Essay on Christian Missions among the Heathen. By the Rev. John Macfarlane. Collessie, Fifeshire.

The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. A Fac-simile reprint of the celebrated Geneva Testament. MDLVII.

The Works of William Jay. Collected and revised by himself. Vol. II. Poems from Eastern Sources. The Steadfast Prince, and other Poems. By Richard Chenevix French.

The Hope of Israel. An Exposition. By the Rev. Henry Girdlestone, Rector of Landford, Wilts.

Christian Missions to Heathen Nations. By Baptist W. Noel, M.A.

History of the French Revolution. With special reference to the fulfilment of Prophecy. By the Rev. Frederick Fysh, M.A.

The Life and Labours of Adam Clarke. Second Edition.

The Antiquities of the Christian Church. By the Rev. Lyman Coleman. Reprinted from the American Edition of 1841.

Ancient Christianity, No. 8, Protestantism of the Church of England, (the Homilies and Liturgy.)

A Wreath for the Tomb. An Essay and a Sermon on the Lessons taught by Sickness. By the Rev. Edw. Hitchcock, LL.D. Second Edition.

History of the Reformation in the Sixteenth Century. By J. H. Merle D'Aubigné. Translated by D. D. Scott, Esq. Parts VI. to XII.

Notes, Explanatory and Practical, on the Gospels. By Albert Barnes. Vol. II., Luke and John.

The Pictorial Edition of Shakspeare. The Two Noble Kinsmen. Part XLII.

A Dictionary of Science, Literature, and Art. General Editor, W. T. Brande, Esq. Part XI.

England in the Nineteenth Century. Northern Division, Part II., Lancashire. Southern Division, Part II., Cornwall.

Our Home Population, or the Voluntary Principle and Lay Agency sanctioned of God, &c. By the Author of Counsels and Cautions addressed to Young Men.

African Light thrown on a Selection of Scripture Texts. By the Rev. John Campbell. Second Edition.

Lives of the Queens of England. By Agnes Strickland. Vol. IV.

The Local Preachers' Journal. Parts I., II., III., IV.

A Pastor's Memorial to his former Flock. By John Macdonald, A.M.

The Life of Cyprian.

God in his Works, or Redemption in Creation. By the Rev. R. Hemphill, A.M.

A Letter to R. W. Sibthorp, B.D., on the subject of his recent Pamphlet. By B. W. Newton.

A Christian Companion for the Chamber of Sickness.

Brief Notes of Hayti. By John Candler.

THE
ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR JUNE, 1842.

Art. I. *The Great Commission ; or, the Christian Church constituted and charged to convey the Gospel to the World.* By the Rev. John Harris, D.D., President of Cheshunt College. Royal 12mo. pp. 538. Ward and Co.

2. *Missions ; their Authority, Scope, and Encouragement.* By the Rev. R. W. Hamilton, Minister of Belgrave Chapel, Leeds. 8vo. pp. 410. Hamilton, Adams, and Co.

SCOTLAND has dealt but little in prize compositions ; and the paucity of such productions, in that country, serves to give the greater prominence to those which have there appeared. It has twice, during the present century, invited the competition of literary men to subjects worthy the exercise of the most exalted talents. The different objects of the two prizes in question strongly indicated the state of religious knowledge in that nation at the respective periods of their announcement. The first had for its object only the defence of religion, the last, its diffusion. The minds of men, during the earlier part of the by-gone century, were much occupied with the question of the truth of Christianity, and during the latter part of it, with the question of what Christianity really is as a system of doctrines, and of how it affects the hearts and lives of those that believe them. These high points are now, happily, in a great measure, set at rest. The questions, accordingly, which agitate our times, although next in order, are of a very different class, and such as serve strongly to mark the prodigious advance of the religious mind within the last fifty years. Leaving the subjects of Christian evidence, of Christian doctrine, and of Christian experience, so called, we have gradually ascended till we have now reached an

altitude from which our views of the New-Testament church are both much clearer and far more comprehensive than those entertained by the bulk of our ancestors. The nature of Christ's kingdom, and the duty of extending it, constitute the great ecclesiastical themes of our age; while by multitudes it is now distinctly perceived, and strongly felt, that both those points are not matters of idle speculation, but of supreme practical importance.

As the facts of the history of the first great Scottish prize are interesting, we shall state them.

It is now about seventy years since the death of John Burnet, Esq., of Dens, near Aberdeen, the donor of it. That generous individual, having bequeathed the bulk of his fortune to charitable institutions, directed that the remainder should be put out to interest till it had realized at least the sum of 1200*l.*, which was to be divided into two portions of three fourths and one fourth. The donor died in 1774, and in 1807 the accumulation destined for this purpose amounted to 1600*l.*, when the trustees, in compliance with the instructions of the will, announced that the sum of 1200*l.* would be given for the best dissertation, and the sum of 400*l.* for the second best, on 'the evidence that there is a Being all-powerful, wise, and good, by whom everything exists, and particularly to obviate difficulties regarding the wisdom and goodness of the Deity; and this, in the first place, from considerations independent of written revelation; and, in the second place, from the revelation of the Lord Jesus; and from the whole, to point out the inferences most necessary and useful to mankind.' While, in this case, the sums were very large, the period assigned for competition was of corresponding extent, and such as significantly bespoke the donor's expectations that the competitors would put forth their utmost strength, and endeavour to sound the mighty subject to its lowest depths. Seven years were allowed for preparation. Nor was this all: Mr. Burnet, with the caution characteristic of Aberdeenshire, that he might arouse and stimulate the candidates to the most intense exertion, clothed the adjudicators with a discretionary power, which authorized, or commanded them, to reject both the best and second-best productions, if judged unworthy of the theme and the premium. Thus guarded, the prizes were announced in 1807, and in 1814 the award was made, when it was found that the sister nations had divided the honour between them, the first prize being adjudged to Dr. W. L. Brown, Principal of Marischal College, Aberdeen, and the second to John Bird Sumner, Esq., of Eton College, now a chief ornament of the episcopal bench. The experience gained by this great prize is instructive; the offer produced only fifty essays, and those de-

clared to be first and second on the scale of merit, utterly disappointed reasonable expectation. There can be no question, however, that the decision was just; for the unsuccessful essays of Dr. Bruce and Samuel Drew, subsequently published, were by no means equal to those of Brown and Sumner. The work of Bruce was characterized by elegant impotence; that of Drew, by dark profundity. The result shewed, that the large sums, the long period allowed for preparation, and the implied threat of the possible rejection, even of the best essay, produced no corresponding effect on the minds of the competitors. To the human faculties there is a limit beyond which hope cannot draw, and fear cannot drive them. Nor is this all. The wonders of intellect are spontaneous. True genius is wild and wayward; she alike spurns fetters and compulsion. Mental miracles may be prompted; they cannot be purchased. The Temple of Immortality is adorned exclusively with voluntary offerings.

The works before us originated in the desire of certain 'friends to the missionary enterprise in Scotland,' to procure a comprehensive treatise, embracing all the topics directly and collaterally involved in the general theme. Considering that this object might best be promoted by friendly competition, they offered one prize of two hundred guineas for the best essay, and another of fifty guineas for the second best, on 'The Duty, Privilege, and Encouragement of Christians to send the Gospel of Salvation to the unenlightened Nations of the Earth.' The space of only sixteen short months was allowed for the preparation of the works required—a period far too limited for the full and satisfactory discussion of a subject so vast, so various, and so momentous. The period of seven years, assigned for the Burnet prize, was, perhaps, preposterously long; but certainly that assigned for the mission essays was much more preposterously short. It very probably excluded from the competition not a few of the ablest men of the country, whose professional pursuits, or previous literary engagements, rendered it impossible for them, within a space so narrow, to accomplish anything worthy of the subject and of themselves. Two years, at least, ought to have been allowed for preparation. The essays were delivered on June 1st, 1839, and the award was made and published, October 29th, 1841; thus sixteen months are dedicated to composition, and nearly two and a half years to adjudication. If these periods had been just reversed, common sense would not have been outraged, and the public cause would have been greatly promoted. As it is, great things have been performed by the successful writers; but still more would probably have been realized by them under a system of more rational arrangement. To us, however, the result is, upon the whole, highly gratifying.

As Nonconformists, as Englishmen, as Christians, we survey the volumes before us with not a little complacency. Both the Burnet prizes were earned by churchmen; and the two unsuccessful essays that were published were those of dissenters; both the mission prizes have been carried by dissenters; and two of the unsuccessful essays published are those of churchmen. To these facts we may add two more, of a somewhat curious nature; in the case of the late prizes on Home Missions and Lay-Agency, the donors were Englishmen, and both the successful writers Scotchmen. In the case of the foreign mission prizes, the donors were Scotchmen, and both the successful writers Englishmen.

Before we proceed to the examination of the prize volumes, we deem it only just to express some of our views of the original 'advertisement.' The conception of 'a comprehensive work on missions,' if not an original, was at least a laudable one, and the projectors of the prizes deserve well for their zeal and liberality. The desideratum, however, which they were anxious to supply, was not quite so great as the gentlemen appear to have supposed. The church of Christ had more than 'sermons, tracts, and pamphlets' upon the subject; not to speak of the 'Letters on Missions' of Melvill Horne, which, although vast in power of appeal, are limited in range of topics; there are the 'Letters on Missions' of William Swan, published twelve years ago, with a valuable Introductory Preface by the late W. Orme; a work which obtained not a tithe of the attention which it merited from the 'friends of the missionary enterprise in Scotland;' nor did England atone for the neglect. Then, two years subsequently, appeared 'The Missionary Church,' by William Hendry Stowell, now President of Rotherham College, a most valuable publication. It is highly probable, however, that both these most able works were unknown to the Scottish donors, who, being churchmen, may not have been very conversant with the literature of dissent; but we take the liberty of respectfully assuring them, that, as these masterly works will show, the subject of their prize had exercised the thoughts and pens of the ministers and missionaries of nonconformity, many years before the appearance of their 'advertisement.' We beg further to assure them that there is not a point specified in that 'advertisement' which is not discussed in the volumes of Swan and Stowell. To these volumes must be added, 'Christian Missions,' by David Thompson, also a dissenter and a Scotchman, which appeared early in 1839; a work not unworthy of being ranked with its predecessors just named, and which, while it ably pursues the same general object, brings up the subject of missionary statistics to the period of its publication. These three writers, if they have conducted the

discussion with more brevity and less power than the successful Essayists, have yet deserved well of the Christian church, and merit praise from the 'friends of missions,' while they indicate the vast extent to which dissenters were in advance of churchmen upon this great question—an indication, at length, fully demonstrated by the fact, that two dissenters obtained the prizes. Such a state of things was, indeed, to be expected, seeing that, in the work of missions to all parts of the world, dissenters have led the way, while, with feeble footsteps, churchmen, in a few cases, have followed at a remote distance.

The general proposition of the 'advertisement' we have already quoted; and the further explication of it, as set forth by the donors, runs thus: 'The grand object of missions; viz., the regeneration of a lost world through the all-sufficient atonement of the Lord our Righteousness, and the renewing of the Holy Ghost, must be distinctly unfolded and vindicated from the sacred Scriptures. The duty, privilege, &c., must be illustrated as enjoined or sanctioned by divine commands, evangelical motives, and explicit prophecies, as well as recommended by a review of the beneficial effects of Christianity on the civilization of the world, and the reflex influence of the missionary enterprise in improving the spiritual tone and condition of the reformed churches. Under the head of Duty must be comprehended the obligation to advance the kingdom of the Redeemer by means of prayer, counsel, pecuniary contribution, and personal services. Answers must also be furnished to all the most plausible objections that have from time to time been urged against the cause of missions.' In order to demonstrate the catholicity of the design, and inspire general confidence in the rectitude of the decision, it is next intimated that the adjudication would be confided to the Rev. Doctors Welsh, Wardlaw, and Bunting, and to the Rev. Henry Melvill, and the Rev. Thomas Crisp, representing, respectively, the Scotch church, the Independents, the Methodists, the English church, and the Baptists; and to the whole are appended the respected names of Dr. M'Gill, Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow, of Dr. Chalmers, Professor of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh, and of Dr. Duff, the East Indian Missionary of the church of Scotland.

Such was the imposing and formidable announcement; and it is but just to say, that while the object, so far as the 'advertisement' goes,—we shall inquire into its defects afterwards, was of the first importance, the arrangements for adjudication were worthy of it. The catholic and comprehensive spirit of the donors administers a severe and merited rebuke to our wretched dreamers about 'apostolic succession.' We attach no small im-

portance to this measure in other lights. Men at all conversant with the views of the atonement, which once obtained among the *evangelicals* of the Scottish church, will perceive with pleasure the advance in Scriptural sentiment upon this subject, that is implied by the terms of the 'advertisement,' which concede the 'all-sufficiency' of it, a view essential to the right conduct of the missionary enterprise. By this announcement, too, the universities of the two chief cities of Scotland, and through them the whole Scottish church, are fairly committed to the question of missions. We regard this circumstance as one among the most cheering signs of the times which are passing over us. Ridicule has at length given place to reason, reckless contempt to thoughtful inquiry; and those two great northern seats of learning, whose pride for generations has been founded on their pre-eminence as schools of medicine, are now, we hope, in a fair way of acquiring a still higher distinction as schools of missions.

The 'advertisement' above recited shows the reader what he has to expect from the prize volumes; for, of course, the first object of the Writers, in preparing their works, was to comply with its requirements, since by this rule their performances would be judged. They stood to the donors very much in the relation of builders to architects; they were called, not to furnish original designs, but to construct a work according to specifications prepared by other hands. Their function, therefore, was not to create, but to execute; and the volumes before us must be viewed as illustrations, not so much of the original powers of the Writers as of their skill and dexterity in literary workmanship. No man who has carefully read 'The Great Teacher' will require to be told whether Dr. Harris is a man of high genius; but the chief element of genius is originality, invention; and of this, that Work supplies a beautiful example. In that distinguished performance he was both architect and builder; but in composing 'The Great Commission' he was reduced to the low level of the latter, and on this principle he must be judged. They who complain of its defect in originality, murmur without cause, and judge without inquiry. For that defect the authors of the plan laid down in the specification are responsible, not the writer. The success of Dr. Harris has, we think, been owing, in no small degree, to the restraints which he has resolutely laid upon his creative faculty, and to his dogged adherence to the plain common-place path which had been prescribed to him by the dull and somewhat Dutch-like dogmata of the donors. Had spontaneity occupied the place of prescription, we should most probably have had from Dr. Harris a work, in point of novelty and splendour, very superior to 'The Great Commission;' and a work far more suited to the existing position of the Missionary

Enterprise. The careful examination of the works before us has unalterably confirmed an opinion which has been long growing upon us, viz., that the practice of delineating prize subjects is preposterous and pernicious. Is not the project tentative? Why then do more than just indicate the object, and leave writers wholly unfettered? To give a skeleton of the subject and call for a competition in filling it up, is to bind genius hand and foot, and reduce it to a hard task of cheerless drudgery. In the present case, for example, it had been enough for the donors to solicit essays on the general question, leaving writers to select their own materials, and to determine the mode of their presentation.

We now proceed to examine 'The Great Commission.' In the First Part of the Work, which comprises nearly a third of the volume, Dr. Harris views the missionary enterprise generally in its relation to the Word of God. Here he states and explains the Scripture Theory of Christian Instrumentality for the conversion of the world, illustrating and enforcing it from the precepts and examples of the inspired records. He clearly shews that mutual dependance and influence is the law of the universe; that this law has been perverted by sin, and that the object of the Christian mission is, its restoration. He next illustrates the operation of the Gospel upon the individual convert, and the principle upon which a Christian church is formed. The progress of the truth, in the conversion of new converts, and the formation of such into other churches, and the union of the whole into one fraternal spiritual body, are described and set forth with great beauty. From this part of the volume the adjudicators must, we think, have perceived distinctly, at the very outset, to what denomination of believers the gifted writer of 'The Great Commission' belonged. Having laid down a body of principles, Dr. Harris proceeds to apply them by setting forth that, in this organization, everything becomes an element of influence, congenial with the Cross, and subordinate to it. Of that influence he lays it down that knowledge, speech, relationships, property, self-denial, compassion, perseverance in Christian activity, prayer, and union, are principal elements or instruments. This paves the way for an appeal to the New Testament and the Scriptures of the Prophets.

The work would, in our opinion, have been exceedingly improved by the reduction of this First Part to one third of its present magnitude. Indeed, the first chapter might with great advantage have been wholly withdrawn. Part Second, in fact, properly commences the work. By this means upwards of a hundred pages might have been reserved to amplify and enforce the great practical points of the subject. Let us not be supposed,

however, to speak lightly of these three very copious chapters; for whether we regard the thought or the expression—especially the first—we unhesitatingly affirm that nothing superior ever proceeded from the polished pen of the author. The matter is most refined; the style approaches perfection in the kind to which it belongs. The truth is, the thought is too exquisite; the expression is too delicate. There is such a subtlety of perception, such an excess of analysis, that to the dull vision of the heedless multitude we fear this finished piece of composition will appear dark; and to men of some intellectual culture, it will feel cold. The effect on the mind of the reader is precisely the same as that produced by one of Dr. Brown's lectures on the philosophy of the human mind. Fifty pages might have been got over; but there is danger lest so great a quantity of such matter, in spite of its excellence, should prove a barrier to further advancement, and lead the reader to form a most erroneous idea of the remaining two-thirds of the volume. It consists with our knowledge that some people have fallen into this mistake. We are anxious to prevent its recurrence.

In Part Second, Dr. Harris dashes at once into the midst of his subject. Here we are treated to a glorious view of the benefits of the missionary enterprise. After a rapid outline of the history of Christian missions, the author proceeds to expatiate upon the advantages resulting to the heathen. He classes these benefits under two heads, temporal and spiritual. The points discussed under the head of temporal are thus indicated: 'Some islands owe their discovery to it—wandering tribes localized—taught useful arts and trades—languages reduced to a written form—education given—laws and government instituted—morality promoted—checked depopulation, and prevented extinction—mediated between hostile tribes and prevented sanguinary conflicts—retrieved their slandered mental character—protected the oppressed, liberated the enslaved—various evils blotted out—elevating effect on the character and social rank of woman—general views of temporal benefits.' The points which relate to spiritual benefits are thus set forth:—'Abolished idolatry—imparted Christian instruction—alleviated moral miseries—instrumentally converted and saved many—Bibles, ordinances, churches—accessions to the church above.'

To persons familiar with the subject it will at once appear that this chapter constitutes a main branch of the mighty theme. Here it is that the author was summoned to put forth his utmost powers of argument and of appeal. It is in this region that the advocate desires to meet his foe; for here he is provided with an inexhaustible magazine of materials, both for defence and for assault. From this ground it is that he assails at once a slum-

bering church and a blaspheming world. Here his position is impregnable; his shield is impenetrable; and for his adversaries nothing remains but to submit or flee. Of all this, accordingly, Dr. Harris appears to have been fully aware; preserving, therefore, all the beauty of the First Part, he clothes himself with fresh power, and vigorously advances with augmenting strength from point to point, till the close, at every step carrying conviction to his reader's heart, sustaining argument by fact, arming fact by argument, and animating all by a continued stream of fervid but chastened eloquence. The only thing to be regretted here is, that the author did not enlarge his limits. He has confined himself to the brief space of some forty pages, on a section of his subject which merited and demanded at least a quarter of the volume. The best defence of missions is their results; the principal source of motives to their vigorous prosecution is their results; it is therefore of the first importance that such results should be exhibited in all their temporal and eternal lights and bearings. To do this is to do almost all that ought to be necessary to the highest promotion of the interests of the great question.

In the next chapter, Dr. Harris considers the reflex benefits of Christian missions; and here he leaves us scarcely anything to be desired. Under the twofold division, again, of temporal advantages and religious benefits, he sets before us a series of comprehensive, luminous, and splendid conceptions. The influence of missions on literature and science; on our views of the character and condition of man; on our own character and standing in the sight of the heathen; on the preservation of European life, and the promotion of European commerce, is strikingly exemplified. The author is particularly successful in the exhibition of the reflex religious benefits of missions. We should be exceedingly glad, indeed, to see this section published apart. It would form an invaluable tract for distribution or cheap circulation. He has drawn a delightful picture of the combined effect of the great modern evangelical movement. Nothing has escaped his comprehensive and penetrating observation. Dr. Harris asserts, as the fact is, that the missionary enterprise has broken up the monotony of the religious world; that it has enlivened the piety and increased the happiness of the faithful; that it has produced a salutary denominational rivalry in spreading the truth, besides creating a multitude of institutions for mitigating the temporal misery of mankind; that it has shewn the cause of religion abroad and at home to be one, and greatly enlarged our views, as Christians, of truth and duty; that it has promoted sympathetic union among believers, and greatly increased pecuniary liberality; that it has awakened and cherished a spirit of prayer, and produced noble specimens of Christian

character; that it has disarmed infidelity of its principal weapons, and increased the evidences of Christianity; that it has given a mighty impulse to the work of God generally, and led to the conversion of multitudes of our countrymen, both at home and abroad. Having done all this, the author follows it up with a powerful argument thence derived in favour of the enterprise. Thus terminates this most important department of the work.

The Third Part of 'The Great Commission' presents encouragements to prosecute the missionary enterprise, derived from the history of Christianity, from the political aspect of the world, from the moral aspect of the world, from the state of the Protestant churches, and from the Word of God. This Part presents a rapid and brilliant view of a number of great subjects. To this succeeds Part the Fifth, comprising objections to the missionary enterprise, or pleas and excuses for neglecting it. Here we have a curious exhibition of folly, frivolousness, and fiction; on the part of our adversaries. Our author resembles a lion who has sallied forth to catch insects. He collects together nearly all that is, has been, or can be said against the missionary enterprise; he states the sum total of objection, and, by simply stating, destroys it. The bulk of these objections are such as our Sunday-school children could scarcely hear with gravity. They are, that the enterprise is unnecessary—that it is impracticable—that civilization should precede Christianity—that we have heathens enough at home—that we have not the necessary funds—that it is of no avail till Christians are united, and till the 'personal reign' of Christ—and that the time is not yet come. The most substantial of these objections are raised but little above contempt; they carry along with them their own refutation. This conducts us to the Fifth Part, which, next to the Second, is by far the most important portion of the work; it is entitled, 'The Wants of the Christian Church, as a Missionary Society, examined.' Here the author feels that he treads on delicate ground, and he uses much circumspection. Still, however, amid consummate prudence, there is a bold display of unshrinking fidelity, which bespeaks the undaunted spirit of the author of 'Manum.' These wants, according to Dr. Harris, consist in deep humility on the part of the church, in the due appreciation of the spiritual nature of her office, in a clear conception and vivid conviction of the missionary constitution of the Christian church, in a wider diffusion and more serious meditation of missionary information, in greater depth of personal piety, in holy wisdom to mark and improve the movements of Providence, in greater devotedness to the missionary object among ministers at home, in Christian union, in pecuniary liberality, in missionary laymen, in energy and zeal, and in prayer. The views of Dr. Harris

respecting missionary laymen are profound, and full of practical importance. There are thousands in England who ought to ponder them. Were they to be acted upon in the colonies alone, the benefits, both direct and reflex, would be incalculable; and were they carried out into the field of heathen missions, the result would be happy beyond all calculation.

The concluding Part presents 'Motives to enforce devotedness to the Missionary enterprise.' Here the topics are well selected, luminously expounded, and powerfully applied. Among these topics, great prominence is given to 'the claim of redemption, the relative object of redemption,' the honour of Christ, and the glory of God. It is shewn, that in this way alone can the honour of the gospel be completed, and the sum of human happiness be filled up.

But, leaving Dr. Harris for a little, we must now direct our attention to the work of the Rev. R. W. Hamilton, which is, in all points, an original and extraordinary production. It consists of sixteen separate pieces—for Mr. Hamilton scorns the old-fashioned designation of chapters, sections, parts, and the like—each distinct in itself, but all bearing upon the one subject. The volume, coming at once to the point, opens with 'remarks on ancient and modern missions.' Here, at the very outset, we have a fair sample of all that remains—hard words, profound thoughts, and passages of surpassing splendour—a succession of paragraphs which it would have puzzled Plato, aided by Homer, to determine whether they were to be considered poetry or prose. Having commenced with this sublime explosion, in which his object is at once announced, the author very properly proceeds to descant on the 'philosophy and bearing' of missions. This piece presents a profound display of moral truth and intellectual grandeur. The object of the next division is, to shew that 'missions constitute the spirit and exercise of all revealed dispensation;' an allegation which is illustrated with remarkable energy of thought and expression. The next portion shews that modern 'missions are subject to no demurs and difficulties but those to which primitive Christianity was exposed.' Mr. Hamilton truly observes, that Christianity 'very greatly affected the political systems which it found upon earth.' It produced all the 'inconvenience and disturbance of the profoundest innovations.' It affected the social system still more. From these causes, in no small measure, arose the 'demurs and difficulties' of the earlier evangelists. These are necessarily the constant attendants of Christianity in her march through heathen lands; but, in primitive times, there were other difficulties, of the most appalling description, to be contended with, which were peculiar to that period, and of which, by experience, we know nothing.

In the fifth division of his work, we find Mr. Hamilton in the heart of his subject, considering missions ‘in their estimate of the moral state and prospects of the heathen.’ We have here much elaborate discussion, of a thoroughly scriptural character, the result of which is thus proclaimed:—‘The conclusion is irresistible, that the *heathen do perish* under their appropriate law, and on account of its constant infraction.’ After repelling a number of objections, the author adds the following weighty words:—‘From these dread conclusions, many, who cannot deny their perfect logic, but decline avowing them, because of an insuperable dislike, contrive to escape. They take refuge in certain generalities. ‘We will resign,’ say they, ‘the case of the heathen to God; he will do right,’ &c. All this might be worthy reserve, were there no grounds for coming to a decision; but it begs the question. That question is, has not God already adjudicated upon the matter? have we not his distinct revelation? To throw the issue upon an unknown and uncertain settlement, when all is now declared, is an unworthy evasion. Our ideas are not to roam at large, when there is a formula to regulate them. We must not appeal from a God who has revealed himself to a God who is only imagined.’ Mr. Hamilton attaches the utmost importance to this view of the subject, and considers that it supplies one of the most powerful incentives to the prosecution of the missionary enterprise. ‘Will missions,’ says he, ‘ever rise to their just importance, or be conducted on their proper scale, until this is our sense of the undone state of the ‘nations that forget God?’ To assimilate their condition more nearly to our own, to suppress their social evils, to strengthen light already sufficient for salvation, to give a little greater confidence to a trembling but safe-going footstep, to set a door which is now open somewhat wider, are not motives which will powerfully move the heart.’

The sixth division sets forth the ‘antagonist evils of missions.’ This is a fine portion of the volume. Idolatry, Judaism, Moham-
medanism, infidelity, despotism, and commercial avarice, are all made to pass before us, respectively clothed in the garb of their appropriate deformity, and bearing a banner inscribed with enmity to God and the Lamb. Division seventh exhibits the ‘means which missions contemplate and employ.’ Here, the primary place is assigned to the preaching of the gospel, and the character of its herald. Some very sagacious remarks are presented on the mischievous attempts of Puseyism to invalidate the ministry of all missionaries not of its own order. After taking no slight vengeance on that pestilent heresy, Mr. Hamilton introduces, with admirable effect, the noble exclamation of Archbishop Wake. ‘Far from me,’ says that prelate, ‘be the *iron heart* that, for the defect of episcopacy in a certain succession (let me call it so

without offence), I should think any one of them to be cut off from our communion; or, with certain *raving* writers among us, think them to possess no valid sacraments, and to pronounce them scarcely Christian! The archbishop has been now upwards of a century in the world of spirits, but the wholesome reproof which he thus administered to the Puseyites of his times, is duly merited by those who figure among ourselves. Section eighth is devoted to an investigation of missions 'in reference to those causes which can alone render them efficient.' In this piece we have a strong and beautiful representation of the instrumentality by which the gospel is made the power of God to man's salvation. In the ninth section, missions are shewn to be 'productive of invaluable advantages to those who undertake them.' Here, Mr. Hamilton is not himself; the article is most meagre and unsatisfactory, as compared with the former sections of the work. The tenth section is intended to correct popular misrepresentations, and refute objections. We have already observed, that Dr. Harris, on this part of the subject, had to wield his lance against something very like a phantom. Mr. Hamilton frankly confesses that such is the fact. 'It is only difficult to refute cavils,' says he, 'from their intangibility.' Here, however, Mr. Hamilton has surpassed Dr. Harris; he has contrived to augment the number of points, and to throw over them an air of greater novelty and importance. Still, however, the most substantial of them is but a broken reed; we have scarcely patience to count them up, and nothing but a sense of duty could induce us to listen to any refutation of them. On this point, our feelings remind us of those of Raynal, who maintained that the only reply merited by an advocate of slavery was a stab of a dagger! The only answer we would make to an honest adversary of missions, if such there be, would be the presentation of a copy of the reports of some of the principal societies, or of Williams's *Missionary Enterprises*. The eleventh section illustrates missions by prophecy. Those of our readers who delight in puzzles, and in things hard to be understood, will be delighted here. The restoration of the Jews, the first resurrection, the personal reign, the apostasy subsequent to the millennium, and other high matters, are all touched with a master's hand. Section twelfth 'urges missions by our particular circumstances;' section thirteenth 'surveys missions in their present fields and future triumphs;' section fourteenth sets forth 'their peculiar encouragements.' All these divisions teem with noble thoughts and enlarged views; but we leave them, and pass on to the fifteenth section, which offers 'suggestions for the consolidation and perpetuity of missions.' This division of Mr. Hamilton's work, and that which corresponds to it in 'The Great Commission,' viz., Part Fifth, we owe to

the bounty of the authors. To discuss such points was no part of the contract; and it is, therefore, no part of our duty to complain that the writers have not entered more fully upon a subject which it might have been deemed even hazardous to introduce, since it was denied a place in the specifications. To this great question, however, Mr. Hamilton devotes only nineteen pages, but in that space he has recorded not a few most important views, several of which have escaped Dr. Harris; but we regret that the author did not enlarge on this branch of his subject in all its bearings. It may, however, be replied, that the 'advertisement' issued on behalf of the donors made this no part of their requirement. This fact, therefore, carries us back to the 'advertisement.' We shall, accordingly, now inquire more fully into its provisions, and then pronounce an opinion on the absolute and comparative merits of the works before us.

We have the utmost respect for the Scottish gentlemen whose missionary zeal led them to offer prizes for the best works on the subject of missions; we deem their act highly praiseworthy; but still we must pronounce it the act of men in their childhood, with respect to acquaintance with the missionary enterprise. This, we think, is easily accounted for: missions are but a new thing in the Scottish church. The Church of Scotland Missionary Society is only of yesterday: it was formed so late as 1829. It is therefore no marvel, if, while some of the English missionary societies are preparing to celebrate their jubilee, the friends of the Scottish mission should be still discussing first principles, as if preparing for the work. To our English readers it may appear incredible when we tell them, that the Church of Scotland Missionary Society, of so recent formation, has only one mission, with some four or five ordained missionaries, eleven native teachers, and twelve schools. Such, in the year 1842, is the grand result of the spirit of missions in the far-famed establishment of the north. A single presbytery, or a single city, and that not the most opulent, might have achieved ten times more than has been accomplished by the whole General Assembly of the Scottish church. It will therefore readily appear, that the specifications for these mission prizes were in perfect keeping with the state and measure of missionary experience in that community. Their own wants regulated their demands. What they asked for was just what they required to meet their condition—treatises on the first principles of the subject of missions. Such principles, however, are now fairly established in England. No man among us, having the slightest real pretension to personal piety and to orthodox views of Christianity, offers the smallest objection to the work of missions. Such men will at once concede the whole question. It may, nevertheless, be much otherwise in the church

of Scotland, and therefore the specifications may just form the exact gauge of their necessities. For a community, then, for a single church, or for an individual, just awaking from apathy or slumber, and beginning to look at the mighty theme, the works before us are precisely what are called for, and their adaptation to the end is every way admirable. They begin at the beginning, and work upwards, pouring the light of truth upon the whole subject. Would that such works had appeared thirty or forty years ago! At that period the bulk of Christians were indifferent or hostile, and the points which constitute the materials of these volumes were strenuously debated. Such publications at that time must have contributed more than a little to arouse or reconcile the former, and promote the permanent settlement of the latter.

We clearly think, then, that the specifications are defective: they demand works suited only to the incipient stages of the enterprise, and works which entirely overlook the wants and defects of that enterprise in its present somewhat advanced state. The gifted authors, to be sure, far more enlightened upon the subject than the donors, have both spoken to this part of the subject, and spoken well; but this they have done by permission, not by commandment: they felt it to be necessary, but they felt it also to be a trespass. Now what, in our view, was wanted, was a work or works to meet the whole question of missions as they now exist. A confused idea, indeed, of the same sort seems to have possessed the mind of the donors, for otherwise the choice of adjudicators from all sections of the church of Christ can hardly be vindicated from the charge of absurdity. The donors appear to have nobly looked at the question in connexion with all denominations of Christians. The 'advertisement' ought, therefore, to have described and demanded works suited to the present exigencies of the enterprise throughout the whole field of missionary warfare. To accomplish this in the most effectual manner, the donors, or their representatives, might have requested each of the gentlemen who consented to act as adjudicators to declare their views of the works required by the present state of the missions of their respective denominations, and also by the state of missions generally; since the replies would probably have contributed to illumine the whole question, and to guide them in framing their specifications: and had they further published such replies, and solicited essays combining the views and working out the principles contained therein, they would have rendered a still more valuable service to the great cause, by summoning into existence works still more adapted to the present condition of the enterprise. This plan would have been good, but we may mention another which would have been still better. If the

donors, or their representatives, had communicated with the secretaries of the various missionary societies, they might, from those practical functionaries, have received a large amount of the most valuable information, which would have supplied them with important suggestions relative to the nature of the works required at the present time. But these points of prudence, we suspect, have been neglected, and all is, for the present, lost to the cause of missions, which might have been gained by attention to them.

We have thus far spoken our mind freely, and, we hope, without offence, to our Scottish friends, the donors, and those who have acted with them and for them in this matter; but we have still more to say. We can hardly conceive of anything of the sort more common-place, or less enlightened and less philosophical, than their delineation of the works required in their 'advertisement;' and the most remarkable part of the business is, that they have erred upon system—they have blundered by design. The thing wanted was so obvious, that it obtruded itself upon them, but they pushed it aside that they might make way for their cherished project. Their words are deserving of notice. 'Dispensing,' say they, 'for the present, with the consideration of the *causes* that may instrumentally have retarded the progress of Christianity throughout the world, and with the investigation of the most approved methods of practically conducting missions abroad, a prize of two hundred guineas,' &c. Why, we ask, 'dispense' with these '*causes*?—why dispense with that '*investigation*?' Has the knowledge of the cause of disease ceased to be a step to the cure?—has theory at length become paramount to practice? These, we contend, are the very points which demand discussion. The former of these points, however, it may not be convenient for churchmen to discuss, and Scottish churchmen have yet no occasion to discuss the latter. Of all verities, in our opinion, none are more indubitable than that the chief of the '*causes* which have retarded the progress of Christianity throughout the world' are national establishments of religion. How can systems, the native tendency of which is to destroy piety, promote missions? Look at Europe! Is she not covered with religious establishments, as with a garment? Tell us which of these establishments, as such, has made a single effort for the salvation of heathen lands—tell us of one among them that has ever used the slightest endeavour to establish either home or foreign missions—tell us of one which is not opposed in spirit to everything of the kind!

In the absence of some considerable portion of freedom of conscience, the true spirit of missions can never exist. Such freedom, however, is little known among European continental nations, and hence we look in vain among them for a single mis-

sionary society that deserves the name of national. Two or three small but laudable confederacies exist among them. These bodies, however, consist of individuals who have voluntarily banded together for that object; but such bodies are not the offspring of ecclesiastical establishments: these bodies subsist more in spite of them, than by them. Let us look at our own country. Who knows not that, amongst us, Christian missions, of every order, are the offspring of dissent from the church of England, and from all establishments? Who knows not that, but for dissent, true apostolic missions had still been unknown to England and to heathen lands? The church of England, as such, would never have moved spontaneously in the cause. So far from spreading religion, did she not first corrupt, and then destroy it? As a church, she has not yet advanced a single step in the cause of heathen evangelization. A number of individuals connected with her have become voluntarily associated for the purpose of spreading the gospel; but even they were the *last* to come forth to the work of the Lord; and it is a fact which deserves to be generally known, that the whole of their established community has not been able to supply them with the few labourers that were wanted; and, seeing they could not solicit the service of dissenters, they actually imported, and have continued to import, a considerable, we believe a very large, proportion of missionaries from Germany. Then the Scottish church, notwithstanding her democratical character, was still more backward; she remained inactive till apparently aroused by pure shame. All the dissenting bodies were quickened into life around her, and had taken their place in the field of glorious conflict, before the General Assembly thought of sending one messenger to the Gentiles. The reason of all this is obvious. We lay it down as an axiom, that whatever obstructs piety at home must prove a feeble instrument in advancing it abroad. Our inference, therefore, is, that of all antagonists to the missionary enterprise, the most potent and pernicious are ecclesiastical establishments. It was, of course, no part of the duty of our prize essayists to utter such a sentiment, but it is ours, and we honestly express it. Will Dr. Chalmers himself venture to contend, that although the great presbyterian community to which he belongs had existed apart from the state, it would not have moved earlier, or acted more efficiently in the work of missions? We confidently aver, that, on the contrary, instead of lingering in the rear, the least of the little ones, it would have led the van, clothed with might, and drawing minor bodies after it. The day which shall behold the downfall of all establishments of religion, will be by far the brightest for missions that has dawned on our world since the times of the apostles. Well, indeed, may advocates of establishments ‘dispense with’

and deprecate all inquiry relating to the 'causes' which have retarded the gospel!

Again,—Why dispense with 'the most approved methods of practically conducting missions abroad?' Is not this now the question of questions? To the London, to the Baptist, to the Wesleyan, and, we may perhaps add, even to the Church of England Missionary Society, to mention no others, is not this, at the present time, the main point—the one thing needful? Are not the minds of the truly devout of all those communities, in a good measure, enlightened and fully made up upon the common-place points set forth in the 'advertisement' of the Scottish prizes? Moreover, we would remind those gentlemen, that, after all, the chief particulars of that 'advertisement' are, and will continue to be, far more effectively discussed in 'sermons, tracts, and pamphlets,' and, above all, in platform speeches, and by the periodical press, than in elaborate volumes—volumes which the multitude will never see, which too many who procure will not read, which too many who read will not ruminate. The very things with which they propose to 'dispense' are among the principal things which imperatively demand discussion, and which constitute the most appropriate of all themes for prize competition, inasmuch as they could not be discussed through the vehicles just specified, 'sermons, tracts, and pamphlets.' We had a right to look for very different language in a document to which the illustrious and venerated name of Dr. Chalmers was attached. That enlightened disciple of modern science is the very last person from whom we should have expected a document so tame, creeping, and unphilosophical. Among Christian philosophers and practical men, a foremost place is confessedly due to that great man. Why then did he not, in the prize specifications, particularly provide for the full discussion of 'the most approved methods of practically conducting missions abroad?' We will even go further. Ought not this to have been the chief, if not even the sole subject of the competition? The past, we think, may pretty well suffice for experiment. The results of nearly fifty years of labour, in every quarter of the world, are before us. Here we have succeeded—there we have failed. These are the facts; what is the science? We need not apprise our reflecting readers, that we have now reached a point, in the experiment, at which a number of great practical questions urgently press for the most serious consideration. When modern missions were commenced, the work was a novelty, and skill could be acquired only by experience. Under such circumstances, the churches, as may well be supposed, have fallen into many mistakes in their practical operations. To this point, then, their attention ought henceforth to be directed, that they

may profit from the past, and for the future, conduct their heavenly enterprise upon improved principles. Hitherto, science and system have had, indeed, but little to do with it. We hope, however, the time is at hand, when societies will cease to labour at random, when prudence will regulate zeal, and when zeal will animate prudence. To us it has long appeared that a change of tactics, in many respects, was indispensable. We cannot explain ourselves at present, but we shall take an opportunity of so doing at an early period. We now return to the volumes before us.

The work of Dr. Harris, as we have already hinted, must be viewed through the medium of the specifications. A book of a certain description was demanded, and that demand has been supplied. Viewed through this medium, the production, in all its departments, bears the impress of the hand of a consummate artist. The symmetry, the proportion of parts to parts, is all but perfect. The materials are skilfully selected; they are rich, varied, and appropriate. Nothing is wanting that knowledge, research, or invention, could supply. The work throughout bespeaks the Christian, the philosopher, the man of letters, and, rarest of all, the man of business. The writing, as a whole, is remarkable for simplicity, accuracy, and elegance. It is less distinguished by power than by beauty. In respect of the former, it is frequently not equal to many parts and portions of his former writings; in respect of the latter, it surpasses as a whole all that he has hitherto published. The book everywhere bears strong marks of maturity, both in the thought and in the expression. It is vastly superior in both these respects to 'Mammon.' Here there is no reckless extravagance of thought, no unwarranted innovation of language, no blinding brilliance of declamation. There is, from beginning to end, a sobriety, an earnestness, a mildness, a moderation, and a devotion, which well become the minister of Christ, and the president of a collegiate establishment. When we remember the author's official engagements, and remember, too, that when this work was written, he had been but recently appointed, and must, therefore, have been hard driven by the duties of daily preparation for the lecture-room, we are as much surprised as gratified at his production of such a volume during the brief period allowed for its preparation. It even enhances our previously high estimation of his intellectual resources, and of his ready pen. The work presents a singularly complete view of the entire subject, according to the specifications. We only regret that these specifications were not largely, or rather wholly, framed on a different principle; for sure we are, that Dr. Harris would have done equal justice to the subject

under that aspect. His genius would then have found full scope, and his literature an appropriate outlet. But it is not yet too late. We would, therefore, earnestly, urgently, press him to turn his thoughts to the subject of 'the practical conduct of missions abroad.' Let him favour the church with his matured views of territorial division between the several societies, of missionary colleges in the different quarters of the globe, of a concentration of agents on the commanding positions of the foreign field, on the division of labour among missionaries, and a few cognate subjects. Who is more qualified? Who is more obliged? Let him hasten, then, to discharge this high duty to the church of Christ, and to the glorious Head of that church.

Of Mr. Hamilton's work it is somewhat difficult to express our opinions. Amid the five essays which the Scottish prize has produced, it stands alone; and, in some respects, it towers above them all. There is, in this single volume, more originality than in all the other four united. We have, of course, no means of ascertaining the intellectual process by which the work was produced, but so far as we can judge, it has been one of a somewhat peculiar character. We have gone carefully through every page of the book, and have not found a single reference to any previous missionary publication whatever! Instead of 'reading up the subject,' as the lawyers say, and seeing what had been already done, and then, when the mind has been fully awakened, surveying the whole field afresh, and cogitating the theme upwards from its first principles, and using its appropriate literature for proof, illustration, or ornament, as circumstances might require; instead of this, we say, Mr. Hamilton retires to his study, and, laying down before him the specifications, begins to ruminate the mighty subject, as if he had been the first and were to be the last, to think or write about it. In this respect he forms a remarkable contrast to all his fellow competitors whose essays have yet been published. The rare result is before us, a volume throughout full of original thinking. The whole air, and form, and substance of the work is original, almost offensively so. The eye, both of the body and of the mind, is so unaccustomed to such a book, that it is not at once reconciled to so novel an object. While the east of the publication and of the thought which pervades it are thus stamped with the impress of originality, the verbal garment by which that thought is clothed is as novel and remarkable as either. The impression made upon the mind, after perusal, is that of vast intellectual power, and inexhaustible opulence of fancy. Every part indicates a mind of singular force and breadth of comprehension, deeply imbued with classical

literature, and richly stored with general knowledge. The author's powers of imagination are as great as those of his understanding. It is, for the most part, very vivid, and, seeing objects with a poet's eye, he generally records his impressions in poetic phraseology. This is the best apology we can make for such words as 'delubrum,' 'eliminated,' 'hexagon,' 'corybantian cymbal,' 'dithyrambic yell,' 'liba,' 'boy-acolytes,' 'perimeter,' and many still more terrible. They are in perfect keeping with the author's general style of thought and constant elevation of language. They are at the worst only a little fantastic; they amuse the learned reader rather than offend him, and others, having wondered for a second, will pass them by. At any rate, there they are, and who can mend it? It is now pretty clear that by the rod of criticism Mr. Hamilton can neither be crushed nor corrected! We give him up as a hopeless subject. With our critical co-partners we have, in past times, performed our part to work his reformation; but all in vain. He is unchanged and unchangeable; a good, a great, a noble-minded, an original, an independent, but withal a self-willed, unmanageable man. For his defence, if he requires more, we would point his feeble foes to the great father of English criticism. Johnson, in No. 70 of the *Idler*, entitled 'Hard words defended,' well observes that 'words are only hard to those who do not understand them; and the critic ought always to inquire, whether he is incommoded by the fault of the writer, or his own. Difference of thought will produce difference of language. He that thinks with more extent than another, will want words of larger meaning; he that thinks with more subtilty, will seek for terms of more nice discrimination; and where is the wonder, since words are but the images of things, that he who never knew the original should not know the copies?'

Having spoken of the works of these two eminent writers apart, let us now compare and contrast them. No two things can be more unlike. Mr. Hamilton writes as if he had been conversant only with ancient manuscripts, and had never seen a book in print till he saw his own, it is so antique in its form. Dr. Harris writes as if he had been a disciple of Pope, and were standing Chairman of the worshipful Company of Stationers, so masterly is the style of the literary workmanship of 'The Great Commission.' The books very much resemble their authors. The one belongs to a class, and of that class it stands the first; the other is an individual, and stands alone. The chief feature of the one is power; of the other, beauty. Harris is more practical; Hamilton more speculative. Hamilton is, nevertheless, far more practical than he at first sight appears, and Harris far

more profound. The President's book bespeaks much observation and reading upon the subject, as well as deep reflection; the Pastor's shows an utter disregard of all that has been said or done by others, and a determined reliance on his own powers of excoitation. The former labours on by rule, square, and compass, with the specifications beside him, and the fear of the adjudicators before him, determined to deny himself and make good his point of carrying the first prize by a resolute adherence to the conditions; the latter now declaims and now reasons, now roams and now returns, careering and gamboling through earth and heaven, under no restraints but those of a vigorous and capricious fancy, bidding bold defiance to donors, adjudicators, critics, and all! The one permeates the whole region, observing and recording everything; the other posts himself on the chief eminences and makes general surveys. The genius of this is ponderous and stiff in its movements; the genius of that is quick and versatile. The one inherits from Burke, the other from Addison. 'The Great Commission' is the book of the million; 'Missions,' of a class. The former will be intelligible to all and attractive to all; the latter can be read, understood, and appreciated only by people of considerable talents and culture. The force of Hamilton impairs his pathos; the pathos of Harris abates his force. Hamilton thunders and lightens; Harris penetrates and melts. The one commands admiration; the other, love. Each is, in his own way, a master. Neither supersedes the other. Their works are two vessels of different build, but of equal tonnage, both heavily laden with the same precious ore, and they will, we doubt not, speed their prosperous way in company to every land, largely and, we hope, long contributing to enrich all nations.

Our readers may have expected, in this article, some reference to the other treatises to which these prizes have given existence; but from the importance which attaches to the subject and to the works, we have reserved them for a separate paper. We have, moreover, a serious account to settle with the adjudicators, and with the committee of management, whose conduct in this matter, that it may not be drawn into a precedent, demands a searching scrutiny, and a public exposure. These it will become our duty to attempt in our next number.

Art. II. *Greece as a Kingdom; or, a Statistical Description of that Country, from the Arrival of King Otho in 1833, down to the present time. Drawn up from Official Documents and other Authentic Sources.* By Frederick Strong, Esq., Consul at Athens for their Majesties the Kings of Bavaria and Hanover. London: Longman and Co. 1842.

Journal of a Tour in Greece and the Ionian Islands, with Remarks on the Recent History, Present State, and Classical Antiquities of those Countries. By William Mure, of Caldwell. 2 vols. Edinburgh and London; Blackwood. 1842.

THESE are two very different books on the same essential subject, GREECE; and both of them are good books. The Athenian appetite for 'some new thing,' would hardly seek gratification in books on a country, all whose sources of interest have been so frequently explored, and seemed so thoroughly exhausted, as those of Greece. Yet both these books have the same merit of being really new, and both will well repay the perusal which they invite.

Of the two, however, Mr. Strong's book is by much the newest,—indeed, is perfectly new. And yet it will be the least read; for being, as the title describes, essentially statistical, it is less suited for continuous perusal than for occasional comparison and reference. It is one of those books which the world manages, somehow or other, to do without before they appear, but without which, after their appearance, every well-furnished library must be considered incomplete. In our eyes, indeed, this volume appears exceedingly rare and precious—more so perhaps than it will seem to many of our readers, who may have had less occasion to feel the need and the value of statistical illustrations of such a condition of society as that which Greece now exhibits; for it is not merely as a statistical account of Greece that this work has value in our sight, but of a semi-oriental country, and of a country in a transition state. In these respects the work is altogether new, stands altogether alone, and, we fear, is likely to remain so for a long time to come.

The official situation of the author, as consul for Bavaria, was in the highest degree favourable to his obtaining all authentic information on the subjects to which his attention was directed. In the Dedication, 'by express permission,' to the King of Greece, he speaks gratefully of the interest taken by his majesty in the progress of the work, and of the facilities obtained through the instructions given to the different public offices to furnish him with the information he required. And it appears from the Preface, that the author was allowed to inspect, and to make copies, notes, or extracts, of whatever documents were to be found in the archives, which he considered to be of interest or useful for his purpose. The difficulty of obtaining authentic in-

formation in so many important and interesting subjects was, however, exceedingly great. No attempts have hitherto been made in the country itself to collect any statistics; and Mr. Strong was consequently obliged, in many instances, where no documents existed in the public offices, to have recourse to private channels, and to gather information from individuals on whose knowledge and veracity he could implicitly rely.

The author is a banker, and correspondent and agent of the principal London banking houses. Hence he had opportunity of becoming personally acquainted with most of the British travellers who have visited Greece of late years; and it was in consequence of the general regret which they expressed at the want of such a book, that he was induced to undertake the work he now offers to the public. The fact, that travellers feel the want which this work supplies, is, indeed, evinced in the other work before us, the author of which, for want of something better, introduces some heads of statistical information from the Hellenic Epheteris, or Almanac, for 1837.

As is usual with actual residents in a country, Mr. Strong speaks with due contempt of the information respecting the real condition and resources of the kingdom which passing travellers supply. He says—

‘As a great many statements highly prejudicial to Greece have recently appeared, it is necessary to remark that they have chiefly emanated either from persons not sufficiently acquainted with the country to be competent to form an opinion respecting it, or from mere tourists, ignorant of the language, and seeing only with the eyes of others; and hence all such statements must be received with great caution. Facts are the best arguments; and every wellwisher of Greece will be anxious to investigate its present state, even though he should labour under an impression that such an investigation would prove inimical to the prospects of the infant kingdom.’

‘During his residence in Greece, he has had an opportunity of seeing the introduction and working of every measure *ab initio*; of watching the improvements that have taken place, the gradual development of the resources, and the advancement of education and social relations; and of comparing the results of one year with those of another. And the conclusion to which he has come is, on the whole, highly favourable to the young kingdom. So far from taking a gloomy view of the state of Greece, like many, who believe her to be on the point of a general bankruptcy, it is his opinion that there are few European states in a more prosperous condition; and that the improvement in the revenue, the development of national wealth, the progress of education, the extension of agriculture and commerce, the increase of knowledge, the impartial administration of justice, and the reduction of expenditure, which have hitherto been so rapid, will be carried on in future to a much greater extent even than hitherto, and give Greece, in a few years, an important and conspicuous rank in the scale of nations.’—*Strong*, Preface, pp. viii. ix.

This is comfortable, and deserves the more attention from the fact that Englishmen, who are compelled, by their avocations, to reside abroad, are generally found to be arrant grumblers at the country in which they live. It should be added that our author disclaims, in the most decided manner, that any partial or interested motives have influenced his conclusions. His official post at Athens is purely honorary; and he is, he says, alike independent of Greek or Bavarian influence.

It is now time to render the reader some account of the book itself. To begin at the beginning: we turn back to have another look at the title page, which offers the only picture which the work contains. It represents a huge pile of building, which we learn to be King Otho's new palace at Athens. Respecting this, Mr. Strong is prudently silent; but our other author, Mr. Mure, makes up for this deficiency. The palace was, in fact, a great eyesore to him. After noticing the fine new roads which have, at a great cost, been constructed by the government, he says:—

‘In a commercial point of view it would surely be for the present far wiser policy, instead of making expensive roads which no one uses, and which, unless maintained at a proportional cost, will speedily fall to decay, to endeavour, by diminishing the taxes, and otherwise improving the condition of the people, to raise them to a state of prosperity which may enable them to benefit the more by such as shall hereafter be rendered necessary by their real wants.

‘These strictures apply, perhaps still more pointedly, to the immense marble palace now constructing at Athens. For many years to come it would have been far more dignified, as well as more politic, for the newly created sovereign to have contented himself with a homely dwelling, in better keeping with the actual resources of his kingdom, and with the wretched state of domestic accommodation among his subjects. As matters now stand, these pompous displays of European civilization, contrasting so broadly with the semi-barbarism in the midst of which they are exhibited; fair wide carriage roads, frequented by a few squalid pack-horses or mules, and gorgeous palaces surrounded by hovels and rubbish; instead of conveying an impression of the advancing civilization and prosperity of the country, tend but to display in a more glaring light its misery and barbarism.’*—*Mure*, vol. ii. pp. 33, 34.

* The reproaches placed by Aristophanes in the mouth of the sausage-vender against the demagogue Cleon, for his indifference to the comfort of the Athenians of those days, admit of a curious application to their present rulers:

καὶ πῶς σὺ φιλεῖς, ὅς τοῦτον ὄρων οἰκοῦντ' ἐν ταῖς πιθάκναισιν,
καὶ γυπαρίαις, καὶ περιγυῖαις, ἐτὸς ὄγδοον, οὐκ ἐλταίρις.

Equit. 792.

‘Is this the way you show your royal pity for a nation,
Who dwell these eight long years in huts and holes amid starvation?’

He has another hit at this palace, in a note, a little further on :

‘ Here again, in contemplating the splendid pile of marble now raising, for the accommodation of a prince whose whole state produces scarcely the revenue of a wealthy English nobleman, one could not help feeling the more forcibly how much more usefully, and even ornamentally, he might have employed this portion of his income in rendering the approaches from his city to the more homely residence with which for the present he ought to have been contented, permanently passable.’—*Ibid.* pp. 45, 46.

Mr. Strong’s book, ‘ *Greece as a Kingdom,*’ is divided into eight chapters, comprising the several heads of General Statistics—Government—Commerce—Navigation—Agriculture and the Arts—Finance—the Army—the Navy—Justice—Religion—the Court.

From the first chapter, on general statistics, we learn that the Grecian dominions contain in all 13,887,000 British geographical square miles, or 47,615,000 *stremas*, which are equal to about 12,000,000 acres. Of these not more than about 5,000,000 *stremas* are private property, by far the greater part belonging to the state. The annexed table is curious and valuable. It will be observed that four *stremas* are nearly equal to one acre.

General Division of the Land.

	Morea.	Continent.	Islands.	Total.
Mountains and rocks - -	5,000,000	5,000,000	5,967,226	15,967,226
Rivers and lakes - - -	1,500,000	2,000,000	- -	3,500,000
Forests - - - - -	3,000,000	4,000,000	- -	7,000,000
Arable land - - - -	11,436,409	8,171,949	300,000	19,908,358
Gardens - - - - -	35,000	69,000	115,000	219,000
Vineyards - - - - -	240,000	186,000	324,000	750,000
Currant plantations - -	14,440	2,120	- -	16,560
Olive groves - - - -	12,551	21,455	7,604	41,610
Lemon and mulberry groves	260	116	110	486
Towns and villages - -	157,340	47,360	7,060	211,760
Total <i>stremas</i> - - -	21,396,000	19,498,000	6,721,000	47,615,000

The observations on the personal and intellectual character of the Greeks will not admit of curtailment.

‘ The Greeks are a fine muscular race, well made, and full of vigour and activity both of mind and body, realizing the idea of perfection entertained by the ancient philosopher, ‘ *Mens sana in corpore sano.*’ They still retain a great deal of the antique form, which is alike perceptible in the structure of their bodies, the independence of their carriage, and the animated fire of their eyes, which gives deep expression to the countenance from childhood to old age. Each era of life has its peculiar beauty. The children appear perhaps rather too languish-

ing, but this gives way to a vigorous development of the body as they approach the age of manhood, though it is even then mixed with something rather too graceful and feminine, and more appropriate to the other sex. This beauty, which may be termed classical, is more particularly found in the mountains of continental Greece, and especially in the families of the Capitani and Primates. For the rest, the inhabitants of the different provinces vary greatly in appearance. This is more apparent in the Islands, where the natives, diverging from the general type of Hellenic origin, approach, in some instances, the Asiatic stamp, from the breadth of their countenances; whilst in others, the peculiar expression of the eye, the shape of the nose, and the narrowness of the face, combine to remind one forcibly of the Hebrew race.

Female beauty bears no proportion to that of the opposite sex, whether it be that women are more neglected in their youth, or that Nature is more apt to lavish her favours on the men. The females of the Islands, and more especially those of Hydra, Spetzia, Tenos, and Naxos, bear away the palm of Grecian beauty; and some of them might well serve as models to the sculptor, and with justice be considered as antitypes of the Helens and Aspasiae of ancient times.

Nature is so extremely precocious in Greece, that females attain the age of puberty at ten or eleven years, and men at fifteen or sixteen. Young lads of sixteen and seventeen are frequently met with in the villages already married and with families. I am acquainted with a lady of one of the first Athenian families, who, though only twenty-five years of age, has already had sixteen children (eight of them twins), of whom seven are still alive. It may scarcely appear credible in England, but there is now at Athens a venerable grandmamma, in the person of a lady not yet twenty-four years old! She was married when eleven years of age, and had a daughter in the course of a year. That daughter married also when scarcely eleven, and has just become a mother!

But female beauty, from its being so precocious, fades quickly, and the freshness and bloom of youth vanish almost as rapidly as they are developed. A married woman of twenty has all the appearance of a middle-aged person of a more northern clime; whilst at thirty or thirty-five her face and skin are covered with wrinkles, which would do no discredit to a matron of seventy in England or Germany.

This decay of youthful beauty is much more rapid among females than with the opposite sex. On the contrary, the men, though they display early traces of wrinkles in the forehead and round the eyes, retain their strength and manly appearance for half a century; and even these wrinkles (which are the effect of an habitual contraction of the muscles, arising from the red cap of the country, which affords the eyes no protection from the rays of the sun, rather than of decay), only tend to give a more deep and marked expression to the countenance.

Life is prolonged to a very advanced age, particularly in the mountainous districts, and the people retain their faculties of mind and body

to the last. Instances of extreme longevity are not at all uncommon, men of ninety and one hundred years of age being often found able to follow the occupations of the field and the chase. In the mountains of Laconia in the year 1834, I saw an old man whose first child was born when he was seventeen, and his last when he was ninety-five. In his hundredth year he led his countrymen to the assault at Tripolitza, and ten years later he used to go out to shoot partridges! When the king was making his first tour in Greece, a man of a *hundred and thirty-two years* hobbled down from his village on the mountains of Taygetus to pay his respects to his youthful sovereign, who received him with his usual condescension, and dismissed him with a valuable present.—*Strong*, pp. 11—13.

From the pages devoted to the statistics of Athens, we gather that the area of the city is equal to 1,929,676 square metres, or nearly 500 English acres. The price of land within the city, and for several miles around it, has risen very rapidly within the last six years. The population is 26,237, composed of 6404 men (citizens), 4862 women, 6318 boys, 3713 girls, 1367 soldiers, and 3573 foreigners. The disproportion between the males and females, and especially that between boys and girls, is very strange, and ought to have been explained.

‘The classification of trades and professions gives 540 agriculturists, 102 shepherds, 3610 mechanics, 46 merchants, 528 shopkeepers, 83 large landed proprietors, 255 small landed proprietors, 63 schoolmasters and teachers, 44 lawyers, 32 surgeons, 134 priests, 330 bakers, 246 tailors, 376 shoemakers, &c.

‘The number of births at Athens in the year 1840 was 1319; of marriages 171; and of deaths 863.’—*Ibid.* p. 37.

Athens contains 4560 houses, of the collective value of 19,830,000 dollars, but 4000 of the whole number do not exceed 2500 dollars in separate value. Living appears to be more expensive at Athens than in any other part of Greece; but the prices affixed to the articles named in the table of provisions will seem astonishing in this country, and may suggest some edifying comparisons. We copy some of the items:—Beef, $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ per lb.; mutton, $2\frac{3}{4}d.$; lamb, $3d.$; pork, $3\frac{3}{4}d.$; veal, $3\frac{3}{4}d.$; fowls, $8d.$ each; ducks, $1s.$; geese, $2s.$; turkeys, $1s. 8d.$; pigeons, $4d.$ Game seems rather dear in comparison. Most kinds of vegetables and fruits are very cheap, as—Grapes, $0\frac{2}{3}d.$ per lb.; peaches, $1\frac{1}{3}d.$; figs, $1d.$; melons, $0\frac{2}{3}d.$; oranges, $2s.$ the hundred; lemons, $8d.$; milk, $2d.$ per quart; bread, $1d.$ per lb.; eggs, $4d.$ per dozen; wine (good draught), $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ per bottle. In looking at these prices, the reader will, however, know that lowness of prices (except with regard to the products in which one country may peculiarly abound) implies scarcity of money as much as abundance of food, and, it may be, more. It is certain that a Greek may eat almost at will,

grapes, figs, melons, oranges, which are all luxuries in England, but which are abundant in Greece; but with respect to the more substantial articles of man's subsistence, it is probable that at the prices affixed, they are as dear to a Greek as they are to an Englishman at double or treble those prices. It may be a fine thing to obtain money from a country where money is plentiful, and prices consequently high, and to spend it where money is scarce, and prices consequently low; and on that ground, as well as from the amenity of the climate, which makes mere existence a pleasure, Greece may be a fine country for an Englishman to live in, and to live in well, if not profusely, upon an income which would be narrow in his own land.

The population of the Greek kingdom in 1840 was 856,470, showing an increase of 29 per cent. since the first census in 1834, when the number returned did not exceed 650,000. This difference, however, is not to be ascribed merely to the natural increase of the population, although that is believed to be considerable, but to the increasing completeness of the returns. At first, the Greeks could not be made to understand the use of numbering the people, merely for the sake of obtaining statistical information, but being afraid that it was connected with a renovation of the dreaded karatch (a capitation tax, which was levied in a very arbitrary manner by the Turks), or some other new impost, they were naturally averse from reporting the population of their towns and villages. But perceiving that their apprehensions were groundless, they came forward more readily in succeeding years.

The whole population is composed of 422,826 males, and 407,449 females. This difference arises from the large preponderance of males in the rising generation, the youths being 34,061, and the girls only 24,781; but in the adult population, the females exceed the males by upwards of 6000, which is accounted for by the long warfare with the Turks, and the exterminating nature of that warfare, in which neither party gave or asked quarter. The total number of families is 180,259, which gives an average of $4\frac{1}{2}$ persons to a family. This seems a very small proportion for a country where such large families are known to exist, but is accounted for by the remarkable fact that above one-half of the adult males are unmarried.

In 1839, the number of births was 30,878; of deaths, 17,423. Of these deaths, 8757 took place at a very tender age, affording a melancholy proof of the difficulty of rearing children in Greece. It appears, indeed, from the table at p. 44, that 51 per cent. of all who are born, die under the age of ten years. The small number of illegitimate children born in Greece, although so large a proportion of the adult males are unmarried, speaks highly

for the morality of the Greeks. In some provinces there are no illegitimate births, in others, only one or two, and the whole number is but 257, being less than one per cent. on the whole number of births.

We pass by three chapters to get at that on agriculture, manufactures, and trades. It seems that the number of persons employed solely in agriculture is 100,000, being nearly one-half the male, and one-eighth the total population of the kingdom. From various causes, however, and principally from the heavy and clumsy implements made use of, the want of cattle, and the little improvement that has been introduced in the agricultural system, they do not produce sufficient corn for the supply of the home market; and about 85,000 quarters of wheat, which is about one-half the whole quantity consumed, is imported yearly, chiefly from the ports of the Black Sea. There are but 25,000 yoke of oxen in Greece, that is, one to every four farmers. This deficiency of cattle, with the imperfect implements, will account for the backwardness of agriculture. But Mr. Strong feels assured that under the improvements which time is likely to accomplish, Greece could easily find room for five millions of inhabitants, and furnish food for them all. Again, adverting to the primitive processes of agriculture, which are still kept up in that country, he says:—

‘The plough is the same as that described by Hesiod 3000 years ago; a simple piece of crooked timber, with only one shaft, and the ploughshare made of hard wood, sometimes tipped with iron. The harrow, the roller, the tormentor, the threshing and winnowing machines, are perfectly unknown in Greece. The threshing-floors (*Ἀλώρια*), which generally belong to the commune, are circular pavements of about twenty yards in diameter, with a stake in the centre, and usually in an elevated position to catch the wind, which is the Grecian winnowing fan. To this stake are tied half a dozen horses, oxen, mules, and asses, indiscriminately, and harnessed abreast, or rather tied together by a rope round the neck. The corn being strewed all over the floor, the cattle are placed at the outer circumference, and driven round and round, their circle becoming smaller and smaller every time, by the rope’s coiling itself round the post, till they necessarily come to a halt in the centre. They are then turned round, each circuit then extending by the cord unwinding, till they again reach the edge of the pavement. In this manner the corn is ‘trodden out,’ and it may be remarked that the Greeks rigidly observe to the letter the scriptural injunction, ‘Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn.’—*Ibid.* p. 170.

In the chapter on finance, we light, very unexpectedly, upon a passage which conveys some curious illustrations of a matter which at this moment occupies, in our own country, the first

place in the public mind—an Income Tax. We must produce the passage entire. The *exemptions* are remarkable; and we trust Sir Robert Peel will take a hint from King Otho's financiers, and exempt us poor authors and editors from the operation of his tax.

‘ 3. TAX ON TRADES. — This tax (Φόρος τῶν Ὀικοδομῶν) was originally introduced by the decree of the provisional government, dated $\frac{1}{6}$ February, 1830; but on the arrival of the king it fell into disuse, and was no longer enforced. When his majesty, on assuming the reins of government, saw the necessity of imposing taxes for the purpose of defraying the expenses of the state, desirous as he was to divide the burden amongst his subjects as fairly as possible, this tax was revived, but met with so many impediments in its execution, and such opposition from the tradesmen, not so much to its principle as to the collecting of it, the many vexatious and arbitrary abuses to which it gave rise, that it was found necessary to modify it considerably before it could be said to work well.

‘ The royal decree, dated $\frac{6}{8}$ July, 1836, which appeared only as a provisional law, ordains that all individuals carrying on any trade or manufacture be subject to a tax of 5 per cent. on the gross profits of their business, after deducting only the rent of the premises on which it is carried on.

‘ Those exempted from this tax are the peasants, farmers, and all wholly engaged in agriculture; shepherds and keepers of flocks and herds; all the servants of the crown and public functionaries, as far as their public duties are concerned, whether they receive a regular salary or only precarious fees, such as midwives, authors, teachers of languages, or the arts and sciences, painters, sculptors, and engravers, and lastly, editors of newspapers.

‘ Every other person carrying on any trade or profession is bound to take out a certificate (Δίπλωμα), which is only available for the person named in it, and hence every partner in a concern must take out one separately, and a valuation of the profits being made of the whole partnership, the tax is levied on the share of each partner, whoever he may be. The certificate must be displayed in a conspicuous part of the workshop or other premises, and open to the inspection of any one who chooses. Those who carry on more than one trade receive a certificate for the principal business, but the others are mentioned in it specially and severally, and the tax is levied on the gross amount of all the trades together. The certificate is granted by the demarch of the commune, and must be written on stamped paper, to be paid for by the party in addition to the trade-tax.

‘ The finance officers, in conjunction with the administrative local authorities, are bound to make out lists of the individuals in their commune subject to the tax, which lists must be finished in the month of December for the ensuing year. They are to make the necessary inquiries as to the extent of the business of each person, in order to

make an assessment of their profits, and thus raise the tax. These lists must be laid before the municipal council by the finance-commissary, and a copy sent to the minister of finance. The municipal council has the privilege of examining into and deliberating on these lists, of making modifications, and of adding, deducting, or altering, according to their judgment.

‘ On the close of these examinations by the municipal council, legalized copies of the lists are to be affixed for public inspection in a conspicuous part of the town-hall, and the parties interested will then receive due notice of the amount for which they are assessed. If any body thinks himself aggrieved, and too highly rated, he is at liberty to state objections in writing to the governor of the province.

‘ A commission, consisting of the mayor of the commune, the local judge of the peace, and the governor of the province, is formed for the purpose of revising the lists, inquiring if the valuations have been properly made, and hearing the objections made by persons who consider themselves aggrieved. This commission decides on each case by a majority of votes. The revised lists are then sent to the different demarchs, who make out the certificates and hand them over to the receiver of the commune to draw the amount.

‘ The expense of raising the tax on trades, and of suing those in arrear, falls entirely on the communes, for which, however, they are allowed to deduct 20 per cent. commission: one tenth part of which sum is to be devoted to the local schools, the rest being applied for general municipal purposes.

‘ It is plain that this mode of levying the tax in question opened a door for innumerable abuses and vexatious overcharges. Many merchants, dealers, and shopkeepers, whose only capital was the credit they enjoyed, and whose profits were uncertain and dependent on the opinion their neighbours entertained of their resources, their capital, and their income, were exposed to the dangerous alternative of passively subjecting themselves to a heavier tax than their business yielded, or of proving, by their books and a public statement of their affairs, that they were justified in making objections—a course which must seriously affect their credit.

‘ This system threatened to give a death-blow to the very essence and spirit of all commercial affairs—*secrecy and credit*; and had it been persisted in, would have withered for ever the young tree of commerce but lately planted in the soil of Greece, where it required the most judicious management to enable it to take root, but where, under the attentive care of a fostering government, it promised shortly to make rapid shoots. But the country is still poor, and the capital small; the splendid resources of the soil, the climate, the industry and natural abilities of the inhabitants, are not yet developed and made available. Money is very scarce, and a good deal of foreign capital is embarked in commercial enterprises; most of the houses and ships being built with borrowed moneys, for which an enormous annual interest must be paid.

‘ These circumstances were not taken into consideration in framing the above law, which pressed very heavily upon a large class of the inhabitants. Besides the arbitrary method of assessing the mercantile and working classes, it opened a door to the exercise of malice and invidious feelings in the most covert and secret manner; for any one actuated by motives of revenge, jealousy, or wanton ill-nature, could wound his neighbour most severely in the dark, under pretence of giving his advice and knowledge of the affairs and business of the other, who had no means of remonstrating and proving the injustice of the assessment of his supposed profits, but by exposing the state of his affairs, and discovering to the world the secrets of his trade, his connexions, and means, which in every mercantile community are regarded as inviolably sacred, and ought to be touched by every government with the utmost delicacy.

‘ From the moment the imposition of this tax was bruited, I was convinced that such a system could never work well, and that it was a most dangerous experiment to make with a nation setting up, as it were, in business. I had several opportunities of expostulating on the subject with heads of departments, and particularly with the then minister of finance; but they could not at that time see the force of my arguments, or were perhaps unwilling to abandon a measure which, on paper, promised to yield a large revenue, and did not take into consideration the vexatious manner of raising it, nor the ill-will it was likely to create in the public mind.

‘ What I prognosticated was speedily realized. At Syra, Patras, Nauplia, Athens, and other commercial places of the kingdom, the opposition to the measure was universal, and disturbances, caused by the general discontent, broke out, which were only put down by the military. Petitions and deputations were sent to the king from all parts, and the condemnation of the measure was so unqualified that the government saw the impossibility of enforcing its execution, and were obliged to make concessions to the public feeling, and repeal the law.

‘ A fresh ordonnance, dated $\frac{4}{16}$ Nov. 1837, appeared at length, containing a modification of the trade-tax, in which the oppressive mode of levying it, which gave so much offence, was omitted, and in the room of 5 per cent. on the profits, a fixed amount was substituted. The other regulations remain the same.

‘ The following tables show the classification of trades, and the amount of taxation levied on each. The sums in table B are payable by the respective tradesmen in cities with a population of 5000 and upwards. Those in towns of from 3000 to 5000 souls pay 20 per cent. less; for those of towns from 1000 to 3000, the reduction from the first is 35 per cent.; and lastly, those with a population under 1000 pay 50 per cent. less than the amounts specified in the table. The sums mentioned in table A. are payable in all towns, whatever may be their population. The tax produced, in 1840, a revenue of 260,000 drs.

TABLE A.

Trade.	Annual Tax.	Trade.	Annual Tax.
	Drs.		Drs.
Bankers - - - -	375	Silk merchants - - -	75
Merchants - - - -	150	Commission merchants - -	75
Jewellers - - - -	100	Manufactured goods sellers -	75
Wholesale grocers - - -	100	Wholesale ironmongers -	60
Cotton merchants - - -	100	Linen merchants - - -	60
Wine merchants - - - -	100	Wholesale flour dealers -	50
Timber merchants - - -	100	— brandy merchants	50
Wholesale drapers - - -	100	— tobacco merchants	50
Oil merchants - - - -	75	— leather sellers -	50
Bill brokers - - - -	75	Horse dealers - - - -	40
Wool merchants - - - -	75	Ship builders - - - -	50
Dealers in cotton goods -	75		

TABLE B.

- ‘ 1st class (tax 75 drs. per ann.) Builders, lawyers, upholsterers, cloth-dealers, apothecaries.
- ‘ 2nd class (tax 50 drs.) Coffee-house keepers, with billiard-tables; retail wine dealers, hotel keepers, merchants with retail trade, hosiers, linen-drapers, tailors, &c.
- ‘ 3rd class (tax 40 drs.) Physicians and surgeons, retail venders of silk, cotton, and worsted, china dealers, &c.
- ‘ 4th class (tax 30 drs.) Grocers, booksellers, shoemakers, bakers, &c.
- ‘ 5th class (tax 20 drs.) Hat-makers, butchers, barbers, saddlers, &c.
- ‘ 6th class (tax 12 drs.) Coopers, coachmakers, carpenters, &c.
- ‘ 7th class (tax 10 drs.) Book-binders, locksmiths, stone-masons, glaziers, watchmakers, weavers, wheelwrights, &c.’—*Ibid.* pp. 201—205.

This is excellent. It is most striking to find precisely the same objections and arguments applied to such a tax in Greece, as we now hear in all our streets and market places. That the Greeks refused to submit to the tax on the ground of its inquisitorial character, is a most pregnant hint. We have yet to learn that the English are not likely to feel this objection as strongly as any other people that lives—as strongly as the Greeks.

From the tables at p. 250, it appears that the revenue of Greece has risen from 7,721,370 dollars in 1833, to 17,516,511 dollars in 1840; and the expenditure from 12,640,730 at the former date, to 16,696,741 at the latter. Of the revenue in 1840, not less than 10,404,441 dollars were derived from *direct* taxes. The same year was the first in which the revenue exceeded the expenditure. The collection of the revenue consumes one-tenth of the whole amount. The civil list has always been stationary at 1,000,000 dollars; the army expenditure was 5,073,586 dollars in 1840, which is little more than half the cost in 1834.

In passing through the chapter on Justice, we are much struck with the preponderance of the crimes against persons over those against property. The diminution of the proportion of the crimes against persons is one of the recognised tests of civilization; and in our own country such crimes are very few in comparison with those against property. In Greece, in 1838, the indictments before the civil tribunals for crimes against persons were 132; against property, 73; against both, 66; beside which, the courts-martial tried 51 crimes against persons, and 182 mixed crimes. There are 26 prisoners to 10 accusations, showing that crimes are seldom committed alone, but in company, the average being five persons to two crimes. Of the 504 accused persons, only 20 were females, or four per cent. Of 100 persons accused, only 40 were convicted; a very unsatisfactory result, but on which some light is thrown by the following passage in Mr. Mure's book, with which we are glad to enliven these naked facts. Travelling from Plataea to Eleusis, across Cithæron, the author rested at mid-day, at a khan on the road:

‘A fire was burning in the centre of the floor—around which were sitting several of the soldiers; and, stretched at full length on one side, was a man muffled up in his cloak, whom I at first supposed to be merely a traveller resting from his fatigues. Observing him, however, to groan and sigh, and to turn himself with difficulty in attempting to change his position, I asked if he was ill, and was informed that he had just been attacked by robbers at a few miles’ distance, on the road from Athens, plundered of what money he had about him, and so severely beaten that he had hardly strength to crawl up to the khan. It appeared that the poor fellow was a native of Thessaly, who had travelled to Athens in quest of service, where he had been so successful as to scrape together about thirty dollars, with which he was returning to his native country. The thieves, four or five in number, were described to be, as in the previous case of Tálanta, not regular brigands, but parties of shepherds or other rustics, who combined for an occasional exploit of the kind, on the roads in their immediate neighbourhood. They were unarmed, that is to say, carried no weapons but elubs, and the knives they habitually wear in their girdles, but which they do not generally use unless in cases of the last necessity. Hence, the Thessalian being a stout fellow, loth to part with his hard-earned treasure, and undaunted by the number of his assailants, had made a vigorous resistance; which was the cause of his being so severely handled. This was Nicóla’s report of the case, who acted as my interpreter on the occasion; and who, somewhat disconcerted at the evidence which now began to thicken around us, of the inaccuracy of his previous reports of the security of the roads, or at least of the failure of his own boasted powers of ascertaining their state in each district, was loud in his imprecations against ‘these rascally shepherds,’ (*questi birbanti di pastori*) as he called them, and whom he

described as a new class of Klephts that had sprung up since the period of his last tour. The whole evil he attributed to a law of the new Bavarian code, which he denounced as—*questa maledetta legge dei testimonj*, ‘this cursed law of witnesses.’ The law in question was simply that in usage among all civilized nations, that persons arrested on suspicion of crime should not be punished without competent evidence of their guilt. What may have been the practice under the old system I could not exactly ascertain.

‘There was, however, no doubt, some plausibility in Nicóla’s objections to the present system, which the guards and other travellers present heartily concurred with him in denouncing as both absurd and pernicious. The ancient Turco-Greek law of property, which seems to have established little more than what is praised in our own popular tradition, as

‘The good old rule, the simple plan,
That they should take who have the power,
And they should keep who can,’

was, perhaps, as well adapted to the circumstances and habits of the country as the more refined European practice. Travellers went well armed; prepared, where not too greatly outnumbered, to fight their own battle. If afraid of assault on their proposed line of march, they took a circuitous route, or put off their journey till a quieter period, or until they could muster a strong caravan or a good escort. The Klephts, under these circumstances, were by necessity declared brigands and outlaws, and were organized in bands which could only be dispersed or annihilated by the systematic employment of military force. To put an end to this evil, a law has been passed, and as far as possible enforced, rendering it illegal to carry arms without a licence—a privilege which, of course, should only be obtained by honest men; and as in Greece it is exceedingly difficult to distinguish between an honest man and a thief, the number of persons so qualified is but small. As, on the other hand, the predatory habits of the peasantry have been rather increased than diminished by the late political changes, they have been naturally led to turn the present state of things to account; and two or three country fellows, provided with knives and bludgeons, and possibly with a pistol concealed in the folds of their drapery, will attack and plunder small parties of travellers in an unfrequented pass, with little risk either of resistance or detection. Their booty, according to the usual mode of disposing of valuables in this country, is forthwith buried, or stuffed into the crevice of a rock. Assuming a criminal to be arrested and brought before the judge—as the native peasantry are all dressed very much alike, as the faces of the depredators are usually concealed or disfigured, and as the individuals concerned, are, perhaps, the only indwellers in the land for several miles around, how is it possible, as Nicóla and the rest of the company round the fire triumphantly asked, that there should be a witness? That one of a party should peach seemed to be considered as out of the question; doubtless, because the state of the Greek treasury does not admit of such a reward being offered as to make it worth while. The con-

sequence is, they further observed, that a rustic or two on such occasions are usually arrested on suspicion, and kept for a few weeks in gaol, while it is vainly attempted to collect evidence of their guilt. They are then set free ; and, fully impressed with the impossibility of a conviction in any future case of the same kind, return with renewed zeal and confidence to their old practices.'—*Mure*, vol. ii. pp. 2—5.

In the list of offences, some occur which sound strangely in our ears, but which are singularly illustrative of the state of society now existing in Greece. We note down some of them :

Insult to the person of the king - - - -	4
Tearing down government advertisements - - -	3
Insult towards the government - - - -	158
Insult to clergymen - - - -	1
Insult to corporations - - - -	26
Disturbing domestic peace - - - -	31
Taking the law into one's own hands - - -	216
Wounding in self-defence - - - -	292
Illegal detention of property - - - -	16
Illegal detention of persons - - - -	8
Spreading pestilential diseases - - - -	5
Slander - - - -	74
Damage caused by revealing secrets - - -	1
Refusal to do one's duty - - - -	1
Refusal to lend assistance - - - -	1
Quackery - - - -	1
Damage caused by inundation - - - -	6

The chapter on Religion does not seem to us very interesting, and we are not aware that it contains any *new* information. The missionaries are disposed of in a more summary fashion than we like :

' *Missionaries*.—There are several agents of British and American missionary societies established at Athens, Syra, Argos, and in other parts of Greece; but their labours are chiefly confined to distributing tracts and establishing schools, all attempts at proselytism being strictly prohibited by the laws.'—*Strong*, p. 367.

The American schools at Athens, under the superintendence of the Rev. J. Hill, are mentioned, passingly, with praise, by our author, in his chapter on Education; but here also we fail to discover any just notice of the arduous and encouraging educational labours of the missionaries; nor are the operations of the missionary press recognised. We are tempted to supply the deficiency by introducing some interesting passages which we have marked in the *American Missionary Herald*. But we must reserve our space to bring the reader more formally acquainted with Mr. Mure, to whose volumes we now turn.

The author of the *Journal of a Tour in Greece*, admits that

the announcement of a volume of Greek travels would seem to promise little more to the general reader than an addition to our already superabundant stock of treatises on a somewhat threadbare subject. It appears to us that much of that which now attracts the notice of the traveller in Greece, and strikes him as something new, or as the revival of something classical and old, has always been existent there, and might have been found if sought. But the traveller from Europe generally came into contact with the Turks for the first time in Greece; and their imposing and showy presence, and strange modes of life and action, absorbed his attention, or diverted it from the objects which are now seen without eclipse. Our author views these objects—scenes of life, manners, and circumstances, with a keen and instructed eye, and describes them with distinctness and effect.

But the real charm, the distinguishing merit, the newness of the work, lies in a matter which Mr. Mure's modesty leads him to undervalue in the comparison. This is, the wonderful familiarity with the ancient Greek writers, which keeps him in constant recognition of ancient manners and usages, or of the sources of ancient ideas or images. This is an operation of the same kind which has been applied with advantage and success to the illustration of the Bible from the analagous usages of the Eastern nations. We have ourselves always taken great pleasure in this mode of illustration, and its felicitous application by the ever ready learning of this highly-educated gentleman, enables him, not seldom, to throw a new and unexpected light upon many an obscure passage of the Greek poets. We shall gratify the reader with one or two specimens of a fine talent, finely and curiously applied.

The following passage supplies an interesting parallel between the domestic habits of the ancient and modern Greeks. It is part of a long and rather lively account which the author gives of his observations upon his native fellow lodgers, during a night spent in the khan of San Vlasio in Attica.

‘In participating in such scenes as that here described, one was led to moralize on the vicissitudes of human affairs, by which the representatives of the most refined and polished race of the ancient world had been reduced, by many centuries of political degradation, and the adoption of the filthy habits of the successive races of barbarians by whom they had been overrun, not only to a complete ignorance of everything that can be called domestic comfort, but to a state of squalid misery that places them nearly on a level with the brutes. A little further reflection, however, may suggest a doubt, whether it were fair to throw the whole blame of the present state of things upon either time or destiny, the Slavonian, the Arnaut, or the Turk; and how far these very habits be not, among the middle and lower classes at least,

an inheritance transmitted from the glorious days of their ancestors. I remember, indeed, to have heard a very learned friend on the other side of the channel, whose name occupies a high place in the annals of Hellenistic science, maintain, in talking over our respective travels in this country, that in spite of the exterior dazzle of art, science, and literature, shed over the age of Pericles, there is much reason to believe, that the domestic manners which give such offence to those used to the high standard of modern European civilization, were nearly the same then, among the class of society where they now prevail. To this extent I am not prepared to go; although, at first sight, there may appear something in favour of his view. I was indeed forcibly struck at the moment with the resemblance between the scene in this very khan, (besides others, which I afterwards witnessed in the private dwellings of the upper class of peasantry,) and the description given by Homer, in the *Odyssey*, of the routine of daily life in the cottage of Eumæus. While viewing by the dim light of the expiring embers, the architecture and furniture of the apartment, and the brawny limbs of my fellow-lodgers scattered in picturesque groups around the hearth—derogatory as it may be to the dignity of a Homeric hero—I could not help figuring to myself the evening circle in the cottage of the hospitable swineherd, comprising, besides himself and his landlords old and young, four or five of his own subalterns, as presenting about the same hour of night a very similar aspect. The dwelling of the chief of one of the most important branches of the rural economy of the wealthy king, must have been, as in fact it is said to be, one of the best habitations of its class. Yet its interior seems to have been very little better fitted up than the khan of San Vlasio. Both Ulysses and Telemachus are welcomed to the place of honour on the hearth, the same on which their victuals are afterwards prepared. They are here accommodated, squatting, there can be little doubt, à la Turque, with rush mats and shaggy goat-skins, which were spread on the bare ground, as we are informed, for their more honourable reception; and on which, after the repast, and the ensuing conversation give place to repose, they are stretched for the night, surrounded by the inferior members of the establishment. This, we are also told, was considered by Ulysses as most excellent entertainment. The following lines will still apply to the best accommodation a Greek peasant can offer a stranger, to whom he is especially anxious to do honour:—

‘ Within the hut the godlike swineherd leads
His unknown lord; a carpet thick of reeds
Upon the earth he strews; above, the hide
Of shaggy goat his guest a seat supplied.
Pleased with his vassal’s hospitable care,
The king with joy accepts the proffer’d fare.’—*Odys.* xiv. 48.

And on retiring to rest:—

‘ Beside the cottage fire the hero’s bed,
With sheep and goat skins, warm and soft he spread;
In tranquil sleep the king forgets his woes,
And by his side four rustic swains repose.’—*Odys.* xiv. 518:

Telemachus, on his arrival, is welcomed with the same comforts, a rush mat and goat-skin, by the side of the hearth.*

The following affecting description of the careless slovenly habits into which the old King Laertes had relapsed, in the retirement of his farm, when oppressed with age and grief for the loss of his son, proves these manners to have been universal among all but the more refined and luxurious classes :—

‘ No downy bed supplies his resting-place,
 No costly rugs his lowly pallet grace;
 Abroad, in summer, careless he reclines,
 On the dry leaves among the blooming vines;
 But when rude winter chills the midnight air,
 Within the house for shelter he'll repair;
 There with his rustic hinds in poor attire,
 He slumbers in the dust beside the fire.’—*Odys.* xi. 188, *seq.*

Another point of resemblance is worthy of remark. Homer, in making his heroes rise from their beds in their own more luxurious dwellings, seldom fails to describe their toilet, enumerating every leading portion of their apparel. In the hut of Eumæus, in a similar case, we are only informed that they *put on their shoes*, an article of attire which, as appears from the same passages, it was not customary for persons of the rank of Eumæus to wear at all within doors. Thus, when Telemachus sends the swineherd to the city, it is said, that before setting out ‘ he bound his sandals on his feet.’† This was in the middle of the day; and the next morning, when the young hero rises early, to proceed himself in the same direction, we are merely told that he ‘ drew his sandals on his feet, and took his spear in his hand.’‡ No mention here occurs, as on most other similar occasions, of the rest of his clothes; and naturally enough, for he had slept in them, as his worthy host and his domestics were in the habit of doing all the year round. But his shoes he had pulled off, according to the same custom which now prevails, and doubtless for the same reason. The first and only change of raiment with a Greek traveller of the present day, on accommodating himself in his night’s quarters, is to take off his shoes, or rather slippers, which are laid aside until required on resuming his journey. This is in some degree necessary, for the more convenient tucking up of the feet under the hams, and to prevent the upper garments, in such a posture, from being defiled more than necessary by the mud or filth contracted on the road; and the foreground of the picture, in such a circle as that above described, consists of the ponderous bare toes and heels of the squatters, projecting from their woollen socks, or rather gaiters, which are usually in rags, and even when entire, are seldom so fashioned as to cover more than one half of the foot. The practice was common, in Homer’s time, to both gods and men. Minerva and Mercury, setting out on their journeys from the palace of Olympus, are both described as putting on their shoes.§ For the same reason the ancients, in their more civil-

* *Odys.* xvi. 47.

† *Ibid.* xvii. 2.

‡ *Ibid.* xvi. 154.

§ *Ibid.* i. 96; v. 44.

ized ages, took off their shoes at meals, after the fashion of reclining on such occasions became prevalent.*

The dwellings of the upper class, indeed, in the heroic age, as well as their own state of domestic refinement, were on a vastly superior scale to that exemplified in the hut of Eumæus. Their palaces, though of primitive plan and structure, were commodious, or even splendid. They used both beds, chairs,† and tables; and attached the greatest importance to regular ablution, and other essential observations of personal cleanliness. Still, however, there are some curious points of analogy between the internal arrangement and economy of their mansions, and of the swineherd's hut, or the modern khan. The want of a proper vent for the smoke in these cottages causes much importance to be attached to the use of dry firewood; that is, not merely well-seasoned, as we should require it, but so completely arid as to be on the point of rotting; and Nicóla used to call the khanjees severely to account when they failed in providing it. Fuel, when thus prepared, especially if from the olive or pine tree, emits in fact little or no smoke. Hence, in Homer, the marked emphasis laid on the same precaution of using *perfectly arid* fire logs.‡ Although no mention occurs of a chimney in the poet's description of his hero's palace halls, we shall assume that they had one, similar, probably, to that described by Herodotus in the residence of the king of Macedon; a hole, namely, in the roof, above the hearth, through which the sun shone on the floor of the apartment.§ The hearth, as in the modern khan, was in the centre of the floor,|| so that the smoke or vapour from the fire curled round the roof before it escaped through the aperture. Hence we find the epithet smoky, or black with smoke,¶ familiarly applied to the roof and joists of the saloon, while the arms hung around the walls are described as blackened with smoke.** Hesiod also talks of hanging up his rudder for the winter in the smoke.†† In the *Odyssey* cleft wood is also used to give light—a purpose for which, when selected and prepared in the mode above described, it is not ill adapted. Three tripods, covered with chips of the driest and best-seasoned wood, were stationed in different parts of the hall, when the suitors rose to dance.‡‡ The wood here used was probably olive or daphne, which, with a bright flame, emits but little smoke or vapour; yet that little must have ranged freely through the apartment before it reached the vent.—*Mure*, vol. ii. pp. 16—21.

* Lucian; Herodot. 5; Terent., *Heaut.*: Act i. 72.

† Yet in their festivals celebrated out of doors, they seem to have followed the more primitive fashion. At the banquet in honour of Neptune, *Odys.* iii. 38, Nestor and his court sat upon soft rugs on the sands:—*κώσιν ἐν μαλακοῖσιν ἐπὶ ψαμάθοις ἀλίγησι.*

‡ *ἔλα κάκκανα—αὐὰ πάλαι—περίκηλα—δανὰ.*

§ Herodot. viii. 137.

|| Hom. *Hymn. Ven.* 30. Orph. *Hymn.* lxxxiv.

¶ *αἰθαλόεις.* II. ii. 415. *Odys.* xxii. 240.

** *Odys.* xvi. 288.

†† Op. et. D. 629.

‡‡ *Odys.* xix. 63.

We are much struck by the reason which our learned traveller discovers for the abstinence from fish during Lent, which the Greek church prescribes, while it is allowed to the Roman Catholics.

‘Trifling as may be the influence of genuine Christianity on the population of this country, whether laity or clergy, yet the superstitious veneration for the letter of their own church discipline is certainly one of the most prominent features of their character. This is a consequence no doubt, in part, of the centuries of persecution and contempt to which their worship and its ordinances have been exposed, and which, by a very natural reaction, tend to attach the minds of men the more strongly to habits, of little or no value in themselves, and likely, if left unmolested, speedily to become extinct. The clergy, certainly a most degraded class, are personally objects of no esteem whatever; yet in their spiritual capacity, each village papa or beggarly monk is as infallible as the pope in the Vatican. The same man who would, without remorse, cut the throat of a passenger for the sake of a few dollars, would not dare to spend an obolus of his ill-gotten gain during Lent, on any more substantial food than bread, garlic, or dried olives. Dispensations from the rigour of this observance, on account of health or other reasonable causes, are unusual, and far less easily obtained than in the Roman church; and instances are not uncommon of delicate persons sacrificing their lives to this absurd article of their religious discipline. Even fish, which with the Catholics is exempted from the general interdict against animal food, is here little less strictly forbidden than beef or mutton.

‘Herein may also perhaps be discovered a remnant of ancient manners. The partiality of the Greeks, during their best ages, for fish as an article of subsistence, is evinced by the whole tenour of that portion of their extant literature which bears allusion to their domestic habits; and several kinds of fish bore the palm among the ancient epicures over every other class of delicacy. In these maritime countries it was also as common, as it was a popular food, and seems to have been to the population at large very much what butcher meat is to us. Hence it was, as we learn from the most profound gastronome of antiquity,* that the term *opson*, or *opsarion*—literally, any species of seasoning to the bread or vegetables that formed the ordinary diet of the middle and lower class, and which, with the ancient epic writers, signifies flesh meat—came, in the familiar usage of later times, to be exclusively applied to fish. It was, therefore, the more natural that the Greeks, in establishing their rules of fasting, should class this article of diet, like animal food, under the head of luxuries or solids, rather than of abstemious living.’—*Ibid.* p. 240, 241.

We are concerned at being unable to appropriate more of these curious illustrations with which Mr. Mure’s book abounds, and which form its distinguishing characteristic. As such we have

* Athen. lib. vii. c. i. § 4, conf. Aristoph. *Equit.* 649, 816, &c.

confined our notice to them, But the work is by no means without other merits. It has a fair proportion of well-told adventure and incident, and some graphic descriptions of things and people. The descriptions of sites and monuments are remarkably clear; and here and there the reader lights upon a disquisition on ancient history, art, or literature, or on 'the reasons of things,' which is never dull, often informing, and always bears that unmistakable stamp which only the reflective and educated mind can impart to the objects of its notice. We do not often meet with volumes more full of matter.

Art. III. *Ueber das Geschicht-liche in Niebelungslid.* (On the Historical Point of the *Nibelungs Song.*) By Gottling. A new edition. Rudalstadt. 1838.

THIS epic poem forms the earliest monument of German national literature, and evinces great and vivid imaginative powers. The name is derived from an ancient and powerful Burgundian tribe, whose tragical fate is related in the poem as being caused by the passion of two princely couples, the one Siegfried, son of King Sigismund, of Sauten, on the Rhine, and Chriemhild, sister to Günther, King of Burgundy; the other Günther, and Brunhildis, a heroine of the fabulous North, who is resolved to yield her hand only to him who vanquishes her in single combat. Siegfried loves Chriemhild, and his love is returned; but her brother Günther gives his consent to their union only on the condition that Siegfried should assist him in vanquishing Brunhildis, of whom he is enamoured. Siegfried effects the victory by means of his magic cap, which renders him invisible, and wrests from the heroine her ring and girdle, the talisman of her strength, and yields her to his friend Günther. This forms the first part of the poem.

The *Nibelungen klage* (lament) begins with the revengeful feelings of Brunhildis, when she discovers her ring and girdle, as trophies, in the hands of Siegfried, whom she causes to be assassinated by Hagen of Torenge, with the privity of Günther. Siegfried's wife, Chriemhild, then plans a revenge upon the whole tribe, gives her hand to a heathen, Etzel, (Attila!) King of the Huns, who invites the whole of the Burgundian tribe to his court, when a dreadful conflict ensues, which ends in the annihilation of both parties, with the exception of Hagen and Günther, who are taken prisoners by Dietrich, of Bern, and put to death by the hands of Chriemhild herself.

The metrical form of the poem is the strophe of four iambic

and trochaic lines in rhymed couplets, and admitting of the chief accent being put in six different places, also with spondaic, anapestic, and dactylic rhythm of a female cæsura in the middle. The scene is laid on the Rhine, and the frontiers of Austria and Hungary, about 430, A.D.

Let us now try to investigate, critically, the origin of the poem, and the facts related in it.

The saying of the *Niebelungen*, of *Siegfried* and *Chriemhild* is one of the earliest traditions of the Teutonic stock, originating in the East, and recast in various forms ever since the great emigration of nations. Some of the leading features, however, belong to the earliest history of the human race, in which we easily recognise the fables of Jason, Perseus, Rustan, and even Tristan. The *Niebelungen* will therefore always remain the grand monument of the earliest national literature among the Germans.

In one of the oldest Edda-lays and Sagas of the North, the Epos of *Niebelungen* is still tinctured with mythological colours, by giving to the heroes a superhuman origin, and allowing the direct interference of the gods in their adventures, in the same manner as in the Homeric Epos. The prosaic recast of those lays in the *Volsunga Saga* contains the first part of the tradition of Ragnar Lodbrock (about 750), the son-in-law of Siegfried. *Nornagest*, a Scald and favourite of the *Nornas* (the Fates in the Northern mythology), related in song, at the age of three hundred years, to Olaf Tryggvason, King of Norway (d. 1000), the adventures of Siegfried and the *Niebelungen*, of which he was an eye-witness. Olaf, the saint (d. 1030), successor of Tryggvason, had a lay composed by the Scald (poet) Torfin, of Siegfried's fight with the Dragon, taken from a picture. A similar poem on the same subject was composed by the famous Scald, *Thidolf*, at the order of Herald Hardradi (d. 1066), King of Norway, both of which poems are still extant, and prove the remote age of the simple Edda-lays. These latter, together with their mythologies, have been preserved in Iceland by the early colonization of the Norwegians, where they had preserved their ancient liberty, gods, constitution, laws, manners, language, lays, traditions, and history, until civilization, the result of their embracing Christianity in the year 1000, had taught them to record those ancient monuments more in remembrance of ancestral ignorance than greatness.

National songs, concerning the exploits of Siegfried and the *Niebelungen*, (with the omission of the mythological allusions,) were still current among the people in Denmark as late as the seventeenth century, while in Iceland they are still sung and even danced to, at nuptial festivals.

About the middle of the thirteenth century, these heroic traditions intermixed with the Saxon and other Northern German lays of more recent date appeared in the great prosaic *Wilkin*a and *Niflunga Saga*, as may be seen from the song composed by a Saxon singer about 1130, wherein he conveys an analogous warning to *Knud*, Duke of Sleswig, by the recital of the treacherous invitation given by *Chriemhild* to her brothers.

In Germany, only the history of *Siegfried* has retained the stamp of a national character, though remoulded in various prosaic forms. There are still manuscript extracts and fragments of the original songs of the *Niebelungen*, forming the second part of the history of *Siegfried*, the revenge of his death by *Chriemhild*.

The heroes of these songs were already current in the mouths of the people and their poets at the time of the emigration of those nations whose historical adventures became linked with those early and fabulous records, first in the case of the famous King of the Huns, called the scourge of God, and afterwards in the downfall of the Burgundian dynasty, represented in that of the *Niebelungen*. At the court of *Attila*, two singers (in imitation of *Werb*el and *Schwemmel*, in the lay of the *Niebelungen*) are said to have sung the deeds of the king and his heroes at the royal table, where the chiefs of the Huns, Goths, and other German tribes were assembled. Thus the original features of the tradition were kept alive even amidst the changed condition and civilization of the German tribes, after they had settled on Roman territory.

Charlemagne, the earliest powerful Christian king, was the first who caused a collection to be made of those old German lays, which his son, *Louis the Pious*, was averse from reading, and which were quoted, as authority, by *Fulko*, Archbishop of Rheims, in 885, against the pretensions of King *Arnulf*. The last lays collected by *Charlemagne* may be considered as a scanty fragment of the old northern *Saga* of the far-travelled earl (*Farl*). The still existing fragment of the lay of *Hildebrand*, in alliteration verses, and in connexion with that of the *Niebelungen*, may serve as a specimen of the Carolingian collection, which was no doubt similar to that of the *Edda*-lays.

As *Charlemagne*, in his expedition against the *Avari*, had renewed (but in an inverse ratio) the emigration of nations up the Rhine and down the Danube, as far as the *Leita*, in like manner, subsequently have the heroes under the Saxon emperors, and more especially under *Otto the Great*, brought about the same event by their victory, in 955, over the *Ugri* (Hungarians), who have been ever since excluded from Germany. Even History is apt to confound the *Ugri* and the *Avari* with the ancient *Huns*, whose savage disposition was the only resembling feature among

them, while the similarity of events and heroic deeds has greatly contributed to recall from oblivion the advantages of the ancient Niebelungen, and interweave some of the particulars in the passing events of the more modern heroic race of Saxony. The poem usually annexed to the lay of the Niebelungen, and treating of their death, burial, and the sending home of their weapons, is an elegy, in which we are told that the then Bishop Pilgerin, of Passau (d. 991), had it from the accounts given by Schwemmel, and other oral reports of eye-witnesses, that the battle of the Niebelungen took place in Hungary, 'the greatest event that ever happened in history, and of which old and young are singing,' and which event the said bishop caused to be written down by his secretary (chancellor), *Konrad*, in honour of his nephews, the fallen kings of Burgundy.

This work of Bishop Pilgerin was composed in Latin, (as were, in fact, all similar works at that time, and more especially the Epos,) and is closely connected with that of the Niebelungen, treating of the exploits of *Walther* under *Attila*, against the heroes of Worms, and composed by the monk Eckhard I. of St. Gall (d. 973) in Latin hexameter. This last poem has been remoulded in the eleventh century by the monks of the cloister Novalesse, at Mount Cenis, into a legend from the time of Charlemagne, and in the thirteenth century by Bishop Boguphal, of Posen (d. 1253), into a polish tradition, all in Latin.

The Niebelungs-lay was thus not only a sort of historical peg, on which valiant deeds of all ages were attached, but may even be considered as the means which spurred on the noble races of Germany to those chivalric performances for which the middle ages are so celebrated, especially under the Hohenstauffen, when a more extended intercourse had begun with the Roman and Eastern nations, and the first impulse was given to Christian chivalry. It was also under the latter dynasty that the Niebelungs-song received the true and genuine stamp of German poetry, by the genius of the noble and excellent minstrel, *Volker*, at once a valiant knight and a great poet.

From that time the Niebelungen has become the genuine national Epos of Germany. The original tradition has first undergone various alterations, additions, and a more polished recast in 1228, testifying the good taste and cultivated mind of the age, while, until the sixteenth century, none of the transcribed copies are free from emendations and alterations of some sort or other. Notwithstanding the many MSS. of that poem, (there are eighteen as far back as the thirteenth century,) the work has never been popular enough to excite the interest of the masses, and its perusal has in consequence always been confined to a small circle of select minds who never ceased

to possess themselves of elegant MS. copies, and even caused them to be made on purpose, despite the facilities afforded by the press. Even the Emperor Maximilian I. caused an elegant transcription to be made of the Niebelungen (in 1517), and had it deposited in his library at Ambras, in Tyrol. Until the middle of the last century, however, nothing definitive was known of that poem, save a few unsatisfactory accounts given by the Austrian and Bavarian historians; and it was only in 1757 that Bodmer first discovered it, and published from a MS. a recast of the last part of the Niebelungen and the annexed elegy, which Christopher Müller, of Berlin, re-edited in 1782, adding, at the same time, to it the first part, though he did not say from what MS. The great historian, John von Müller, characterized the Epos as containing the greatest exploits of the German nation; so did Goethe, who read it in 1807, before a select circle, from a MS., to inspire the young generation with patriotic enthusiasm at the time when the modern French Attila held Europe in servile subjection. From 1816, the poem has appeared from the press in various forms, both prose and verse, and has drawn the attention of the artist and the scientific historian.

With regard to the pictorial illustrations of the Niebelungen, there has been no lack of traditional ones. According to the Edda-songs, even Chriemhild had worked in tapestry the battle of Siegmund (father of Siegfried), and Brunhild, Siegfried's fight with the Dragon, while Ólaf the Saint, King of Norway (as we have mentioned above), had had a poem composed from that illustration. As late as 1690, several representations of that fight were still seen in the public institutions at Worms. In the Niebelungen itself, the beautiful figure of Siegfried is frequently spoken of, and reference is made to his picture on parchment. Such, in a diminutive style, are seen in the painted initials of the MS. of St. Gall. Of late years, Count Racjynski has amply and classically illustrated that Epos in the second part of his 'Historical Art of Modern Germany.'

- Art. IV. 1. *Histoire de la Réformation du Seizième Siècle.* Par J. H. Merle D'Aubigné. Tome II. III. Paris : Didot.
2. *History of the Reformation of the Sixteenth Century, in Germany, Switzerland, &c.* By J. H. Merle D'Aubigné. 8vo. Vols. II. III. London : Walther, 1840, 1841.
3. *D'Aubigné's History of the Reformation in the Sixteenth Century.* Translated from the French by Walter K. Kelly, Esq., B.A., of Trinity College, Dublin. Parts I. II. III. London : Whittaker and Co., 1841, 1842. (Popular Library Edition of Modern Authors.)
4. *History of the Reformation in the Sixteenth Century.* By J. H. Merle D'Aubigné. Translated by David Dundas Scott, Esq. With Notes from the Netherlands Edition of the Rev. J. J. Le Roy, of the Dutch Reformed Church. Illustrated with Portraits. Parts I.—XII. 8vo. Glasgow and Edinburgh : Blackie and Son.

It was once said, in reference to the numerous English versions of Goethe's Faust, that authors seemed 'as intent upon translating that work as if their salvation depended on it.*' The now celebrated work of M. D'Aubigné has found translators almost, if not quite, as numerous. No less than three distinct versions are already before the public, and competing for its favour; and how many more there may be, no mere mortal wisdom can presume to predict. If so many translations constitute a strong presumption of the excellence of the original, they prove as strongly either the enterprise or the folly of our publishers and authors.

Before proceeding to canvass the merits of M. D'Aubigné's new volumes, we cannot refrain from saying a few words on the character of the three translations. We deem ourselves bound to do this, in justice to the first able translation, the author of which has, in our opinion, equitable reason to complain of the hot competition to which his successors have subjected him. 'He has laboured, and they have entered into his labour.'—But lest this charge should appear to imply more than we intend by it, we will explain ourselves at full length.

That any man, or any number of men, five hundred if they please, have a legal right to translate M. D'Aubigné's work into English, there can be no doubt. But we very much doubt, whether, when a man has, with much personal labour, and at his own proper risk, created an interest in a foreign work, and in fact made a market for it, any other man has a *moral* right to step in and avail himself of that public interest which, perhaps, his own attempt would not have secured, or which he did not excite, to undersell his brother of the quill, before the experiment which is

* British and Foreign Review, 1835.

to decide whether he shall reap a fair remuneration of his labour and enterprize or not has been fairly made.

It must be a strong reason, according to our notions, which can reconcile such a proceeding to equity. Such a reason may be furnished when it can be shown either that the first translation is grossly inaccurate, or that it is extravagantly dear, so that another version *equally good*—not one which would be dear at any price—might be fairly offered to the public at a much less cost; or, lastly, that the second translation possesses new and valuable matter, or other claims to attention, of which the first is destitute. This last reason applies to a considerable extent, at least, to the Scotch edition, mentioned as the third in the list at the head of this article. Mr. Kelly's is destitute of any such justification; and to superior intrinsic excellence it assuredly cannot make any pretension.

To us, it always appears a pity when several different translations of the same foreign work are simultaneously offered to the public. First, because the treasures of foreign literature, which are still locked up in an unknown tongue, are amply sufficient to employ the very moderate capital and industry which either publishers or authors are disposed to expend on this department of letters, without any necessity for collision of interests; while the public would assuredly be a gainer by the uniform adoption of fair play. Instead of three or four different translations of the *same* work, we should, in all probability, have almost as many different works. Sometimes, indeed, a little clashing cannot be avoided, as where two authors, ignorant of each other's intention, have fixed on the same work, and have made considerable progress towards its completion before the design of either is known to the other. But this cannot apply to the deliberate preparation of new translations after one is already in the field. In this case nothing but one or other of the reasons already assigned will, in our judgment, justify such a proceeding.

We are perfectly aware, of course, that this is a matter, the adjustment of which it is equally impossible and undesirable should be dependent on anything but the good feeling of the publishing community itself. As already said, it is not a question of law but of equity. Nor are we without hope that, as honesty is the best policy, so publishers and translators will, in time, see that they gain more in the long run, by a respectful regard to each other's interests, than by reckless and desperate competition.

If some bookseller or author of singular patriotism should say, 'But is it not intolerable that the public should be compelled to buy books dear when they might have them cheap?' we reply, first, if you are actuated solely or chiefly by regard to the public, you are the first author or bookseller that ever was so actuated;

and even if it be so, the less you say about it the better, for no one will believe you. Secondly, that this reason for a second version, is, as we have already said, a good one, if the first be inordinately dear, and its author be unwilling to publish a cheaper edition. We think, however, that in equity, he ought to be applied to, to know whether he be willing to do this; if not, we should certainly hold any publisher blameless who published another. We know not whether this was done in the case of the first translator of M. D'Aubigné's work. If so, our objections, of course, are at an end, so far as he is concerned. We are perfectly aware that we are here propounding maxims of trade which would sound very odd in the great book-marts, but that shall not deter us from discharging what we think our duty. It is perhaps unnecessary to add, that we are personally unacquainted with any of the translators of M. D'Aubigné, and that we have spoken only what our judgment and feeling prompted as to what is due in all fairness to enterprise and industry, as well as expedient for the interests of literature.

Of the three translations before us, we prefer the earliest. It is not at all times literal enough to please us. It is, however, almost uniformly spirited and elegant; and it may be said, perhaps, that if the sense be truly rendered, spirit and elegance are of much more importance than literality. This we, of course, admit; nor are we pleading for such a servile adherence to the original as would exclude those qualities. All that we mean is, that where equal spirit and elegance may be attained by a close translation, a close translation is far preferable to a free one. It is more truly a *translation*; it gives a more faithful picture of the original; it enables us better to comprehend the mind and spirit of the author. The great problem in translation is to determine how these different claims may be best reconciled, so as to secure the greatest possible degree of closeness in the translation with the requisite degree of ease and freedom, and the due preservation of the idioms of the language which is selected as the vehicle of interpretation. Now, elegant and spirited as the first translation is, and accurate too, so far as the meaning goes, we think that there has often been an unnecessary deviation from the letter of the original, where a literal translation would have been just as elegant and easy. Mr. Kelly's translation is far less elegant, but is certainly more literal; marred however by many minute inaccuracies, which, considering that he had the earlier translation before him, must be accounted perfectly unpardonable. But it is not without considerable merit, and must assuredly be adjudged a cheap pennyworth. To the subject of its inaccuracies we shall return presently. Mr. Scott's translation is less elegant than the first, though nearly as literal as the second; the sense, however, is

accurately preserved, though in many sentences with a degree of amplification which almost turns the translator into the paraphrast. Take, for example, the two opening sentences, 'Le monde affaibli chancelait sur ses bases quand le christianisme parut. Les religions nationales, qui avaient suffi aux pères, ne satisfaisaient plus les enfants. La nouvelle génération ne pouvait plus se caser dans les anciennes formes.' These sentences may be translated with almost equal elegance and literality thus: 'The enfeebled world was tottering on its foundations when Christianity appeared. The national religions which had sufficed for the fathers, no longer satisfied the children. The new generation could no longer adapt itself to the ancient forms.' Mr. Scott adds to the first sentence three needless words, mere expletives, and then impairs the vivacity of the two next, by fusing them into one. Thus: 'The enfeebled world was tottering on its foundations when Christianity appeared *upon the scene. It found* the then existing generation dissatisfied with national religions which had contented its sires, and *struggling* to disengage itself from forms *which had become irksome to it.*' Yet we are free to acknowledge that we have observed far less of this circumlocution and redundancy in subsequent portions of the work, although we have still to complain that the antithetical force of many of the concise sentences of the original is impaired by what we cannot but think the injudicious practice of breaking them up, changing the construction, and throwing them into one period.

It will be seen that we hold all the translations to possess considerable merit, although, upon the whole, we decidedly prefer the first and third, and of these last, award the palm to the former. In order to allow our readers some means of judging of the justice of our remarks, we will give a brief paragraph, taken at random from the original, and append to it the respective translations. Speaking of the effects of the 'Indulgences,' M. D'Aubigné remarks—

'La doctrine et le débit des indulgences provoquaient puissamment au mal un peuple ignorant. Il est vrai que, selon l'église, les indulgences ne pouvaient être utiles qu'à ceux qui promettaient de se corriger et qui tenaient leur parole. Mais qu'attendres d'une doctrine inventée en vue du profit qu'on espérait en retirer. Les vendeurs d'indulgences étaient naturellement ténés afin de mieux débiter leur marchandise, de présenter la chose au peuple de la manière la plus propre à l'attirer et à le séduire. Les savants eux mêmes ne comprenaient pas trop cette doctrine. Tout ce que la multitude y voyait, c'est que les indulgences permettaient de pécher; et les marchands ne s'empresaient pas de dissiper une erreur si favorable à la vente.'—Tom. prem. p. 69. Genève. 1838.

'The proclamation and sale of indulgences powerfully stimulated an ignorant people to immorality. It is true that, according to the church, they could benefit those only who made and kept a promise of amendment. But what could be expected from a doctrine invented with a view to the profit to be gained from it? The vendors of indulgences were naturally tempted to further the sale of their merchandise by presenting them to the people under the most attractive and seducing aspect; even the better instructed did not fully comprehend the doctrine in respect to them. All that the multitude saw in them was a permission to sin; and the sellers were in no haste to remove an impression so favourable to the sale.'—FIRST TRANSLATION.

'The doctrine and the sale of indulgences were to an ignorant people a vehement provocation to evil. It is true that according to the church, indulgences could only prove of use to those who promised to amend their lives, and who kept their word. But what was to be hoped from a doctrine invented with a view to the profit expected from it? The sellers of indulgences were naturally tempted, for the sake of passing off their wares, to present the matter to the people in the most attractive and alluring guise. The learned themselves were hardly masters of this doctrine. All that the multitude could make of it was, that indulgences gave permission to sin; and the sellers were in no haste to refute an error so favourable to their trade.'—KELLY'S TRANSLATION.

'An ignorant populace was powerfully stimulated to evil by the doctrine and the sale of indulgences; for albeit it was true that according to the church indulgences could benefit such only as promised amendment and kept their word, what could be looked for from a doctrine purposely invented with an eye to the money it was to produce? The indulgence-mongers were naturally tempted, the better to promote the sale of their wares, to represent the matter to the people in the manner best fitted to attract attention and seduce them to buy. The learned themselves did not very well comprehend this doctrine; and as for the multitude, all that they saw was, that the indulgences permitted them to sin; while, as for the vendors, they were by no means urgent in dissipating an error so favourable to their trade.'—SCOTT'S TRANSLATION.

That Mr. Kelly's cheap translation has brought D'Aubigné's work within the reach of many readers who otherwise might never have seen it, must be acknowledged. That it has also considerable merit, we cheerfully admit. Still, as already intimated, it is disfigured by many minor inaccuracies, and by some gross blunders, which, considering that he had a previous translation at his elbow, and that he doubtless did not wholly disdain to consult it in difficult cases, are altogether inexcusable. They may, perhaps, have resulted from the haste with which the work was got up, and that the price offered for the cheap market was not such as to pay for a long and close revision. If so, this only proves the inexpediency

as well as unfairness of reckless competition. It is quite open to any man to undersell his neighbours 'goods,' if that neighbour will not sell them equally cheap; but then the 'goods' ought to be equally genuine; he has no business to put chickory-root in his coffee, or sand in his sugar, or water into his tobacco, or sloe-leaves into his tea. In part ii, p. 184, we find Mr. Kelly saying 'There remained for *him*,' &c. '*He* had yet,' &c. instead of 'It,' that is, 'the Word;' so that 'Luther' is absurdly represented as reigning in the church, &c. The French 'justice' is perpetually translated 'justice' instead of 'righteousness,' see p. 199; in p. 196, we have 'se ipse,' instead of 'se ipso,' in a note; p. 196, 'the reform cause' instead of the 'cause of the Reformation.' The misprints in the German are perpetual, seeming to indicate a very moderate acquaintance with that language. Thus, page 208, 'Schoen' has a capital, as if it were a noun; the dots over words, as 'Hüss' are sometimes inserted and sometimes omitted; in p. 80, we have 'schelt' for 'schilt,' and p. 81, 'löcherlichen' for 'löcherichen,' &c. In pp. 41, 2, we also find 'Æcolampadius' written three times 'Æcolampade.'

Mr. Scott's translation may be considered as occupying, in some respects, new ground. It contains some additional matter in the shape of notes from the Netherlands Edition of the Rev. J. J. Le Roy, and is embellished with some excellent portraits.

Though we cannot form a different opinion of the inexpediency of publishing so many translations of the same work, or of its unfairness to him whose enterprise first occupied the field, we shall be happy to find that all the translations have met with a sale sufficiently large to repay the industry and justify the outlay of the respective authors and publishers.

We shall now proceed to make a few observations on the recent volumes of the work itself. We cite from the first translation. No more than two volumes of the original have as yet appeared in Mr. Scott's version. Of the first translation we are happy to be able to speak in terms of warm commendation. It is faithful, spirited, and elegant. Proverbial as is the damage which great works suffer in translation, there are, we apprehend, few which have lost so little in the process as that now before us.

M. D'Aubigné has almost all the characteristics necessary to constitute a truly great historian. With a fine imagination, he conjoins the more solid endowment of a discriminating judgment, while he adds to both (rare conjunction!) the faculty for minute and laborious investigation of all the voluminous sources of history, whether in print or manuscript. With the capacity of dry research, and dull drudgery in the collection of his materials, he unites an almost unparalleled felicity in selecting just those which may, with most effect, be introduced into his work; and,

in truth, nearly half its charm, more than half its vivacity, is to be attributed to the art with which he extracts from familiar letters and other documents, single sentences embodying characteristic traits, or pungent sayings or amusing anecdotes, and by which the subjects of his history are continually exhibited before us to the very life; acting and speaking, as it were, for themselves. This is an enviable art, and tends more than anything else to obviate that monotonous uniformity which too often characterizes the page of history, when the historian will persist in telling everything in his own proper person. However lively may be his imagination, he will, in many cases, never be able to present so vivid a picture either of characters or events, as when he permits historic personages to speak for themselves. Strong as may be his interest in the scenes he describes, it can never be so strong as was that of those who struggled and suffered in them, and their intensity and vivacity of expression will be proportionably greater than his. In addition to all which, we must recollect that as each person of the drama speaks in his own character, we acquire a much more clear and discriminating idea of each than we could gain by the mere descriptions of the historian. History, as written by authors like M. D'Aubigné, differs almost as much from history as it is too generally written, as dramatic from descriptive poetry.

Nor do our author's qualifications end here; he is generally as capable of taking large and comprehensive views as of entering into minute details. Indeed, he not seldom makes the latter faculty happily subservient to the former: another great art in historic composition. Great general truths and inferences may often be sufficiently established, and always best illustrated by single well-defined examples, by little characteristic traits, by minute though striking anecdotes, in which we may see, as it were, the whole spirit of a character or of an age embodied, condensed, and personified.

To all that we have said, we must add that M. D'Aubigné is characterized by a style on the whole very lucid and perspicuous, as well as spirited; and to crown the whole, is animated throughout by a delightful spirit of devotion, and an ardent yet not bigoted attachment to the imperishable principles evolved and established in the progress of that great revolution to which he has so happily dedicated his pen.

The praise we have bestowed is, we should think, sufficient to satisfy even one more athirst for that intoxicating potion than we have any reason to believe M. D'Aubigné to be. We should hardly be true, however, to that 'gentle craft,' the exercise of which has rarely been more gratifying to us than on the present occasion, had we not noted a few faults; and as little true to it, if having noted them, we did not name them. If there be any-

thing in our author's work which we should be disposed to condemn, it is an occasional approach—and sometimes more than an approach—to that *floridity* of style, that *overdoing*, that excess of *paint* which characterizes so large a portion of French literature. The authors of that nation, like their women, cannot be content without at least touching over and improving the simple red and white of nature with their hateful cosmetics. We must needs also think that in some cases our author, in order to impart the Herodotean charm of circumstantial detail and dramatic effect—a charm which, as we have already remarked, he has in general secured by perfectly legitimate means, has been led to *supplement* a little the meagre records of history on unimportant points out of his own ardent imagination; to tell us not only that such and such things were done, but *how* they were done, to relate not merely the substance of what was said, but *what* was said, as if the *ipsissima verba* could be found, when in fact they are not forthcoming. This fault, however, so far as it may be said to exist at all, exists only in matters of unimportant detail. Even then it may be urged, that the events and actions so graphically narrated, *in all probability*, took place in the very *manner* narrated. This may be true; but it is not probability, it is *fact*, which is the object of the historian, and what would therefore be not merely the justification, but the highest praise of the poet or the novelist is no excuse for the historian.

Another fault—no inconsiderable one in the eyes of those whose taste has been at all formed on the severer models of historic composition—is, that there is too little of *repose* in the work. It seems to be produced all at high pressure, and though there is great power and great energy, there is rather too much wear and tear in the machine, and too much violence and irregularity about the movement. Our author seems striving rather too much after uniform brilliancy, and will not narrate even insignificancies in a sufficiently simple and unlaboured manner. Now this we regard as an error in judgment. ‘It is injudicious,’ says Whately, in his *Rhetoric*, ‘to attempt to give uniform brilliancy to a work.’ It is in fact impossible to accomplish it, even if it were ever desirable; for there are many things, the highest grace in the relation of which is unadorned simplicity; it makes them but ridiculous to attempt to give them an undue prominence by extracting out of them profound philosophy, or investing them with the colours of fancy, or lavishing upon them the more elaborate graces of language. But, in fact, the attempt is injudicious if the object were practicable; in every work, brief intervals of repose, in which ordinary things are said in a plain, unadorned manner, are necessary to give the proper relish to the reader's enjoyment of those more powerful passages in

which the writer worthily rises to the demands of momentous events and imposing themes. Where all is so highly coloured, the mind of the general reader soon gets accustomed to it, at least, ceases to admire so strongly as at first, and enjoys less than it would from the alternate excitement and subsidence of strong emotion; while others, of higher taste, turn the wearied eye from the dazzling brilliance, and long for some quiet spot of sober 'green,' on which it can rest and relieve itself. In the compositions of the pen, as of the pencil, varieties of light and shade, of bright and dark, are needful to perfect that picture on which the eye can look with still prolonged gaze, and at last turn reluctantly away.

Notwithstanding these faults of the work, on which we have thought it our duty to speak out as freely as about its excellences, there are few, very few, which can, upon the whole, be compared with it, for extent and accuracy of research, and all those qualities of style and manner which impress history on the imagination and the memory.

To what extent M. D'Aubigné intends to prosecute the work, we know not. We believe that he intends to restrict himself to a fourth volume. We hope that neither the weariness which is so apt to creep over an author in the composition of a long work, nor the pressure of other duties, will prevent his quitting the subject till he has given something like completeness to his history. Three volumes of goodly bulk have already appeared, and have been translated, and still the Genevan Reformer is only just appearing on the stage. The stirring events of the English Reformation are yet to pass under review, and though we expect to learn less from that than from any other part of the work, and to meet with more inaccuracies, (unavoidable to a stranger,) we feel much curiosity to see it. It will be pleasant to learn what judgment so intelligent and well-read a foreigner may form of that momentous period of our ecclesiastical annals.

Twice already has the progress of this work been interrupted by heavy domestic afflictions. To these events M. D'Aubigné makes a most affecting allusion in the preface to the third volume. These severe strokes seem only to have had their right effect, in making him more anxious to serve his great Master, and to redeem, for high purposes, that little space of time, of the uncertain duration of which he has had such touching proofs. 'Many causes,' he says, 'have combined to postpone the appearance of the present volume. *Twice* has heavy affliction interrupted the labour of its composition, and gathered my affections and my thoughts at the graves of beloved children. The reflection that it was my duty to glorify that adorable Master who was

dealing with me by such moving appeals, and at the same time ministering to me of his heavenly consolations, could alone inspire me with the courage required for its completion.'

We have little doubt that the second volume of this work will be generally preferred to the third, and it could hardly be otherwise. Not that, in the latter, there is any flagging on the part of the author; there are no traces of slackening care or diligence, or of diminished vivacity. But the second volume contains the account of all those events which form the very turning points of the Reformation; which, for the breathless, eager interest they inspire, have scarcely their parallel in history, and which are of such a nature as to be capable of a most graphic and vivid presentation. It is this volume which contains the very principal parts of the plot, and the stupendous events on which its evolution depended. It contains the account of the fruitless but deeply interesting negotiations of the politic Miltitz—of Tetzels discomfiture—of the Leipsic discussion—of the Papal bull of 1520—of Luther's excommunication—of the DIET OF WORMS, and all the stirring events which preceded, attended, and followed it—Luther's friendly abduction to the Wartburgh—the early history of Zwingle, and the first and thrilling scenes of the Swiss Reformation.

Yet is the third volume by no means poor in historic interest, although the themes with which it is occupied do not and cannot rival those just mentioned. It contains an account of Luther's residence in the Wartburgh, and of his mode of life there, where he commenced the greatest and most durable of all his works, the GERMAN TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE, and where, though doing the work of any four ordinary men, he is continually bewailing his inactivity and indolence; it recounts the further development of the Reformer's mind, and his successful struggle with some still remaining errors; his attack on 'Monkery,' with all its abominations; his dispute with the enthusiasts of Zwickau; his controversy with Henry the Eighth; the early history of the great enthusiast, Ignatius Loyola; the history of Esch, Voes, and Lambert, the proto-martyrs of the Reformation; the touching death of Henry Zutphens; the disputes which alienated Luther and Carlstadt, and the stern and bitter contests which ensued between them; the proceedings at Spires; the fanatical extravagances and tragical fate of Munzer and his associates; Luther's marriage, with all the odd circumstances which attended that remarkable event in his personal history; the Diet at Augsburg; the further history of Zwingle and the Swiss Reformation; the controversy between Luther and Erasmus, respecting 'Free-will;' the long and melancholy strife between the German and Swiss Reformers, on the subject of the Lord's

Supper; the first stages of the Reformation in France; the life and doings of Lefevre, and the early history of Farel and Calvin.

It will be seen from this brief enumeration of the principal topics treated in these important volumes, that Luther and Luther's acts still form the great burden of them. This is necessarily the case; up to a certain period, the history of the Reformation is but a biography of Luther, just as a history of the last great war, though involving the affairs of more than half the nations of Europe, is but a biography of Napoleon. And as the space given to Luther is necessary, considering his historic greatness, so is he personally well worthy of the prominent position he occupies. The grandeur, the vastness of his mind are but now beginning to be properly understood, and to extort their due measure of admiration. That greatness will be much underrated by any who judge of it merely by his writings; for though these were better adapted to his immediate purpose of popular impression than works abstractedly superior to them would have been, though they are instinct in many places with a superhuman energy both of thought and expression, and though, considering their voluminousness, they indicate great fertility; it is not in them that we must look for a true image of Luther's mind; it is rather in what he *did*,—in his actions and his life. Of the fallacious view which a mere study of his writings will leave on the mind, especially if they be read with the expectation of finding in them what assuredly ought not to be expected there—subtle argument or profound speculation—we have a striking proof, as we conceive, in the judgment formed by one of the most competent *litterateurs* of this or of any age. 'Luther's amazing influence,' says he, '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; his works are not distinguished by much strength or acuteness, and still less by any impressive eloquence.' But surely, if a man exerts 'an amazing influence on the revolutions of his own age and on the opinions of mankind, it is safer to judge of the measure of his 'intellectual greatness' by *these* than by his writings. His genius, if eminently practical, and willing or necessitated, for the sake of a direct and immediate object, to compromise literary fame, may not do itself full justice in books; nay, the man may be incapable, by the very qualities which fit him for producing 'amazing revolutions,' of attaining the highest literary excellence. What then? we must judge of him as great or otherwise by what he has proved himself in his peculiar province, and not out of it. It would not be safe to judge of the powers of the Duke of Wellington from his speeches in parliament, and it would be mere pedantry to do so. It is not from Luther's writings, then, that

we must chiefly calculate the true dimensions of his genius, though even these looked at in the proper light, read for what they may fairly be expected to contain, not for what they cannot be expected to contain, afford no unequivocal indications of his proper greatness. No one in his senses ever claimed for Luther the character of a great philosopher; and to complain that his works are not marked by the characteristics of one is, as if one should complain that Des Cartes is not very imaginative, and that Aristotle does not write like Homer. We must take the true gauge of Luther's intellect, then, from his prodigious influence on his own age and on all time. Assuredly no one ever achieved such a revolution, or left such indelible traces of himself in all succeeding history without possessing intellectual qualifications, of the very highest order; although it may be quite true that they were not of such a kind as would have placed him beside Bacon amongst philosophers, or Milton amongst poets. As little could either of these have been a Luther.

To many of the great Reformer's signal qualifications for his great commission, ample justice has been done. His magnanimous daring, his fearless spirit of investigation, the ease with which he threw off long-rooted prejudices and venerable errors, the honesty with which he expressed his convictions, the boldness and promptitude with which he faced great emergencies, the indomitable energy of his character, his impassioned eloquence, have often been acknowledged; but the very predominance of these points in his character has seemed to favour the notion that he was fitted only to pull down, but not to build up—to destroy, but not to construct; that he was more of a daring and reckless innovator than a far-sighted and sagacious reformer. Though we are far from denying that Luther's impetuosity often did him better service than he had any right to expect from it, that his indomitable obstinacy often carried him through difficulties which a more cautious temperament would have prevented his encountering, we cannot help thinking that there was far more of practical sagacity in his composition than he is often given credit for; that what some may think a fortunate boldness, was in most cases not merely boldness, but wisdom, under the circumstances; and that there was 'method' even in his 'madness.' Such is, undoubtedly, the light in which the conduct of the Monk of Wittemberg appears to us in all the more critical periods of his great struggle with Rome. Bold as his steps were, we cannot, upon the maturest deliberation, deny that they seem also just the steps dictated by a true sagacity. Their success is at all events presumptive proof of it. His conduct, however, when he was called upon to build, as well as to pull down—to settle as well as to unsettle—and the gradual, cautious, and moderate hand with which he proceeded in the work of

innovation, afford a more conclusive proof that he had little in common with the reckless innovator. As this is an aspect of his character which has not been sufficiently noticed, and yet which ought to be borne in mind, in order to do full justice to it, our readers will feel obliged to us for presenting them with the following judicious and impressive remarks upon it, from M. D'Aubigné's third volume. The opening paragraphs on the singular condition of the church during the four years which immediately followed the re-announcement of the truth, in which the spirit was returning to the corpse, but had not as yet unclosed its eyes or animated its organs, are very beautiful:—

'The constitution of the church, its ritual, and its discipline, had undergone no alteration. In Saxony, even at Wittenberg, and wherever the new opinions had spread, the papal ceremonies held on their accustomed course; the priest before the altar offering the host to God was believed to effect a mysterious transubstantiation; friars and nuns continued to present themselves at the convents to take upon them the monastic vows; pastors lived single; religious brotherhoods herded together; pilgrimages were undertaken; the faithful suspended their votive offerings on the pillars of the chapels; and all the accustomed ceremonies, down to the minutest observances, were celebrated as before. A voice had been heard in the world, but as yet it was not embodied forth in action. The language of the priest accordingly presented the most striking contrast with his ministrations. From his pulpit he might be heard to thunder against the mass as idolatrous, and then he might be seen to come down to the altar, and go scrupulously through the prescribed form of the service. On every side, the recently recovered gospel sounded in the midst of the ancient rites. The officiating priest himself was unconscious of his inconsistency; and the populace, who listened with avidity to the bold discourses of the new preachers, continued devoutly observant of their long established customs, as though they were never to abandon them. All things continued unchanged at the domestic hearth, and in the social circle, as in the house of God. A new faith was abroad, but new works were not yet seen. The vernal sun had risen, but winter still bound the earth; neither flower nor leaf, nor any sign of vegetation was visible. But this aspect of things was deceptive; a vigorous sap was secretly circulating beneath the surface, and was about to change the face of the world. To this wisely-ordered progress the reformation may be indebted for its triumphs. Every revolution should be wrought out in men's minds before it takes the shape of action. The contrast we have remarked did not at first fix Luther's attention. He seemed to expect that while men received his writings with enthusiasm, they should continue devout observers of the corruptions those writings exposed. One might be tempted to believe that he had planned his course beforehand, and was resolved to change the opinions of men before he ventured to remodel their forms of worship. But this would be ascribing to Luther a wisdom, the honour of which is due to a higher intelligence. He was the appointed instrument for

a purpose he had no power to conceive. At a later period he could discern and comprehend these things, but he did not devise or arrange them. God led the way: the part assigned to Luther was to follow.

'If Luther had begun by external reformation—if he had followed up his words by an attempt to abolish monastic vows, the mass, confession, the prescribed form of worship, assuredly he would have encountered the most formidable resistance. Mankind need time to accommodate themselves to great changes. But Luther was not the imprudent and daring innovator that some historians* have depicted. The people, seeing no change in their daily devotions, followed undoubtingly their new leader, wondering at the assaults directed against a man who left unquestioned their mass, their beads, and their confessor; and disposed to ascribe such enmity to the petty jealousy of secret rivals, or to the hard injustice of powerful enemies. And yet the opinions that Luther put forth fermented in the minds of men, moulded their thoughts, and so undermined the stronghold of prejudice, that it, ere long, fell without being attacked. Such influence is, indeed, gradual. Opinions made their silent progress, like the waters which trickle behind our rocks, and loosen them from the mountains on which they rest; suddenly the hidden operation is revealed, and a single day suffices to lay bare the work of years, if not of centuries.

'A new era had dawned upon the reformation: already truth was recovered in its teaching: henceforward the teaching of the truth is to work truth in the church and in society. The agitation was too great to allow of men's minds remaining at their then point of attainment. On the general faith in the dogmas so extensively undermined, customs had been established which now began to be disregarded, and were destined with them to pass away.

'There was a courage and vitality in that age which prevented its continuing silent in presence of proved error. The sacraments, public worship, the hierarchy, vows, constitutional forms, domestic and public life, all were on the eve of undergoing modification. The bark, slowly and laboriously constructed, was on the point of being lowered from the stocks, and launched on the open sea. It is for us to follow its progress through many shoals.'

But we must not pause longer over Luther. We pass from him with the less regret, that so much has recently appeared respecting him in various shapes, and from different writers. Our space, too, warns us that it is time to refer to other matters.

Melancthon, the friend, the inseparable companion, almost the very shade of Luther, is, next to the great Reformer himself, perhaps the most attractive of the series of great historic portraits with which our author has favoured us. Strongly contrasted by nature, or at all events marked by far more points of dissimilarity than resemblance, it was, nevertheless, this very contrast to which, in all probability, their friendship owed its firm-

* Hume.

ness. Had Melancthon been less gentle and pliable, the impetuosity of Luther would soon have occasioned a quarrel. Had Luther been less vehement and confident, Melancthon, when they differed—and they did differ—would scarcely have been disposed to yield, and estrangement would probably have been the consequence. As it was, in all important crises, Melancthon gave way before the energy of Luther's will, and acknowledged the supremacy of his genius; still exerting, however, a certain beneficial influence over his more ardent colleague, and restraining and checking the fiery fury of his career. To this, again, Luther would never have submitted from a spirit less gentle or generally compliant than that of Melancthon; while, on the other hand, even the timid and patient Melancthon was sometimes almost chafed into rebellion under the keen spur of his overbearing rider. 'Tuli servitutem pæne deformem,' says he, after Luther's death; and we heartily wish, for the sake of Melancthon's manliness and candour, that he had either said it before, or not said it at all.

Not only did the contrast between the characters of the two men cement their friendship, but it made both far more serviceable to the common cause than either could have been without the other. They *supplemented* each other's defects; the one gave whatever the other had not to give. Luther had courage, and Melancthon prudence. Luther was firm, even to obstinacy; Melancthon cautious, even to timidity. Luther possessed energy of will, Melancthon calmness of judgment. And thus they brought to their long and close union a very commodious dower of opposite excellences, and spent their life together with as little jangling and wrangling as could well be expected.

It may be safely said, that if ever any man was formed by nature for the quiet enjoyment of domestic life, it was Melancthon; and that if any one ever coveted wife and children and the social fireside, it must have been he.

Yet, if he loved these things full well, it appears that he loved his study and his books still better; and though he was eventually made happy in a domestic hearth, it was assuredly against his will. His friends were all anxious for his marriage, and as friends will do, where they imagine themselves better judges of what is for our happiness than we are ourselves, gave him no rest till he had consented. They kindly looked out a wife for him, courted for him, and made the whole business as easy as might be for the phlegmatic and studious bachelor. Their importunity at length prevailed, though he expressed his consent with as rueful an expression of acquiescence and resignation as if he had been going to be hanged. 'Well,' said he, 'if it *must* be so, I must forego my *studies* and my *pleasures* in compliance

with the *wishes of my friends*.' His only reason for marrying a wife, it appears, was just that of the 'unjust judge' for avenging the poor widow, 'lest by her continual coming she should weary him.' Never did Benedict submit to the marriage yoke with less of grace or with so sorrowful a visage. The mystery is, that any lady should have been willing to bestow her hand upon so reluctant a bridegroom, or that his friends should have had perseverance enough to drag this prototype of Dominie Sampson from his books, and make him happy against his will. The following is D'Aubigné's account of the affair, and we suspect that it will require much more than the Reformer's worth and learning, and all his gentleness and sweetness of temper, to induce our fair readers to pardon him; nor have we any doubt that many a one will declare, with a toss of the head, that if *she* had been Catharine Krapp, the reluctance would not have been all on the side of the Reformer. And we must say that she would speak reasonably.

'Melancthon was twenty-four years of age, and had not taken orders. Every house in Wittenberg was open to this young professor, so learned, and at the same time so amiable. Foreign universities, Ingolstadt in particular, sought to attract him within their walls. His friends at Wittenberg resolved to retain him among them, by inducing him to marry. Although he desired a partner for his dear Philip, Luther declared he would not be his adviser in this affair. Others took that part upon themselves. The young doctor was a frequent visitor at the house of the burgomaster, Krapp, who belonged to an ancient family. Krapp had a daughter named Catharine, of a mild and amiable character and great sensibility. Melancthon's friends urged him to ask her in marriage; but the young scholar was buried in his books, and would not hear of anything else. His Greek authors and his Testament formed his delight. He met the arguments of his friends with other arguments. At length his consent was obtained. The necessary steps were taken for him by his friends, and Catharine was given to him for a wife. He received her very coldly, and said with a sigh, 'God has then willed it so! I must forego my studies and my pleasures in compliance with the wishes of my friends.' Yet he was not insensible to Catharine's merits. 'Her character and education,' said he, 'are such as I might have desired of God. *ἐξέτα ὁ Θεὸς τεκμαίρουτό.* And truly, she is deserving of a better husband.' The match was agreed on during the month of August; the espousals took place on the 25th of September; and at the end of November the marriage was celebrated. Old John Luther, with his wife and daughter, came to Wittenberg on this occasion, and many learned and distinguished persons attended at the celebration of the wedding. The young bride was as remarkable for her warmth of affection as the young professor for his coldness of manner. . . . The heart of Melancthon was soon won over by the affection of his wife. When he had once tasted the sweets of domestic

life, he became fully sensible of their value. He was formed, indeed, to relish them, and nowhere was he more happy than with his Catharine and his children. A French traveller having one day found the 'master of Germany' rocking the cradle of his child with one hand, and holding a book in the other, started with surprise. But Melancthon, without being disconcerted, explained to him with so much earnestness the high value of children in the sight of God, that the stranger left the house wiser, to use his own words, than he had entered it.

The following anecdote of Duke Henry of Freyburg is amusing. It serves to show the strange mixture of credulity and unbelief—of superstition and a derisive spirit of scepticism which must often have entered into the devotion of those times. The scoff at the priests with which the duke lays his offering on the altar of the saint of Compostella, reminds one of the mocking and ironical vein in which the poets of the middle ages often speak of the spiritual juggleries in which they, notwithstanding, devoutly acquiesced.

'In the castle of Freyberg resided Duke Henry, brother of Duke George. His wife, the Princess of Mecklenburg, had, the preceding year, presented him with a son, who was christened Maurice. Duke Henry united the bluntness and coarse manners of the soldier to a passion for the pleasures of the table and the pursuits of dissipation. He was, withal, pious after the manner of the age in which he lived; he had visited the Holy Land, and had also gone on pilgrimage to the shrine of St. James at Compostella. He would often say, 'When I was at Compostella, I deposited a hundred golden florins on the altar of the saint, and I said to him, 'O, St. James, it is to gain your favour I have made this journey. I make you a present of this money; but if those knaves (the priests) steal it from you, I can't help it; so take you care of it.'—Vol. iii. p. 145.

Both the duke and his duchess were afterwards converted to the gospel.

Some of the most deeply affecting portions of the work are those which trace the history and fortunes of the stout Reformer of the Swiss. His heroic conduct during the ravages of the plague which visited Zurich, and which will remind some of our readers of the conduct of the Rev. William Mompesson, the pious rector of Eyam, in Derbyshire, during the great plague of 1666, well deserves a record here. We are further induced to give it for the sake of inserting those beautiful lines in which, on his imagined death-bed, he poured out his soul to God, and which have been translated, as we think, with considerable beauty and spirit in these pages.

'While Zwingle was buried among the stupendous rocks that overhang the headlong torrent of Jamina, he suddenly received intelligence that the plague, or the '*great death*,' as it was called, had visited

Zurich. This terrible malady broke out in August, on St. Lawrence's day, and lasted till Candlemas, sweeping away during that period no fewer than 2500 souls. The young people who resided under Zwingle's roof had immediately quitted it, according to the directions he had left behind him. The house was deserted, therefore, *but it was his time to return to it.* He set out from Pfeffers in all haste, and appeared once more among his flock, which the disease had grievously thinned. His young brother, Andrew, who would gladly have stayed to attend upon him, he sent back at once to Wildhaus, and from that moment gave himself up entirely to the victims of that dreadful scourge. It was his daily task to testify of Christ and his consolations to the sick.'

Zwingle was himself at length seized by the plague. M. D'Aubigné proceeds:—

'The great preacher of Switzerland was stretched upon a bed, from which it was probable he would never rise. He now turned his thoughts upon the state of his own soul, and lifted up his eyes to God. He knew that Christ had given him a sure inheritance, and, pouring forth the feelings of his heart in a hymn full of inction and simplicity, the sense and the rhythm of which we will endeavour to exhibit, though we should fail in the attempt to copy its natural and primitive cast of language, he cried out aloud,

I.

Lo! at my door
Gaunt death I spy;
Hear, Lord of life,
Thy creature's cry.

II.

The arm that hung
Upon the tree,
Jesus, uplift,
And rescue me.

III.

Yet if to quench
My sun at noon,
Be thy behest,
Thy will be done.

IV.

In faith and hope
Earth I resign,
Secure of heaven,
For I am thine.

'As he was slowly recovering, his emotion thus joyfully expressed itself:—

I.

My father God,
Behold me whole!
Again on earth
A living soul.

II.

Let sin no more
My heart annoy,
But fill it, Lord,
With holy joy.

III.

Though here delay'd,
My hour must come;
Involved, perchance,
In deeper gloom.

IV.

It matters not;
Rejoicing yet,
I'll bear my yoke
To heaven's bright gate.'

Not less spirited is the translation of the stirring lines with which the energetic muse of Luther celebrated the death of the first martyrs of the Reformation:—

I.

Flung to the heedless winds,
 Or on the waters cast,
 Their ashes shall be watched,
 And gathered at the last.
 And from that scattered dust,
 Around us and abroad
 Shall spring a plenteous seed
 Of witnesses for God.

II.

Jesus hath now received
 Their latest living breath,
 Yet vain is Satan's boast
 Of victory in their death.
 Still, still, though dead, they speak,
 And trumpet-tongued proclaim
 To many a wakening land,
 The one availing name.

We must make room for one more extract, though rather a long one. It is part of the account of the early history of one who, in his own way, has affected the fortunes and destinies of mankind almost as powerfully as Luther himself—we mean Ignatius Loyola. We present the extract, partly for the deep historic interest which attaches to it, but still more for the contrast which M. D'Aubigné has so ably instituted between the Monk of Manresa and the Monk of Erfurth:—

‘When the French, who had been received with enthusiasm in Pampeluna, proposed to the commandant of the fortress to capitulate, ‘Let us endure everything,’ boldly exclaimed Inigo, ‘rather than surrender!’ On this the French began to batter the walls with their formidable artillery, and in a short time they attempted to storm it. The bravery and exhortations of Inigo gave fresh courage to the Spaniards; they drove back the assailants by their arrows, swords, or halberds. Inigo led them on. Taking his stand on the ramparts, with eyes flaming with rage, the young knight brandished his sword, and felled the assailants to the earth. Suddenly a ball struck the wall just where he stood; a stone, shivered from the ramparts, wounded the knight severely in the right leg at the same moment as a ball, rebounding from the violence of the shock, broke his left. Inigo fell senseless. The garrison immediately surrendered; and the French, admiring the courage of their youthful adversary, bore him in a litter to his relatives in the castle of Loyola. In this lordly mansion, from which his name was afterwards derived, Inigo had been born of one of the most illustrious families of that country eight years after the birth of Luther. A painful operation became necessary. In the most acute suffering, Inigo firmly clenched his hands, but uttered no complaint. Constrained to a repose which he could ill endure, he found it needful to employ in some way his ardent imagination. In the absence of the romances which he had been accustomed to devour, they gave him the ‘Life of Christ,’ and the ‘Flores Sanctorum.’ The reading of these works, in his state of solitude and sickness, produced an extraordinary effect upon his mind. The stirring life of tournaments and battles, which had occupied his youth, to the exclusion of everything beside, seemed as if receding and fading from view, while a career of brighter glory seemed to open before him. The humble labours of the saints, and their heroic patience, were, all of a sudden, seen to be far more worthy of praise than all the high deeds of chi-

valry. Stretched upon his couch, and still under the effects of fever, he indulged in the most conflicting thoughts. The world he was planning to renounce, and that life of holy mortification which he contemplated, still appeared before him—the one soliciting by its pleasures, the other by its severities; and fearful was the struggle in his conscience between these two opposing worlds. ‘What,’ thought he, ‘if I were to act like St. Francis or St. Dominic?’ But the recollection of the lady to whom he had pledged his love recurred to his mind. ‘She is neither countess nor duchess,’ said he to himself, with a kind of simple vanity; ‘she is *much more* than either.’ But thoughts like these were sure to fill him with distress and impatience, while the idea of imitating the example of the saints caused his heart to overflow with peace and joy. From this period his resolution was taken. Scarcely had he risen from his sick bed, when he decided to retire from the world. As Luther had done, he once more invited to a repast his companions in arms, and then, without divulging his design, set out, unattended, for the lonely cells excavated by the Benedictine monks, in the rocks of the mountains of Montserrat. Impelled, not by the sense of his sin, or of his need of the grace of God, but by the wish to become ‘knight of the Virgin Mary,’ and to be renowned for mortifications and works, after the example of the army of the saints, he confessed for three successive days, gave away his costly attire to a mendicant, clothed himself in sackcloth, and girded himself with a rope. Then, calling to mind the armed Vigil of Amadis of Gaul, he suspended his sword at the shrine of Mary, passed the night in watching, in his new and strange costume, and sometimes on his knees, and then standing, but ever absorbed in prayer, and with his pilgrim’s staff in hand, went through all the devout practices of which the illustrious Amadis had set the example. ‘Thus,’ remarks the Jesuit Maffei, one of the biographers of the saint, ‘while Satan was stirring up Martin Luther to rebellion against all laws, divine and human, and whilst that heretic stood up at Worms, declaring impious war against the apostolic see, Christ, by his heavenly providence, called forth this new champion, and, binding him by after-vows to obedience to the Roman pontiff, opposed him to the licentiousness and fury of heretical perversity.’

‘Loyola, who was still lame in one of his legs, journeyed slowly, by secluded and circuitous paths, till he arrived at Manresa. There he entered a convent of Dominicans, resolving in this retired spot to give himself up to the most rigid penances. Like Luther, he daily went from door to door begging his bread. Seven hours he was on his knees, and thrice every day did he flagellate himself. Again, at midnight, he was accustomed to rise and pray. He allowed his hair and nails to grow, and it would have been hard indeed to recognise in the pale and lank visage of the monk of Manresa, the young and brilliant knight of Pampelma. Yet the moment had arrived when the ideas of religion, which hitherto had been to Imigo little more than a form of chivalric devotion, were to reveal themselves to him as having an

importance, and exercising a power, of which, till then, he had been entirely unconscious. Suddenly, without anything which might give intimation of an approaching change of feeling, the joy he had experienced left him. In vain did he have recourse to prayer and chanting psalms; he could not rest. His imagination ceased to present nothing but pleasing illusions,—he was *alone with his conscience*. He did not know what to make of a state of feeling so new to him; and he shuddered as he asked whether God could still be against him, after all the sacrifices he had made. Day and night gloomy terrors disturbed him; bitter were the tears he shed, and urgent was his cry for that peace which he had lost, but all in vain. He again ran over the long confession he had made at Montserrat. ‘Possibly,’ thought he, ‘I may have forgotten something.’ But that confession did but aggravate his distress of heart, for it revived the thought of former transgressions. He wandered about, melancholy and dejected, his conscience accusing him of having all his life done nought but heap sin upon sin; and the wretched man, a prey to overwhelming terrors, filled the cloisters with the sound of his sighs. Strange thoughts at this crisis found access to his heart. Obtaining no relief in the confessional and the various ordinances of the church, he began, as Luther had done, to doubt their efficacy. But, instead of turning from man’s works, and seeking to the finished work of Christ, he considered whether he should not plunge once more into the vanities of the age. His soul panted eagerly for that world that he had solemnly renounced; but instantly he recoiled, awe struck. And was there at this moment any difference between the monk of Mauresa and the monk of Erfurth? Doubtless, in secondary points; but their condition of soul was alike. Both were deeply sensible of their sins; both sought peace with God, and desired to have the assurance of it in their hearts. If another Staupitz, with the Bible in his hand, had presented himself at the convent of Manresa, perhaps Inigo might have been known to us as the Luther of the Peninsula. These two remarkable men of the sixteenth century, the founders of two opposing spiritual empires, which, for three centuries, have warred one against the other, were, at this period, *brothers*; and perhaps, if they had been thrown together, Luther and Loyola would have rushed into each other’s embrace, and mingled their tears and their prayers. But from this moment the two monks were to take opposite courses. Inigo, instead of regarding his remorse as sent to urge him to the foot of the cross, deluded himself with the belief that his inward compunctions were not from God, but the mere suggestions of the devil; and he resolved not to think any longer of his sins, but to obliterate them for ever from his memory. Luther looked to Christ—Loyola did but turn inward on himself.

We shall hail the remaining volume or volumes of this great work with the sincerest pleasure. One word to the first translator, before we close. We have much wished for a general table of contents, or a brief view of the contents of each chapter. It

would make the work much more valuable, as a book of reference, than it can be in its present state. We trust that this defect will be remedied in a future edition; and that as it cannot be remedied in the present, a copious index will be added to the concluding volume. Without this, the permanent value of the work will be necessarily much diminished.

Art. V. *Sketches of China, partly during an inland journey of four months, between Pekin, Nankin, and Canton; with Notices and Observations relative to the present war.* By John Francis Davis, Esq., F.R.S., &c., late his Majesty's chief superintendent in China.

2. *The Chinese as they are—Their moral, social, and literary character, a new analysis of the language, with succinct views of their principal arts and sciences.* By G. Tradescant Lay, Esq., Naturalist in Beechey's Expedition.

THE authors of these volumes, professing to relate what they saw and heard in China, claim a candid audience of all who feel interested in the economy and destinies of that mighty empire. Mr. Davis, known already by an able work on China, resided many years at Canton, where he carefully studied the language, and had, moreover, the rare advantage of accompanying the last British embassy to Peking, during the progress of which, to and from the capital, those observations were made on the towns and cities of the interior, and on the manners and customs of the inhabitants, which constitute the subject matter of these volumes. The first is chiefly occupied with the detail of occurrences which might have been expected to happen to Europeans, committed, as the embassy were, for several months to the hospitality of a semi-civilized people, whose unbounded arrogance forbade to barbarians of the west, whom they designated tribute-bearers to his celestial majesty, other than the most contemptuous treatment. The discussion of the ceremony of the Ko-Tow—thrice kneeling, and nine times knocking the forehead on the earth—it is useless, we think, to revive; for until proper etiquette be conceded by the Chinese to British representatives, negotiations will, no doubt, be carried on under demonstrations of irresistible physical force. Apart from the narration of facts connected with the embassy, which had all been previously published, these volumes contain but few points of general interest. The first, interspersed with miscellaneous remarks on the moralities and lighter compositions of the Chinese, describes Lord Amherst's progress to Peking; the second relates his return to Canton by a different route, concluding with brief notices of the present war, its causes and probable consequences;—subjects which we

are surprised to find fail to suggest any important disquisition either on the philology, philosophy, or government of China, especially as its language, literature, and political affairs, both legislative and executive, at this juncture, cannot but be peculiarly attractive to the reflecting portion of our countrymen. If, however, Mr. Davis's topics are too restricted, Mr. Lay's book is sufficiently miscellaneous, as the following brief abstract of its contents indicates:—‘ Present aspect of China—causes and consequences of the war—physical and moral character of the Chinese—philosophy, moral and natural—Chinese females—religious sects—amusements—habits—occupation—arts—manufactures—new analysis of the language—aborigines of China—missionary efforts, religious and medical—circulation of the Scriptures—miscellaneous remarks on the people.’ Its arrangement is also very disorderly; there is not only a want of affinity in successive subjects, but a separate discussion of the same topic in different parts of the volume. An example occurs in illustration of this remark at page 165, where there is a section of eight or ten pages on language, of which nothing more is said until the notice of the roots, at page 301. This section has been selected as an example for the promineney given to it by our author, and because the philosophical accuracy of his ‘ new analysis,’ depending both on the roots and on the mode of forming their derivatives, required that its proofs and arguments should be discussed consecutively. These and similar irregularities render it difficult to ascertain the author's sentiments on several points; and impossible in the brief space allotted to this review, to do more than unfold his opinions on some general topics, as a specimen of the whole. Since the new analysis of the language is strongly commended by our author for its originality, we shall notice it first; presuming that he regards it as his chief topic. Having adverted to the honour acquired by Young and Champollion in the study of Egyptian hieroglyphics, Mr. Lay thus describes his own position among philologists. ‘ To complete the circle of grammatical philosophy, one thing alone was required, and that was, an analysis of the Chinese language, which is already in such a state of forwardness, that there is no doubt of its ultimate completion. Health, life, or leisure, may not be allowed me to finish the details; but when the plan is drawn, and some of the parts finished, it will not be difficult for others who have a longer life before them, and the sunshine of a happier temperament to follow up the design.’ From this it appears that our author's position among Chinese literati is to be similar to that occupied by those celebrated Egyptian scholars. The present being an age of novelties, our utmost curiosity was excited to know what this *new* analysis could be; and we were

not a little astonished to find that its chief claim to originality rests on taking for granted, what ought to be proved, that symbols are signs of sounds; and proceeding formally to prove what no Chinese scholar ever disputed, that names are attached to symbols, so that until our author establishes by sound induction the point on which he rears the crudities of his 'new analysis,' all who desire to know anything of Chinese must still adhere to the *old* system, and leave him alone in his glory. His two sections treat of the sounds and roots of the language. The former is identified with English in the following manner:—

'Some of the common terminations in the English tongue are, *ment, ness, ly, dom, ship,* &c. Let us suppose that a person who had a fondness for odd things should sit down and register all words ending in *ment* under that syllable, and then follow the same course with *ness, ly,* &c., a dictionary compiled after this fashion would exhibit a strange view of our etymology, and one well suited to puzzle and confound the learner. But all our words do not end in these syllables; some device, therefore, would be necessary to bring the rest under these heads of arrangement, which might be this:—Words having *me* at the beginning, in the middle, or at the end, might be put under *ment*; words having *s* in any part of them under *ness, i* under *ly,* and *de* under *dom.* The English language, marshalled after this curious and novel plan of lexicography, would look like a heap of crudities well fitted to puzzle everybody. Now the Chinese and their imitators have pursued a course that is strictly analogous to this; it is, therefore, no marvel that the derivation of a language so extensive should appear paradoxical to all who cast their eyes over it. The two hundred and fourteen *radicals,* as they were called, resemble, in frequency of occurrence and usefulness, the syllables *ment, ness, ly, dom, ship,* &c., and were most unaccountably regarded as the component parts of all the other characters in the language; which, to humour a system, were broken up into fragments, in defiance of every maxim of common sense and natural logic. In this lies the error of every attempt at classification hitherto made, Dr. Marshman's not excepted.'

This quotation contains the germ of our author's system (if the word *system* be not a misnomer); and how any one gifted with the powers of 'common sense and natural logic,' to say nothing of common honesty, could have so marvellously distorted facts, is beyond our conception; unless, having no personal acquaintance with Chinese, he had derived his theory from some one who was either as ignorant as himself, or resolved to impose upon him. These radicals, so misrepresented by Mr. Lay, are the keys to the whole language, and the only accessible medium to the lexicon, where both the sound and meaning of every character, arranged under one or other of them, are duly registered. Do

they, then, stand in the place of elementary sounds? So far from it, they have no necessary connexion with any one sound in the language, while they are essential to the *forms* and *meaning* of all its symbols. But what says Mr. Lay?—

‘An essay to prove that the Chinese is identical in its structure with all other languages may appear quixotic at the first hearing, but ere a quarter of a century has rolled away, it will be a matter of surprise that any one should have thought otherwise.’ Again: ‘If to the want of intellectual reach and acumen in the Chinese we are indebted for a system that has rendered a beautiful language an ill-assorted mass of jarring elements, we lie under obligations equally stringent to those foreigners who have expatiated upon the fairy dreams of ideographic writing, they have beguiled themselves and all who trust them, for there is no such thing in language as a symbol without a sound. Printers and pedants have invented certain signs which might pass for samples of ideographic writing; for instance, in the first book of St. Isidore, we see some twenty-five of such marks, but they form no part of a language, and for a very capital reason—they are neither read nor spoken. A Chinese called a sheep *yang* before he drew its semblance, or made a sign for it in writing; when he had drawn the picture he called it *yang*. To him and to all who spoke the same dialect, it suggested at once both the sound and the idea.’—pp. 167, 168.

All, we apprehend, who are in the habit of reading their bibles, admit that interchange of sentiment between intelligent beings by sound preceded the communication of thought by writing. But it by no means follows, as Mr. Lay asserts, that the Chinese called a sheep *yang* before they wrote it. This assertion might have been plausible had their mode of writing exhibited thought through the elements of sound, instead of through pictorial images, and had *yang* been exclusively confined to *sheep*; but as the symbol for sheep is derived from *kwae*, the horn of a sheep, which it was designed to portray; and as *yang* (while it bears no relation to *kwae*) is the common name of numerous characters totally different in form and meaning, of which the following are specimens:—to look up with admiration—extensive—calamity—discontent—to spread out—a blazing fire—a wide-spreading tree—to extol—to sacrifice to the spirit of a wood—the male principle in nature—early knowledge—driven by the wind,—the name to each idea (and several others might have been adduced) being *yang*; we are utterly at a loss to conceive, as our author’s system supposes, how these various characters could ever have *naturally* suggested the same sound. Nay, despite Mr. Lay’s contempt for such an opinion, it would, we think, discover far less intelligence to approve his system than to understand and

digest the one already established. He has selected nineteen symbols for the sake of illustration, in the use of which he has shown the grossest ignorance of the Chinese language. The first combines in its form *sheep* and *house*, (*yen* a cover,) which, according to his theory, ought to be joined together and pronounced *yen-yang*, before it could bear any analogy to friendship, staircase, and similar compound English terms; the sound, however, is *seang*, which, as the reader perceives, has no affinity with either of its composites. It is in violation of all reason to argue, as Mr. Lay does, that because two or more symbols are associated to form a third—a fact never disputed by scholars—he has proved Chinese writing to be phonetic and not ideographic; especially as it is an invariable rule, that how numerous soever the component parts of a character may be, its sound undergoes no change; being monosyllabic, and uninfluenced by the combination, except, perhaps, to receive the name of one of its elements, and even this is quite accidental. Mr. Lay's next example is *Hwa*, 'to change,' not admitted as a root by native lexicographers, who place it in their dictionaries under one of two elements of which it consists.

'*Hwa*, change—with plant it signifies a flower, which is no improper emblem of change, 'The flower thereof fadeth away'—'a fading flower.' In a philosophical as well as practical point of view, a flower is a good representative of change, since all the several parts, from the outer divisions of the cup to the carpels or compartments of the fruit, are nothing but leaves in a state of transformation. Whether the Chinese, or those from whom they received the elements of their science and literature, understood this, I cannot take upon me to say.'

Unfortunately for such a theory, this character, so far from being one of the original elements of the language, is quite modern, having been introduced about the sixth century of Aourœra, 1100 years subsequent to the time of Confucius (whose writings are now popular), as a substitute for the more complicated one anciently used for flower, which has no allusion to change. That a flower in oriental metaphors is significant of change, every reader of the beautiful and expressive imagery of the bible knows; but what has this to do with Mr. Lay's theory? If there had been any force in his remark, the Chinese should have derived their word 'to change' from a symbol which depicts a flower, as many of their abstract terms have beautifully, we think, derived their origin; but in this symbol the order is reversed; for flower is composed of the two elements, 'change' and 'herb,' which indicate the *inflorescence* of the herb, or the change produced on a plant in spring; so that 'flower' does not represent 'change,' as our author says, mistaking cause for effect, but is derived from 'change,' whence the abstract term 'change'

must, according to Mr. Lay, have existed before a name for the commonest of natural objects. Nor let it be forgotten that the system of associating ideas, of which this character is an illustration, is as old as the symbols themselves; that it has been recognised by Chinese philologists from time immemorial, and elucidated by all European writers on the language, who have followed the best authorities in tracing the origin of the symbols to 214 simple elements, under which all the characters—those which have but one stroke of the pencil, or fifteen added to the root—are arranged in the dictionary according to the number of strokes (exclusive of the root) of which they are composed. Mr. Lay's addition to our Chinese literature consists, therefore, in reprobating the existing system, which is fully adequate to the acquisition of the language, and recommending in its stead something utterly impracticable—except those portions drawn from Chinese scholars whom he contemns—so that the truly original parts of the new analysis are the musings and imaginings of his own mind, baseless as the fabric of a vision. The truth is, Mr. Lay is almost entirely unacquainted, not only with the language, but with all the abstruser points of Chinese philosophy, religion, and literature. He has paid far too little attention to any of the subjects of his volume, to be able to pronounce a correct judgment, save, perhaps, on the avocations and customs of the people in the streets, in places of public concourse, and in scenes of popular amusement; and even there, when attempting to philosophize on what he sees, he makes the most egregious blunders. Indeed his analysis of Chinese opinions is, in some cases, as remote from the truth as a Chinaman's philosophy of English manners would be; only (to Mr. Lay's honour) his misconceptions display his candour, while Chinese misrepresentations are the result of malignity as well as ignorance.

As the philological speculation of our author seems to have arisen out of some imperfect notions of the separate offices of a *radical* and a *primitive*, it may tend to elucidate the subject, if we give combined specimens of both in different characters. The symbol composed of *sze*, 'silk,' which stands on the left, and *shen*, 'good' on the right; of which *sze* is the radical, that is, the simplest element to which a character can be traced, and *shen*, what Dr. Marshman and others have called primitives, is composed of *yang*, 'a sheep,' and *kow*, 'a mouth;' therefore, on Mr. Lay's system—that each character represents the sound—the symbol quoted above ought to be pronounced *sze-yang-kow*, but it is named *shen*, and means, agreeably to the ideas 'good and silk,' 'to prepare,' 'to put in order,' and 'to state in writing,' probably because silk is sometimes used to write upon. The same primitive *shen*, with 'flesh' in the place of 'silk' means

‘good flesh;’ hence it is used to denote victims offered in sacrifice, because only those of the best quality are allowed to be placed on the altar. The symbol, however, is not pronounced *jow-yang-kow*, as Mr. Lay’s readers would suppose, but simply *shen*, like the other. Now how sounds, perfectly alike, even to the tone of the voice, as these are, should be the medium through which these diversified ideas are dispensed, as Mr. Lay, in effect, declares they are, though attached to dissimilar written forms, is to us an impenetrable mystery. Truth requires us to state, that what is really correct in this scheme has long been known in the republic of letters. It is, however, but a feeble reflection of one portion of the Chinese system of philology; for, besides Marshman’s remarks in his grammar, to which Mr. Lay alludes, there is a volume of Morrison’s Dictionary,* containing 13,000 symbols, arranged according to the English alphabet, beginning with *An*, and ending with *Yung*, for the convenience of those who know the *names* of characters, but are ignorant of or have forgotten their meaning. Each one of these monosyllables, of which there are 411, has, on the average, no fewer than thirty written symbols attached to it, all of different forms and significations. On a careful estimate of the number of primitives in this volume to 5500 characters, it appears to be 100; that is, 55 characters have the same primitive, (we have already explained it,) only varied in form and meaning by some additional symbol, as we have shown above, which, in many instances, if not the majority, is the root. This is sufficiently strong evidence that Mr. Lay is not the discoverer of this part of the native system; yet why does he never allude to the fact we now publish? We cannot believe it to be disingenuousness; the reason undoubtedly is that, as no theoretic disquisition explains the functions of this class of characters, and each is made in a smaller form than its order at the head of which it stands, our author has misunderstood their purport. But if he had first brought to light the Chinese usage of uniting two ideas to represent a third, hitherto unrepresented in writing, there would still be an immense number of symbols without paternity. The plan, therefore, on which the best native dictionaries proceed to account for the origin of *all* the symbolic forms of the language, consists of six divisions; 1, delineation of the object; 2, allusion to some property or circumstance; 3, a character, of which part is for sound and part for meaning, that is, two or more simple forms combined, of which one gives sound, the other sense; 4, inverted forms to originate a new sense, as the symbol for *correctness* means, when reversed in figure, *defect*; 5, borrowed or arbitrary characters, that

* Part II. vol. I.

is, what we barbarians of the west should designate words used figuratively; 6, association of ideas, the part adopted by Mr. Lay. And as these constitute the sources of the Chinese symbols, Mr. Lay's 'new analysis' is really nothing more than a few examples, not well selected, from the last of them. What new philological light such an effort is to shed on the learned world, the Eastern part of which seems, in the view of its author, to have been hitherto involved in the grossest darkness on this subject, we cannot possibly comprehend.

But as Mr. Lay visited China to promote the objects of the Bible Society, we next advert to some remarks arising out of his official duties. The size of the New Testament, the number of proper names in the 1st of Mathew, the improper mode in which they have been transferred, (for they have not been translated as Mr. Lay's word 'rendered' would lead a stranger to suppose,) and the inefficiency of the translation, are all, in his view, serious obstacles to the diffusion of the Scriptures in China. But how is the truth of these censures established, and what remedy does he propose?

'The greatest difficulty in reference to the New Testament is its bulk, two copies being as many as can be carried under the arm at one time, which greatly impedes a quiet method of circulation, and a seeking for the fittest opportunities of bestowment. Some method of printing must be resorted to hereafter, so that the Scriptures may be put into one fourth of the compass they now occupy, for size proves a far greater evil than one would have anticipated.'

Surely Mr. Lay is not unacquainted with the Serampore version of the Scriptures in Chinese, printed with metal types, which occupies much less room than the xylographic version of Morrison and Milne; why then did he not try it? The truth is, Morrison's Testament (8 duodecimo, or 4 octavo volumes) is not bulky compared with many Chinese works, which amount to 20, 30, 60, 100, and even 150 volumes; and as this, though voluminous, is the native mode of printing, it is greatly preferred to the metallic, which the Chinese themselves tried two or three centuries ago, and then abandoned, as less suitable to their symbols. Again:

'Much hindrance in the perusal of the sacred code arises from the manner in which proper names are rendered. A great deal of laborious diligence was bestowed in endeavouring to imitate their syllables by Chinese words, and often with very little success; for who, for example, would recognise *Gan-te-loo* as the representative of *Αρχερας*. Had not the inventor of this substitute been so thoroughly imbued with the English version instead of the original, he would have chosen *Gan-te*, or *An-te*, as a far nearer approximation. These names occupy a great deal of room, and each syllable has a meaning, so that the

rarest jumble of discordant senses often comes together, to the dismay and disgust of the reader, who finds it more difficult to make out the characters that compose a single proper name than all the rest which are employed to convey the meaning. I remember seeing a young man of some intelligence looking at the 1st chapter of Matthew; if one had thrown him into a thicket of brambles he would have felt more pain, but he could not have been more puzzled till I told him that the words were most of them proper names.*

That the first chapter of Matthew contains many proper names not very euphonic in any language, will, doubtless, be conceded by Mr. Lay, without attaching blame to the translator of the version in which he happens to read them. Why, then, does he blame Morrison for their effect in Chinese? For they are not *translated*, as his term 'rendered' would indicate, but represented by proximate sounds. How his *intelligent* friend could have been 'puzzled' to ascertain that these were proper names, is a mystery to us, for this simple reason, that all the names both in Morrison and Marshman's first chapter of Matthew, and other parts of Scripture, are distinguished as such by the native mode of drawing the pencil down one side† of such characters as constitute names of individuals, and all round those which designate places. This token to a Chinese scholar, even of the lowest form, is equally as decisive as capital letters to an Englishman; and if the indication be wanting in works about to be read by a native teacher, he supplies it for his pupil in red ink; so that in Matthew there are facilities equal to those found in native writers for detecting proper names; and how such clusters came to be stumbled upon as unintelligible, except through sheer ignorance, is marvellous indeed. Andrew, which Mr. Lay reads Gan-te-loo, is ordinarily pronounced *an-tih-loo* (*an*, *gan*, and *guan*, are convertible sounds), equally euphonic and near to the original as *An-le*. To transfer foreign names, especially Hebrew and Greek, into Chinese, is a difficult task, since syllables must be appropriated to them instead of letters; and if Mr. Lay had been as well informed on matters of biblical criticism and philology as the position he assumes suggests that he ought to be, candour and approbation would have occupied the place of harsh censure. The following names in the Chinese New Testament will enable the reader to judge of their proximity to the original; Matthew is, in Chinese, Ma-tow;‡ Luke, Loo-kea; Mark, Ma-urh-ko; John, Jo-han; Paul, Paulo; Simon, Semun; Judæa, Joo-te-ah. Many others might be adduced as proofs of the suitable manner in which the translator has performed this part

* Lay, pp. 52, 53.

† The Chinese write from the top to the bottom of the page in columns.

‡ T is the nearest sound to Ө.

of his labour ; while a great number of foreign names transcribed into native works, particularly from the northern and western boundaries of the empire, of which Mr. Lay has probably never heard, together with genuine native names, might be adduced as equally offensive to euphony with those which he condemns.

His remarks on elocution convince us that he is practically unacquainted with the system of intonation on which he expatiates with so much apparent familiarity ; for if he had been able to express distinctly, in the native manner, the sound of one symbol in each of those tones, he could never have confounded them with the modulation of a sentence pronounced after the manner of the recitative. Speaking of the use of tones in Chinese squabbles in the street, he says—‘ On such occasions, the sustained modulation, or *ping shing*, is greatly in request, since it enables the speaker to wind such a long continued blast into the auditory porch, that a discharge of monosyllables must have tenfold the effect they would have had if their rear had not been covered by such reinforcement.’ An assertion made in gross ignorance of the nature and uses of the tones, which are not affixed by the speaker at pleasure to any character, but belong to each, as certainly as its syllable ; and, therefore, as the Chinese, like other people, select abusive sentences and epithets for their meaning, the speaker is compelled to use the appropriate tone, whether it be *ping*, *shang*, *keu*, or *jih shing* ; for the tones were not devised to gratify the ear, but to distinguish otherwise undistinguishable ideas when spoken. Similar remarks, equally erroneous, constantly occur. In connexion with so much ignorance, we should have been gratified to have observed a little more modesty. He condemns as absurd the arrangement of the syllabic volume of Morrison’s Dictionary, which is considered by Chinese scholars, not only as the best part of his own work, but superior for its compass to any other lexicon. It is, in truth, an admirable abridgment of the whole, arranged according to the English sounds of the symbols, a great variety of which, as we noticed before, have the same sound, and are arranged under one head. ‘ The absurdity of this mode of arrangement,’ says Mr. Lay, ‘ no one can be fully sensible of who has not sat by a Chinese professing to teach the ‘ Mandarin,’ and turned over the leaves of his quarto volumes for many a precious half hour without being able to find the sound given him by his tutor.’ So far from this being the case, we are confident that any one who will try the experiment may immediately turn to whatever character he may want in this volume, from the sound given him by a native competent to teach the Mandarin, provided the pupil possesses a good ear and common sense. How then did Mr. Lay fail so miserably in his attempt? Probably because he

sought provincialisms among classical words; as, indeed, is almost evident from the sounds he elsewhere transcribes—*ho too tung yun tuk shu*—of the sentence ‘a great many now read the books,’ which might have been searched in Morrison ‘for many a precious half hour in vain,’ simply because his sounds belong to the Mandarin, and these to the Canton dialect. Suppose a foreigner heard a Yorkshireman speaking of ‘ganging through a yat,’ and he were to look in Johnson for their meaning, would it be just to blame the English lexicographer for the absence of these vulgarisms, when he only professed to give classical English? yet this is precisely Mr. Lay’s mode of treating Morrison. Let the inquirer look in Johnson for the words ‘going through a gate,’ and he will be successful. So if the Chinese student turn to the words ‘*haou to tang jin tuh shoo*’ in Morrison, with the proper characters under his eye, he will be gratified with equal success. It is painful to us to make these strictures; but the sweeping and undeserved censures passed by Mr. Lay on the labours of men no longer able to rebut them, leave us no alternative, but a criminal indifference to truth and justice or a faithful expression of our sentiments.

Lengthened as this article already is, we cannot forbear extending it a little further, on the all-absorbing Chinese topics of the day.

If we look at the question now forced on the attention of the British government, in relation to our national honour, our commerce, the morals of the Chinese, and our reputation for morality with them, it will give us definite views of the duty incumbent upon us at this period. The question itself is complicated, inasmuch as pecuniary interests, foreign and native, to an enormous extent, are involved in the decisions of the British legislature; while the peculiar position of different nations, resident on a hostile shore pending the adjustment of differences between the English cabinet and the Chinese court, renders the process of legislation, in the highest degree, delicate and difficult. Respecting the opium traffic, which constitutes the immediate occasion of this contest, there is little room for difference of opinion amongst reflecting and Christian men. We have freely expressed our condemnation of it, and see no reason to alter our judgment. It has been a source of unmingled evil to the Chinese, and has been carried on in open and insulting violation of the rights of an independent empire. The position, therefore, in which we are placed, is alike discreditable to our honour and injurious to our commerce, one against which both the patriot and the Christian should loudly protest. At the same time, we are bound to say that the case, as it now exists, is not of so easy solution as some philanthropists imagine, nor can we give the

Chinese government full credit for sincerity in the plea which they put forth. It is a curious moral phenomenon, assuming it for a moment to be real, that an empire which has steadily obstructed the entrance of Christianity within its borders to the present hour, should yet be engaged in deadly conflict with one who has enjoyed it almost 1800 years, on the sole ground of the morally deteriorating influences exercised by the subjects of that Christian power in their traffic with those of the heathen emperor. For whatever insincerity there may be in the Chinese government, its edicts bring no other charge against the English, nor allege any other ground of hostility, than that of inundating their country with opium, to the ruin of the health, morals, and property of their people. This is their plea before their own nation, whether sincere or not we shall have occasion to notice afterwards; at all events, they are convinced of the advantage of having such a ground to rest their quarrel upon. The traffic of opium is not confined to the individual merchants at Canton or Lintin, who have traded with the Chinese, and whom they may recognise as the only persons benefited by it. Other parties of high authority in the administration of the British Government in India are equally involved in the odious responsibility. To proceed at once to the origin of the evil. The East India Company, so early as 1773, attempted to carry on the opium trade with China; which, however, proceeded slowly, till the year 1824, not averaging more, during the interval, than from 3 to 5000 chests annually. Still it had been gradually increasing, and sometimes realized an enormous price. Malwa, a native province, Benares, and Patna, both under the East India Company's jurisdiction, who maintain a strict monopoly of it, are the principal places in India where the opium exported to China is manufactured. Notwithstanding the length of time the trade had subsisted, and numerous edicts in prohibition of it, no serious hindrance was offered by the Chinese authorities, (except once in 1819,) until 1820. In the year 1796 the number of chests imported was about a thousand; these were annually increased until 1837-8, when about forty thousand chests were imported from India, for which the Chinese paid upwards of twenty-five millions of dollars. The highest price for a single chest, weighing from 125 to 140 pounds, ever given in India was 4800 Sicca rupees, which sold at Penang the same year for 2650 Spanish dollars.* Opium, there is reason to believe, was an article of extensive traffic in the East before Europeans had direct intercourse with India. It was at first only used medicinally, but since then, through the efforts of foreigners, the islands of the East Indies,

* Upwards of 530*l.* sterling.

during all periods of European intercourse with them, have been supplied with it as a luxury. Java, when occupied by the English, some thirty years ago, was the chief island to which foreigners resorted for opium. It is deeply humiliating to the British flag, that all the vessels now engaged in the trade, whether the property of strangers or our own, sail under English colours. As many as twenty-five have been known to be on the Chinese coasts at one time, fast-sailing, well-armed vessels, manned chiefly by Englishmen (though some are foreigners), but all ostensibly under British authority. The history of this contraband traffic shows that China, at the close of the last century, admitted opium among her legal imports as a medicinal drug, subject to a duty of about half a dollar a pound; but that a few years afterwards, public notice began to be taken of the foreign vessels which approached her shores to dispose of it as a luxury. Prohibitions were then issued against it, and its traders experienced considerable annoyance from the authorities, and from Chinese pirates, which induced them to change their place of rendezvous from Lark's Bay to Whampoa; this occurred in 1794. In the year 1799 the governor of Canton memorialized the court at Peking to enact prohibitions against the import of opium, and punish offenders; and in the following year so severe were the edicts of the Chinese against it, that the supracargoes at Canton advised the court of directors to prevent its exportation either from Bengal or England. In the years 1809 and 1815, orders were issued by the Chinese to take security of the Hong merchants that all ships about to discharge cargo had no opium. Another proclamation was issued by the governor, in 1820, against its importation; yet, notwithstanding all the attempts to suppress the traffic, 4000 chests were imported from Bengal into China that year, besides nearly 4000 more from other places; the odium of the import was charged upon the Portuguese, English, and Americans. The ships were, however, constrained to leave Whampoa for Lin-tin, and the sales were effected through the connivance of the mandarins, whose 'eternal fidelity to his sacred majesty,' was proved to be of little force when tested by the potent charm of money; nay, there is reason to believe that some of the strongest remonstrances sent to Peking against the admission of opium, have passed through the hands, and under the feigned approbation of those most deeply implicated in the purchase and use of it.

The hostile position we have assumed towards China, and its prospective consequences, invest the subject with the deepest interest to our own and other countries; for although England, justly blamed by her own faithful subjects, may be looked upon also with a jealous eye by the autocrat of Russia, the congress

of the United States, and the sovereigns of Europe, in the attitude she bears to China, they all regard her as fighting battles from which her neighbours, equally with herself, will derive important advantages. Various classes of our countrymen will await the event of the war with a solicitude far deeper than any interruption of our commerce, during the existence of the East India Company's charter, ever occasioned. We are well aware that no consequences of the struggle can justify the causes which have led to it. An overruling providence may bring good out of evil, but the criminality of the human agent is not thereby diminished. It remains in all its odiousness the fit subject for reprobation and punishment. Still it becomes us to look forward, so far as human sagacity can look, in order to ascertain the probable results of the measures now in operation, and we are free to confess that, from those measures, reprehensible as they are, we anticipate ultimate benefit, both to the Chinese nation and to our own commerce.

Its results, if beneficial, cannot be confined to certain privileged persons, who have the power to exclude whom they please from intercourse with that vast mass of human beings whose territory extends from the tropics to the confines of Tartary, possessed of every variety of climate with its diversified productions, intersected with numerous rivers and canals, which form a highway of traffic throughout the length and breadth of the empire. The trade and commerce of the British empire may, by that means, become indefinitely augmented: the skill and industry of her artisans, the zeal and energy of her philanthropists, the investigations and discoveries of her philosophers, and the untiring benevolence of her evangelists, have here a new and altogether unprecedented sphere of action. In a merely commercial point of view, there can be little doubt that some of the principal ports of China will be accessible to the foreign merchant, who, if he pleases, may locate himself permanently on the soil. Still the inquiry arises, will permission be obtained freely to convey a knowledge of the Christian system among the natives? No right exists to compel their submission to Christianity by physical force; and therefore, should the Chinese government object to the admission of the Christian missionary, neither intimidation nor negotiation can secure the object. Our government could, at the utmost, only require that its official representatives, who, it is presumed, will be placed in different ports of importance in China, should be allowed the free exercise of their own religion; but in a much less restricted sense than the members of the Russian embassy are permitted to observe the rites of the Greek church in Peking. To this the Chinese would not object in theory, who, with other pagans, think more

of a professed worshipper of some god than of an atheist. Some years ago a British merchant, desirous of introducing a missionary to the King of Siam, at Bangkok, without exciting his majesty's suspicion, presented his friend as his own chaplain, who was kindly received. Subsequent visits were made, and now a permanent mission is established. No doubt, unless suitable precautionary measures be adopted, misunderstandings between natives and foreigners will often occur, as heretofore, at Canton, when seamen without restraint, on a foreign shore, exposed to numerous temptations among a people whose customs and manners totally differ from their own, have committed serious disturbances, which may be accounted for, without assigning any extraordinary cause, from supercilious contempt on the one side, met by cool defiance on the other.

That the Chinese are singular in all their habits and pursuits no one will deny. The existence of theories directly opposed to practice are among the most prominent of their peculiarities. Guided by no principle but the love of gain, which her moral code degrades to the lowest class of vices, China is at once the advocate of the purest philanthropy and the slave of the coldest selfishness; she eagerly grasps at the profits of foreign commerce, and formally stigmatizes its agent as the vilest drudge. This all-absorbing spirit possesses her sons in their pursuits of business, and affords a theme of unmitigated rancour in the mouths of her statesmen and philosophers; it creates an influence paramount to every other in the daily walks of life, than which none is more deprecated in the sanctuary of the priest and the schools of the prophets. The distinct features of the Chinese character stand out in strong mutual contrast, while they nevertheless form one compact whole. Duplicity, arrogance, and cruelty, modified by obsequiousness, plausibility, and professed love of equity, constitute characteristics of humanity singularly *unique*, the source of which it is not less difficult to ascertain than it is desirable to understand. The blending of so many incongruous elements in apparent harmony could only have been effected by external circumstances uniformly pervading the entire people from a remote period, attributable in no small degree to the superiority of their national and domestic policy, their literature, arts, and manufactures, over those of the surrounding countries, but especially to the isolated character of their written language.

China, probably one of the earliest civilized nations after the flood, certainly the only one that has retained her greatness to the present hour, though convulsed by domestic dissensions, and the object of frequent attack to foreign powers, some of whom subverted her existing rule and imposed a foreign yoke, has, through those varied and mighty convulsions, still preserved her social, literary,

and political characteristics in their pristine integrity. According to the dogmas of her sages, which, having prevailed for many ages, now hold indisputable sovereignty over the minds of the people, her oldest form of government was monarchical, and founded on the patriarchal system. These points, with others in Chinese philology, into which we cannot now enter, strongly tend to convince us that the present occupants of the celestial empire are an emigrant, not an aboriginal people; of course we mean the bulk of the population, and not the Manchow Tartar dynasty, two hundred years old, nor any preceding usurpation. Moreover, that when their forefathers emigrated they were advanced in civilization may, we think, be inferred from the records and descriptions of civil polity familiar to the page of Chinese history from its most ancient dates, which would otherwise have been replaced by evidences of a barbarous origin, embodying manners and customs akin to those of the true child of the forest; unpolished nature, rather than an approximation to modern refinement, founded on traditions of a beautiful country, from which their ancestors are said to have come. The antiquity of Chinese records, making ample allowance for exaggerated details of fabulous chronology, is great, and strongly urges the claims of the people both to an early location in their present territory, and to considerable acquisitions of knowledge in the first stages of political existence. But while Egypt, the source of mental elevation to the rest of the world, and the focus in which the varied rays of ancient wisdom were concentrated, together with many other eminent nations and empires of olden times, have been permitted to rise to a certain eminence, only, as it would seem, to form the greater catastrophe by their fall; why, it may be asked, has China preserved to so late a period in the age of the world her attainments in arts and knowledge, acquired many centuries before they were known to the most polished nations of Europe? and why, having neither advanced nor retrograded since the period of their acquisition, has she been spared the fate of other nations similarly situated? The instability of human grandeur, given to change from of old, and the versatility of human nature, left to the operations of its own fickleness, seem sufficient to account for the subversion of states and kingdoms and empires of the greatest magnificence. What potent spell, then, with its deeply fascinating influences, has hitherto bound China in iron slumbers? for though indications of arousing have at times appeared, she has never thoroughly awoke to break asunder the fetters of a cruel and unrelenting despotism. Several powerful nations of antiquity may have been singled out by the Almighty Ruler as monuments of his justice, simply for their opposition to his people and his truth; for example, Egypt,

which amidst visible demonstrations of Divine power in its most terrific forms, spurned the true wisdom, and sealed her doom. The Assyrian empire, though ultimately destroyed for its pride and luxury, was spared until it had had repeated warnings of its approaching fate from the prophets of truth and mercy. Greece and Rome, in later times, lost their pre-eminence in the world, after having abused unwonted favours, and evinced a prevailing spirit of rebellion against Jehovah. But the Chinese, whether regarded as the aborigines of their present country or colonists from a more ancient territory, have never beheld so much of the pure light of truth as to constitute national responsibility; in other words, have never been publicly summoned by the heralds of salvation to yield obedience to the mandates of Divine Revelation, and therefore are not chargeable with publicly rejecting its overtures; wherefore, duly considering the reasons assigned for her preservation as an empire, when so many have been blotted out from under heaven, such as her wealth, populousness, distance from powerful and enterprising kingdoms, we submit that appearances indicate her destiny in the eternal councils to be similar to that of those nations which had enwrapped themselves in atheistical seclusion, and repudiating all other means, were at length compelled by the dreadful calamity of war, begun in injustice, to open their country to the meliorating influences of the gospel.

In all cases the positive effects of war depend, under God, on the character of the conqueror. Important lessons, there can be no doubt, Divine Providence intends to teach one pagan nation overcome by another involved in similar moral darkness. What those lessons are may require some time to develop; but since the fiercest passions of human nature, unmitigated by the smallest affusion of evangelical tincture, are brought into direct collision, the most savage feelings are generated in the breast, unheard-of cruelties are perpetrated, and a stand often made by one power to the utter extermination of the other; as the Emperor of China's edict expressed the sentiment in reference to the English—'Heaven had decreed that both nations should not exist.' Indian tribes, the Tartars, the Chinese, the Siamese, Cochin-Chinese, Japanese, and other petty states and kingdoms of the regions of the further East, where civilization prevails to some extent, bear ample testimony to the woes of war between pagans of kindred moral sentiments. When a heathen prince makes war on a people nominally religious, however insensible he may be to superior guidance, it is generally as an agent to avenge Jehovah's insulted majesty, and the results are most fearful; but when Christian nations, large proportions of whom devoutly serve God, have made war on pagans, whatever injustice may have characterized its origin

(we wish we could exempt our own from this charge), or disasters marked its incipient stages, the interests of true religion, and consequently, moral and civil improvement, have been most extensively promoted. The history of China declares her, though often conquered, never to have been subdued by a power superior to her in civilization; and yet such has been the influence of her overwhelming numbers, her attainments in moral and political science, her skill in the arts and embellishments of life, that her victors, inferior in all but prowess, have sought rather to raise themselves to her standard than to sink her to the level of their own barbarism. If, then, we connect the facts of the ancient civilization of China, probably of Egyptian origin, with her sufferings from internal commotions and external conflicts, we shall be at no loss to account, either for the progress she has made to a certain point in national eminence, or for the entire cessation of all improvement beyond a prescribed limit. The origin of her acquisitions being from without, the source of their obstruction from within, the Divine Being might, on the usual principles of his administration, permit this vast empire to remain in a consolidated state, until a period should arrive to test her disposition towards himself, through the instrumentality of a nation which, in human phrase, unintentionally presented Christianity for her acceptance. Abhorrent from our minds be the thought of sanctioning war, even though the gospel should incidentally follow in its train and turn the curse into a blessing. Such calamities shift their abode to suit the changing policy of states and kingdoms, without reference to the Supreme Disposer of events, who, however, when his purposes are accomplished, forthwith extinguishes the fiercest flames enkindled by human lust and ambition. The secondary causes, designated by shortsighted mortals primary ones, which operate in national conflicts, are those for which man alone is responsible. If it were attempted to sift to the bottom the quarrel between England and China, it would be solved in different ways, according to individual prepossessions. Mr. Davis, whose work stands at the head of this article, many years an able servant of the East India Company in China, seems to attribute it to the dissolution of their charter; hence he remarks, speaking of Lord Amherst's opposition to the demands of the emperor:—

‘ The effects, at least, were visible in the rapid increase of our valuable intercourse with Canton, until the destruction in 1834 of a prosperous system of two hundred years standing, entailed those unfortunate collisions which lately drove the British trade from a port where it had long enjoyed an incontestable superiority over that of all other nations. It is extremely to be lamented that things should ever have been brought to such a pass, and by a sudden wrench; but the die being once cast, there never was a better opportunity of trying at

least what can be done towards improving our intercourse with China.'

Dismissing such reasons as the least probable, the true source of our present conflict is, we apprehend, much more likely to be found in the representation of British interests in China for so long a period by a body of merchants, than in the change of representative power effected at the sudden dissolution of those vested rights; especially as mercantile interests are regarded by the Chinese with supreme contempt, and all our national efforts with them have been to procure wealth, which they stigmatize as a pursuit followed only by bad men. The opium trade, with its alleged evils, is evidently a *ruse*, as all must perceive who look beneath the surface of Chinese plausibility, the master-strokes of whose policy turn so strongly on misrepresentation and delusion, that the greatest deceiver is the most skilful diplomatist. The alarm expressed at the increase of the opium traffic with foreigners has probably had its rise in the access thereby afforded them to the northern cities of China, and not because it would demoralize the people, whatever official documents may declare, in some of which its effects are very graphically described. Our readers, however, must not suppose that we are insensible to the evils it has inflicted on the Chinese. Having witnessed the emaciated frame, the haggard countenance, and the rolling eyeballs through which the mind, reduced by the fumes of opium almost to idiotism, seems intent only on objects that will gratify the vilest passions, to which honourable feeling, industry, and domestic enjoyment are all sacrificed, it is readily admitted that the number and magnitude of its evils are beyond our powers of expression; and that the guilt of those who have actively participated in the illegal traffic, is of a fearfully aggravated character. But our object now is not so much to discuss the conduct of the British, as to arrive at the mind of the Chinese.

Statements have probably been forwarded to Peking by parties at Macao adverse to British interests, representing the formidable nature of our national character, and the danger that might accrue to the people from closer intercourse with our countrymen; this fact, connected with the impression made on the Chinese mind by our apparent mercenary character, will sufficiently account for the present disturbance without attributing it to their sympathy with the destruction of the Company's monopoly, or to those insignificant causes mentioned by Mr. Lay; such as the medical philanthropic establishment at Canton, their hatred to the Christian religion, and similar childish reasons; than which, since they are so little known, more frivolous or improbable causes could scarcely be assigned.

Art. VI. *Lives of the Queens of England.* By Agnes Strickland.
Vol. 4. London: Henry Colburn.

THIS volume is unquestionably the most interesting of the four which Miss Strickland has published, and cannot fail to be extensively popular. The royal personages whose memoirs it contains are better known to the general reader than their predecessors. They come within the scope of modern historical information, the outline of their character is more clearly apprehended by the popular mind, and the circumstances of their history are better known. Moreover, it has happened with some of these illustrious personages, that their names have become the rallying points of contending parties, whose principles and spirit are unhappily perpetuated to the present day. They have therefore been regarded, not in the simple facts of their history, but in the connexions—frequently most arbitrary and unjust—to which the prejudices of faction have given rise; and have, in consequence, in many cases, been praised or blamed in an inverse proportion to their merits. It is impossible to understand or rightly to appreciate the biography of the Queens of Henry the Eighth, without an accurate knowledge of that monarch's character. This is the key by which alone the domestic history of his life can be opened, and until it has been mastered, it is hopeless to seek any satisfactory explanation of the fluctuating and tragical scenes which his palace exhibited.

The qualities of the youth of Henry imposed on many observers. Its superficial aspect was fair and pleasing, but there lurked beneath a foul and cruel demon, which awaited only its time to revel in hypocrisy, lust, and murder. The fair qualities of the exterior man, his buoyant spirits, his gallant demeanour, his love of revelry, and apparent freedom from vindictive passions, produced an estimate of his character somewhat similar to that which was entertained of the Second Charles. There was indeed the same selfishness, the same heartless disregard of the happiness of others, an equal recklessness of moral restraint, a similar determination to compass his sinister designs, at whatever cost of principle and happiness to others; but here the resemblance terminates. Charles was too indolent and easy to be the tyrant and the murderer, which Henry became. He permitted others to revel in confiscation and blood, but would not himself have offended greatly in this way had he not been urged forward by his statesmen and priests. The case was far different with Henry. He was not only heartless, but was cruel; a sanguinary tyrant, the promise of whose youth was speedily blasted by a bursting forth of passions, before which youth and age, the beauty of Anne Boleyn, and the rare attributes of Sir Thomas More, were swept away with equal reck-

lessness. The execution of his Chancellor and Queen consummated his crimes, and has enrolled his name amongst the most infamous of tyrants. 'It may be truly said,' remarks Sir James Mackintosh, 'that Henry, as if he had intended to levy war against every various sort of natural virtue, proclaimed, by the executions of More and of Anne, that he henceforward bade defiance to compassion, affection, and veneration. A man without a good quality would, perhaps, be in the condition of a monster in the physical world, where distortion and deformity, in every organ, seem to be incompatible with life. But in these two direful deeds, Henry perhaps approached as nearly to the ideal standard of perfect wickedness as the infirmities of human nature will allow.*'

Such was the man on whose character hinged the destinies of five of the illustrious ladies whose biographies are recorded in this volume, and it is obvious to remark that that character must be understood before the fearful tragedies of their lives can be accurately traced. The volume opens with the mother of Henry, Elizabeth of York, a princess of rare virtue and singular beauty, whose union with Henry VII. terminated the long struggle of the Roses, and thus closed the wounds of her bleeding country. According to the legitimate order of succession, Elizabeth was the rightful sovereign of the kingdom, and might therefore have contested the crown with the victor of Bosworth Field. Happily she chose the better and more tranquil course, by becoming the wife of Richmond: and a new era of commercial prosperity commenced from that auspicious event. Unimpeded by the domestic wars which had enfeebled his predecessors, Henry was enabled to work out those enlightened schemes which effectually broke down the pride and the power of a hitherto dominant aristocracy. The people rejoiced in the change effected by his policy, and regarded with grateful feelings the royal princess who had sacrificed personal ambition to the accomplishment of so important an end.

Miss Strickland has done full justice to Elizabeth, surnamed the Good, but we must pass on, though reluctantly, to the other personages who occupy a place in her volume. These are Katharine of Arragon, Anne Boleyn, Jane Seymour, Anne of Cleves, and Catharine Howard. The records of these ladies, though replete with circumstances of powerful interest, and 'rich in the picturesque costume of an age of pageantry and romance,' are as yet very partially known to the public. It is a remarkable fact that the lives of the last three of them are now for the first time offered to the public. 'Such as they were in life,' remarks our author, 'we have endeavoured to show them, whether in good or ill. Their sayings, their doings, their manners, their

* History of England, ii. 204.

dress, and such of their letters as have been preserved from the injuries of time and the outrages of ignorance, will be found faithfully chronicled as far as our limits would permit.'

We shall not attempt to notice the account given of each of these royal personages, but shall confine ourselves mainly to that of Anne Boleyn, with such remarks as may serve to elucidate the connexion of her fortunes with those of Katharine of Arragon and Jane Seymour. The historical interest attached to the second of Henry's Queens, and the influence which she exerted over the condition, both political and ecclesiastical, of the kingdom, must plead our justification for the selection we make. The eventful tragedy of her life has been so differently recorded by Protestant and Popish chroniclers, that it is somewhat difficult to ascertain the exact facts of the case. The one party has converted her faults into virtues, whilst the other has denied her the possession of any one quality worthy of admiration or love. Her fall was regarded by the one class as a signal infliction of Divine displeasure on the nation, whilst the other exulted in it as an act of retributive justice richly merited and fruitful in good.

Anne Boleyn was the eldest daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn and the Lady Elizabeth Howard, daughter of the renowned Earl of Surry. She was born about the year 1501, and was early deprived of maternal oversight by the death of her mother in 1512. After the decease of Lady Boleyn, Anne resided at Hever Castle, in Kent, where her education was superintended by a French governess, whose assiduous care was amply rewarded by the rapid improvement of her pupil. Anne was early distinguished by her proficiency in music, needlework, and many other accomplishments not then common with ladies of her rank. She carried on a regular correspondence with her father, both in English and in French, and such of her letters as remain, evidence the vivacity and acuteness of her intellect, as well as the keen susceptibility which went far to determine the complexion of her future life. So early as 1514, she was sent over to France as one of the Maids of Honour to the Princess Mary, sister to Henry the Eighth, and the young bride of Louis the Twelfth. On the death of Louis, Anne entered the household of Claude, the Queen of Francis I., who endeavoured to revive in the French court the strictness both of morals and etiquette which had been maintained by her mother, Ann of Britaine. It is somewhat difficult to believe that the regulations which this Princess laid down for the conduct of her attendants, could be other than irksome to her volatile and coquettish English maid of honour. One of the courtiers of Francis I. has left the following description of her accomplishments at this period:—

'She possessed a great talent for poetry, and when she sung, like a

second Orpheus, she would have made bears and wolves attentive. She likewise danced the English dances, leaping and jumping with infinite grace and agility. Moreover, she invented many new figures and steps, which are yet known by her name or by those of the gallant partners with whom she danced them. She was well skilled in all games fashionable at courts. Besides singing like a syren, accompanying herself on the lute, she harped better than king David, and handled cleverly both lute and rebec.* She dressed with marvellous taste, and devised new modes, which were followed by the fairest ladies of the French court, but none wore them with her gracefulness, in which she rivalled Venus.'

It has been customary with Roman-catholic writers to represent the life of Anne at the French court as one of extreme profligacy; yet little partiality, or even candour, is necessary, in order to an admission of the falsity of such statements. 'That the education of a youthful and beautiful female,' remarks Mr. Tytler, '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.†

Anne returned to England, according to the most authentic accounts, in the year 1522, not 1527, as has been stated by some modern writers. The poet Wyatt descants, with all the enthusiasm of a lover, on her personal beauties at this time. 'In this noble imp,' he tells us, 'the graces of nature, adorned by gracious education, seemed, even from the first, to have promised bliss unto her in after times.' Even Sanders, who was far from sympathizing in the fond admiration of Wyatt, says that 'beauty and sprightliness sat on her lips; in readiness of repartee, skill in the dance, and in playing on the lute, she was unsurpassed.' Immediately on her return to England, Anne was appointed Maid of Honour to Queen Katharine, being then, according to Lord Herbert, 'about twenty years old.' Our author's account of the allowance made for the table of the ladies belonging to the Queen's household, affords an amusing contrast to the habits of the present day:—

'Each maid of honour was allowed a woman servant and a spaniel as her attendants; the *bouche* of court afforded ample sustenance not only to the lady herself but her retainers, both biped and quadruped, were their appetites ever so voracious. A chine of beef, a manchet,

* The rebec was a little violin, with three strings.

† Life of Henry VIII., p. 238.

and a *chet* loaf, offered a plentiful breakfast for the three; to these viands was added a gallon of ale, which could only be discussed by two of the party. The brewer was enjoined to put neither hops nor brimstone into their ale, the first being deemed as horrible an adulteration as the last. The maids of honour, like officers in the army and navy at the present day, dined at mess, a circumstance which shows how very ancient that familiar term is. To the honour of the ladies we have nothing to record of their squabbles at mess. 'Seven messes of ladies dined at the same table in the great chamber. Manchets, beef, mutton, ale, and wine, were served them in abundance, to which were added hens, pigeons, and rabbits. On fast days their mess was supplied with salt salmon, salted eels, whittings, gurnet, plaice, and flounders. Such of the ladies as were peers' daughters had stabling allowed them.'—p. 174.

Of the character of Katharine, to whose household Anne Boleyn was now attached, it is difficult to speak too highly.

'So good a lady, that no tongue could ever
Pronounce dishonour of her,—by my life,
She never knew harm-doing.'

Unfortunately for the Queen she was some years older than her husband, and had now lost the small share of personal beauty she ever possessed. Considering, therefore, the temperament of Henry, and his utter destitution of all moral principle, it is no marvel that he should look to the young and beautiful maid of honour with other than honourable feelings. Anne herself, it would appear, was for some time ignorant of the feelings which she had awakened in the king. Her heart was given to Lord Percy, eldest son of the Earl of Northumberland, who returned her attachment with an ardour which embittered his subsequent days. The engagement between them was for some time secret, but being at length notified to the king, Cardinal Wolsey was employed to effect the separation of the young lovers. The following is our author's account of this ungallant interference:—

'As for the young lady herself, she appears to have been wholly unconscious of the impression she had made on her sovereign's heart. In fact, as her whole thoughts were employed in securing a far more desirable object, namely, her marriage with the heir of the illustrious and wealthy house of Percy, it is scarcely probable that she would incur the risk of alarming her honourable lover by coquetries with the king. Under these circumstances we think Anne Boleyn must be acquitted of having purposely attracted the attention of the king in the first instance. On the contrary, she must, at this peculiar crisis, have regarded his passion for her as the greatest misfortune that could have befallen her, as it was the means of preventing her marriage with the only man, whom we have the slightest reason to believe, she ever loved.

‘If Anne, however, regarded the king with indifference, his feelings towards her were such that he could not brook the thought of seeing her the wife of another, though aware that it was not in his power to marry her himself. With the characteristic selfishness of his nature, he determined to separate the lovers. Accordingly he sent for Wolsey, and expressing himself very angrily on the subject of the contract into which Anne Boleyn and Percy had entered, charged him to take prompt steps for dissolving their engagement. It is probable that Henry made the infringement of the arrangement previously sanctioned by him, for the marriage of Anne with the son of Sir Piers Butler, the pretext for the extraordinary displeasure he manifested on this occasion.’—pp. 176, 177.

The part acted by Wolsey on this occasion laid the foundation of that bitter hostility with which Anne subsequently regarded him. Having no idea of his acting under orders from the king, she naturally regarded his conduct ‘as a piece of gratuitous impertinence of his own, and in the bitterness of disappointed love, nourished that vindictive spirit against him which no after submissions could nullify.’ It was with as much truth as beauty, that Shakspeare represented the Cardinal as exclaiming—

‘There was the weight that pull’d me down. O Cromwell,
The King has gone beyond me ; all my glories
In that one woman I have lost for ever.’

It has been customary with Catholic writers to represent the conduct of Anne towards the King as coquettish and artful, studiously adapted to keep alive his hopes, yet skilfully evasive and procrastinating. Nothing of this kind, however, was apparent in the manner in which she met his first avowal of attachment. She recoiled from his words as full of poison, and indignantly rejected his proposals. With a spirit worthy of her royal mistress, and which it would have been well both for her happiness and her fame had she continued to cherish, she replied, ‘I think, most noble and worthy King, your majesty speaks these words in mirth, to prove me, without intent of degrading your princely self. Therefore, to ease you of the labour of asking me any such questions hereafter, I beseech your highness most earnestly to desist, and take this my answer, (which I speak from the depth of my soul,) in good part. Most noble King, I will rather lose my life than my virtue, which will be the greatest and best part of the dowry I shall bring my husband.’ Henry, it seems, like most royal lovers, had little confidence in human virtue. ‘He should at least continue to hope,’ was his questionable reply; to which the daughter of his courtier proudly rejoined, ‘I understand not, most mighty King, how you should retain such hope; your wife I cannot be, both in respect of mine own unworthiness

and also because you have a Queen already. Your mistress I will not be.' This beautiful instance of high-minded maidenly discretion has been sadly distorted by party prejudice and religious rancour, yet it stands on record, to the honour of the early and better days of Anne. There was enough to deplore and censure in her course, without exercising an ungenerous censorship, much more without distorting the few redeeming points of this portion of her history. Finding that he could not accomplish his licentious purpose, the passion of the King took a new direction, and the project of a divorce from his faithful and high-minded Queen became the subject of his earnest contemplation. His conscience, at least so the King and his sycophants alleged, became troubled about the incestuous nature of his marriage with his brother's widow. Of the hypocrisy and selfishness of Henry, no reasonable doubt can now be entertained. If duped at all, he was duped by the vilest passions, but the probability is, that he consciously sought a union with Anne under all the pleas on which a divorce from Katharine was urged. It happened fortunately for the King's purpose, that Wolsey was, at this time, solicitous to dissolve the connexion of his master with the Emperor Charles V., nephew of the English Queen. The vindictive Cardinal entered, therefore, warmly into the scheme of a divorce, never suspecting that the King intended to make the 'foolish girl,' as he termed Anne Boleyn the partner of his throne. His scheme was to have united Henry with a French princess, but he was outwitted by the vehement passion and dogged purpose of his master. Communications were in consequence opened with the Pope, and all the artifice and chicanery of Italian policy were put in requisition in order to evade the necessity of pronouncing a final judgment in the King's case. In the meantime, notwithstanding the most earnest protestations on the part of Henry, Anne did not, for some years, reappear in his court. Miss Strickland remarks that:—

'Burnet suggests the possibility of her having returned to France in the interim, and that she came back to England with her father, when he was recalled from his embassy, in 1527, when, as Stowe says, he brought with him the portrait of Margaret, the widowed duchess of Alençon, Anne's royal patroness and friend, for Henry's consideration. We have no doubt but this conjecture will one day be verified, by the increasing activity of modern research among contemporary records and letters. Burnet, after adverting to Cavendish's account of Anne Boleyn's engagement with Percy, as the only satisfactory guide for fixing the real period of her first appearance at court, concludes with this observation: 'Had that writer told us in what year this was done, it had given a great light to direct us.' That light is now fully supplied by the date of the Earl of Surrey's letter, which we have pre-

viously quoted, touching the marriage of the unfortunate Percy to the lady for whom he was compelled to relinquish his beloved Anne Boleyn. We may therefore fairly come to the conclusion, that Anne entered the service of Margaret, Duchess of Alençon, at the beginning of the year 1526, when the French court had reassembled, with renewed splendour, to rejoice in the restoration of its chivalric sovereign, Francis I., and that she returned to England with her father, as surmised by Burnet, when he was recalled from a diplomatic mission, early in 1527.

‘After an absence of four years, Anne Boleyn resumed her place in the court of Queen Katharine, in compliance, it is supposed, with her father’s commands, and received the homage of her enamoured sovereign in a less repulsive manner than she had done while her heart was freshly bleeding for the loss of the man whom she had passionately desired to marry. If her regrets were softened by the influence of time and absence, it is certain that her resentment continued in full force against Wolsey, for his conduct with regard to Percy, and the anger she dared not openly manifest against the king, was treasured up against a day of vengeance, to be visited on the instrument whom he had employed in that business. ‘She having,’ says Cavendish, ‘always a prime grudge against my lord cardinal, for breaking the contract between her and Lord Percy, supposing it to be his own device, and no other’s. And she at last, knowing the king’s pleasure, and the depth of his secrets, then began to look very haughty and stout, lacking no manner of rich apparel or jewels that money could purchase.’—pp. 185, 186.

The circumstance of Anne having withdrawn from the English court during these eventful years, ought to have exempted her from many of the imputations which have been so recklessly cast on her character. Dr. Lingard has retailed these slanders in a form the more injurious, from their being divested of much of their former grossness. He speaks of her ‘having artfully kept her lover in suspense’—of her having ‘indulged him in liberties which no modest woman would grant,’ and even goes so far as to affirm, in violation of all the evidence of the case, that for some years prior to the divorce she had lived in criminal intercourse with the King. It is much to be regretted that so able a writer, who has rendered such good service to some departments of our history, should so uniformly permit the prejudices of his class to mislead his judgment. Anne was faulty, but it was not in this way. She was vain, and became at length ambitious. Her heart had lost much of its ethereal temper by the violent disruption of her connexion with Percy. The bloom of early love was gone, and passions of a more earthly and selfish order were substituted in its place. This led her to disregard what she owed to her royal mistress, and ultimately to contemplate with satisfaction and desire the possession of those honours which could

only be obtained by the grossest and most cruel injustice to Katharine. This was the great sin of Anne Boleyn. It was ungenerous and unwomanly. It betokened an absence of all the higher moral elements which constitute our greatness, and revealed the ingratitude and selfishness which lay treasured in her heart. As Miss Strickland justly remarks :—

‘Ambition had now entered her head; she saw that the admiration of the sovereign had rendered her the centre of attraction to all who sought his favour, and she felt the fatal charms of power,—not merely the power which beauty, wit, and fascination had given her, but that of political influence. In a word, she swayed the will of the arbiter of Europe, and she had determined to share his throne as soon as her royal mistress could be dispossessed. The Christmas festival was celebrated with more than usual splendour at Greenwich that year, and Anne Boleyn, not the queen, was the prima donna at all the tourneys, masks, banquets, and balls, with which the king endeavoured to beguile the lingering torments of suspense, occasioned by the obstacles which Wolsey’s diplomatic craft continued to interpose in the proceedings for the divorce.’—pp. 191, 192.

It must be remembered, in extenuation of Anne’s conduct on her return to court, that the invalidity of the King’s marriage was strenuously maintained by the most eminent statesmen and divines. Only two Englishmen, Sir Thomas More and Bishop Fisher, were sufficiently upright and courageous to refuse their support to the King’s scheme; and we need not therefore wonder when lawyers declared the marriage to be invalid, *ab initio*, and divines, both catholic and protestant, represented it as incestuous, that Anne should readily admit the doctrine that was so current, and deem herself justified in the encouragement she awarded to the King’s proposals. Gardiner and Bonner on the one side, and Cranmer on the other, were active in promoting the King’s ‘secret matter,’ as the divorce was termed, and thus gave their sanction to the ambitious views entertained by the reigning beauty. Her position, however, was, to say the least, equivocal, and our judgment upon it would perhaps be more severe, were it not for the compassion which her tragical fate enkindles. Suffolk House, adjoining Whitehall, was fitted up for her residence, where her daily levées, which she held with all the pomp of royalty, were attended by crowds of obsequious courtiers. ‘She had her ladies in waiting, her train-bearer and her chaplains, and dispensed patronage both in church and state.’

It would be beside our present object to detail the progress of the King’s suit at Rome; the pope alternately soothed and fretted him; he wished to gratify the English monarch, but dreaded the displeasure of the Queen’s nephew, Charles V. Every means of

evasion which Italian diplomacy could employ was therefore adopted in order to protract the suit, and the increasing impatience and alarming irritability of Henry were met from time to time by delusive promises, or by the suggestion of expedients which were never intended to be acted out. Cardinal Campeggio was associated with Wolsey, under commission from the pope, to hear and determine on the case. Their court was held in the great hall of the palace at Blackfriars, where the two legates, on the 28th May, 1529, summoned the king and the queen to appear before them. The king answered by two proctors, but the queen, appealing from the legantine court to that of Rome, instantly departed. On the 18th of the following month, arguments on both sides having in the intermediate time been heard, Henry and Katharine were again summoned into court, when the former answered in person, and the latter again protested against the legality of the court on the ground of the judges holding benefices from the king. She therefore renewed her appeal to Rome, and on the justice of her objection being overruled by the legates, the nobility and high-mindedness of her nature showed itself in beautiful combination with all the softer and more bewitching qualities of her sex. On her name being called a second time, she instantly rose, crossed herself with much fervour, and without deigning to notice her judges, walked to the king's chair, attended by her ladies, where, kneeling down before him, she appealed to his compassion and justice, in a strain of the most tender and beseeching supplication.

‘ ‘ Sir, I beseech you, for all the loves there hath been between us, and for the love of God, let me have some right and justice. Take of me some pity and compassion, for I am a poor stranger born out of your dominions; I have here no unprejudiced councillor, and I flee to you as to the head of justice within your realm. Alas! alas! wherein have I offended 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. I have been pleased and contented with all things wherein you had delight or dalliance; I loved all those you loved, only for your sake, whether they were my friends or mine enemies. This twenty years have I been your true wife, and by me ye have had divers children, although it hath pleased God to call them out of the world, which has been no fault of mine. I put it to your conscience, whether I came not to you a maid? If you have since found any dishonour in my conduct, then am I content to depart, albeit to my great shame and disparagement; but if none there be, then I beseech you, thus lowly, to let me remain in my proper state. The king, your father, was accounted in his day as a second Solomon for wisdom, and my father, Ferdinand, was esteemed one of the wisest kings that had ever reigned in Spain; both, indeed, were excellent princes, full of wisdom and royal behaviour. Also, as

meseemeth, they had in their days as learned and as judicious councillors as are at present in this realm, who then thought our marriage good and lawful; therefore, it is a wonder to me to hear what new inventions are brought up against me, who never meant aught but honestly. Ye cause me to stand to the judgment of this new court, wherein ye do me much wrong, if ye intend any kind of cruelty; for ye may condemn me for lack of sufficient answer, since your subjects cannot be impartial councillors for me, as they dare not, for fear of you, disobey your will. Therefore, most humbly do I require you, in the way of charity, and for the love of God, who is the just Judge of all, to spare me the sentence of this new court, until I be advertised what way my friends in Spain may advise me to take; and if ye will not extend to me this favour, your pleasure be fulfilled, and to God do I commit my cause.'—pp. 129, 130.

At length the farce—for farce it was so far as the king's proceedings were concerned—was brought to a close by the secret marriage of Henry on the 25th of January, 1533, some two months before the consecration of Cranmer to the archbishopric of Canterbury. In this act the king presumed to treat his former marriage as a nullity. Impatient of the dilatory proceedings at Rome, he determined to act on the opinions which had been obtained from many of the universities of Europe. Still it was felt advisable to interpose something bearing a legal form, that might be a bar to any objection being raised against his union with Anne. The marriage was therefore publicly solemnized on the 12th of April, and during the following month, Cranmer, by virtue of his office as primate, instituted a judicial investigation into the validity of the king's marriage with his former queen. On the 23rd of May, the supple archbishop pronounced his final judgment, declaring the alleged marriage between the king and the Lady Katharine of Castile to be null and void, having been contracted against the divine law; and a few days afterwards he gave a judicial confirmation of Henry's union with Anne Boleyn.

The triumph of the latter was now complete. She had gained the pinnacle to which her ambition aspired, and shared with her impassioned lord the fealty of a brave and chivalric nation. She had made many sacrifices in the pursuit of her object. The better qualities of her heart, the generous sympathy which constitutes so appropriate an ornament to her sex, the modesty which shrinks from the mere breath of slander, the unearthliness and purity of woman's love, all had been surrendered, or greatly weakened, in order to obtain the prize she now grasped. Her excited spirit, stimulated by the chace, probably exulted for a season in the consciousness of success. Yet we can readily imagine that in her brightest and most sunny hours she was not without

some secret misgiving, some vague and impalpable foreboding of evil. Her judgment—far more acute and cultivated than was common to the women of her age—could not but detect those elements in the king's character which betokened an unstable and capricious mind; a heart impetuous but shortlived in its attachments, and a selfishness which knew no law, and recognised no claim which had not respect to his personal pleasures. The instability of her fortunes was early recognised by some around her. When Sir Thomas More's beloved daughter, Margaret, visited him in the Tower, he asked 'how Queen Anne did?' 'In faith, father,' she replied, 'never better; there is nothing else in the court but dancing and sporting.' 'Never better!' answered More; 'alas! Meg, alas! it pitieth me to think into what misery, poor soul! she will shortly come. These dances of her's will prove such dances that she will spurn our heads off like footballs, but it will not be long ere her head will dance the like dance.' More's words were prophetic, as the end of the tragedy speedily proved. Her natural impulses were of a virtuous order, and she could not therefore fail, amidst all the external splendour of royalty, to experience much bitterness of feeling in a review of the past. Her demeanour underwent, we are informed, considerable change. She became grave and composed, relinquished the chace, and shrinking from other scenes of gaiety, spent many of her hours in retirement. The revolution effected in her manner and in those of her court has been attributed by some to a religious influence, and was probably in part derived therefrom. Miss Strickland's account is as follows:—

'The change that had taken place in the manners of Anne Boleyn and her court has been attributed to the influence of the celebrated reformer, Hugh Latimer. The queen had rescued this eloquent and zealous minister from the durance to which Stokesley, Bishop of London, had committed him. But for the powerful protection of Anne, Latimer would, in all probability, have been called to testify the sincerity of his principles at the stake five and twenty years before he was clothed with the fiery robes of martyrdom. At her earnest solicitation, the king interposed, and Latimer was restored to liberty. The queen next expressed a wish to see and hear the rescued preacher; and Latimer, instead of addressing his royal protectress in the language of servile adulation, reminded her of the vanity of earthly greatness, and the delusions of human hopes and expectations. Anne listened with humility, and entreated him to point out whatever appeared amiss in her conduct and deportment. Latimer, in reply, seriously represented to her how much it behoved her, not only to impress the duties of morality and piety on her attendants, but to enforce her precepts by example. Anne, far from being offended at his sincerity, appointed him for one of her chaplains, and afterwards obtained his promotion to the see of Worcester. To her credit, it is

also recorded that she directed a certain sum, from her privy purse, to be distributed to every village in England for the relief of its distressed inhabitants. With greater wisdom she planned the institution of a variety of manufactures, with a view of giving more permanent assistance to those who were destitute of a livelihood, and without employment. For the last nine months of her life she distributed 14,000*l.* in alms; she also caused many promising youths to be educated, and sent to college, at her expense, with the intention of rendering their talents and learning serviceable in the church. In all these things Anne performed the duties of a good woman and an enlightened queen; and had she attained to her royal elevation in an honest and conscientious manner, in all probability the blessing of God would have been with her, and prospered her undertakings. But, however powerful Anne's religious impressions might be, it is impossible that a real change of heart had taken place while she continued to incite the king to harass and persecute his forsaken queen, Katharine, by depriving her of the solace of her daughter's company, and exacting from the disinherited princess, submissions from which conscience and nature alike revolted. There were moments when Anne felt the insecurity of her position in a political point of view; and well must she have known how little reliance was to be placed on the stability of the regard of the man whose caprice had placed the queenly diadem on her brow. At the best, she was only the queen of a party, for the generous and independent portion of the nobles and people of England still regarded Katharine as the lawful possessor of the title and place which Henry had bestowed on her.—pp. 250, 251.

On the 7th of September, Anne Boleyn gave birth to the Princess Elizabeth, to the bitter disappointment of the king, who was intensely anxious for a male heir, and had absurdly calculated on one. Within two years from this period, Anne discovered the criminal intrigues of her husband with Jane Seymour, one of her own maids of honour. 'Her agonies,' as Miss Strickland justly remarks, 'were not the less poignant, because conscience must have told her that it was retributive justice which returned the poisoned chalice to her own lips, when she, in like manner, found herself rivalled and supplanted by one of her female attendants.' The memory of past days, embittered by many painful and humiliating reflections, must have recurred to her chafed and wearied spirits at such a moment; and who shall say how far the bitterness of her misery exceeded the pleasure which her former success had administered? The discovery of her husband's infidelity agitated her so severely as to bring on premature labour, January 29, 1536. Her son was dead, and the brutal monarch, instead of sympathizing with her maternal sorrow, burst furiously into her apartment, and upbraided her 'with the loss of his boy.' This was the commencement of the tragedy which, four months afterwards, was consummated in the Tower.

‘ Anne slowly regained her health, but not her spirits. She knew the king’s temper too well not to be aware that her influence was at an end for ever, and that she must prepare to resign, not only her place in his affections, but also in his state, to the new star by whom she had been eclipsed. When she found that she had no power to obtain the dismissal of her rival from the royal household, she became very melancholy, and withdrew herself from all the gaieties of the court, passing all her time in the most secluded spots in Greenwich Park.

‘ It is also related, that she would sit for hours in the quadrangle court of Greenwich Palace in silence and abstraction, or seeking a joyless pastime in playing with her little dogs, and setting them to fight with each other. The king had entirely withdrawn himself from her company ever since her rash retort to his unfeeling reproach, and now they never met in private. She had not the consolation of her infant daughter’s innocent smiles and endearments to beguile her lonely sorrow, for the princess Elizabeth was nursed in a separate establishment, and the sweet tie of maternity had been sacrificed to the heartless parade of stately ceremonials. She had alienated the regard and acquired the enmity of her uncle Norfolk. Her royal sister-in-law and early patroness, Mary, queen of France, was no more, and Suffolk, Henry’s principal favourite, was one of her greatest foes.’—pp. 253, 254.

It was not the temper of Henry to allow any unnecessary delay in the accomplishment of his desires. In his former marriage he had affected scruples of conscience, and desecrated religion by pleading his regard to its laws. This was the appropriate and only plea on which he could ground his suit for a divorce from Katharine, and he therefore obtruded it in every possible form on the public mind of Europe. The case of Anne was different. He regarded her as a minion of his own creation, the mere creature of his power, whom he had raised in a fit of passion, and could as readily abase now that that passion had expired. The moment that Henry ceased to love, if such a word can properly designate the passion of such a man, her fate was sealed, and her death not far distant. His councillors and divines were ready to accomplish his pleasure, and the shortest, the easiest, and the most legal mode of removing her from the throne which he wished another to occupy, was to convict her of infidelity, and sentence her to the block. Henry well knew that he had only to intimate his wishes, and another farce would readily be acted for his gratification. An ordinary man would have paused before he took deadly counsel against one whom he had so recently loved, and to whom he had pledged himself in terms of impassioned fervour, but the brutal baseness of Henry placed him without the ordinary range of human influences, and well qualified him for the part he acted.

The secret plot against the queen must have been organized in the spring of 1536, for on the 4th of April in that year, as if to deprive her of the chance of the interference of that body, the parliament was dissolved. We shall not go through the charges which were preferred against her. It is enough to notice their general character, and to pass on to the fearful consummation. On Monday, the 1st of May, Anne appeared for the last time in the pride and pomp of royalty. It was at the jousts at Greenwich, where her brother, Viscount Rochford, was the principal challenger, and Henry Norris, a groom of the stole, was one of the defenders. In the midst of the pageant, the king suddenly quitted the royal balcony with marks of great displeasure, which astonished the queen, and abruptly closed the entertainments of the day. Lord Rochford, Henry Norris, Sir Francis Weston, William Brereton, and Mark Smeaton, were instantly arrested on a charge of high treason, and on the following day the Duke of Norfolk entered the queen's presence, attended by Sir William Kingston, constable of the Tower, and briefly informed her that 'it was his Majesty's pleasure she should depart to the Tower.' Anne was at first terrified by the communication, but speedily regaining her composure, she replied, 'If it be his Majesty's pleasure, I am ready to obey.' The demeanour of her uncle, the Duke of Norfolk, was brutal in the extreme, and the other minions of the king, save alone Sir Thomas Audley, emulated his discourtesy and harshness. Anne entreated to be brought into the presence of the king, but the lords of the council deigned her no answer, and met her protestations of innocence with marks of insulting incredulity.

The instability of human fortune was never more strikingly evinced than in the case of Anne Boleyn. She had suddenly risen to power by the capricious fondness of a heartless tyrant, and she now fell the victim of that fickleness to which she owed her rise. In the former instance she had accepted the honours proffered, at the price of a good conscience and of maidenly honour, and she now sunk, the despoiled rival of a new favourite equally ready with herself to purchase royalty at the sacrifice of every claim which honour and gratitude imposed. The design of Henry in the arrest of his wife was obvious from the first. He was determined to rid himself of what he now deemed an incumbrance, and was not likely to be scrupulous as to the means he should employ. The queen's bitterest enemy, Lady Boleyn, her aunt, and Mrs. Cosyns, who was equally disagreeable, were appointed to attend her night and day. The object of this cruel espionage could not be mistaken. 'They perpetually tormented her with insolent observations, and annoyed her with questions artfully devised for the purpose of entangling her in her talk, or drawing

from her own lips admissions that might be turned into murderous evidence of her guilt.' The hysterical paroxysms of Anne sometimes approached to delirium. She talked incoherently, and gave way by turns to indignation and fear. It is not therefore to be wondered at, that with such eyes upon her, and with no witnesses to correct the reports they made, many things should be recorded of her which she never uttered, but which seem to involve a partial admission of her guilt. There were times when she could not be persuaded that the king intended her ruin. She called up the memory of their loves, the sunny days they had passed together, the vows, so recent, which he had uttered, the passionate earnestness with which he had sought her heart, and then, recurring to her present disgrace and imprisonment, she sought to comfort herself by adding, 'I think the king does it to prove me.' On such occasions she would laugh and affect to be merry—a joyousness more sorrowful than tears, reminding us of

' Moody madness, laughing wild
Amidst severest woe !'

These were but occasional fits, which served only for a moment to brighten the gloom of her spirits. She knew enough of the king, and had seen enough of what he could do, not to misinterpret the signs of her own fate. The king, she said, bitterly, 'wist what he did when he put such women as my Lady Boleyn and Mrs. Cosyns about her.' With considerable difficulty, probably through the agency of the sister of Sir Thomas Wyatt, she conveyed a letter to Henry, the high tone of which, however indicative of integrity on her own part, was little adapted to move the remorseless tyrant whom she addressed. Her trial was hastened on with an indecent recklessness which betokened a case prejudged. On the tenth of May an indictment for high treason was found by the grand jury of Westminster against the Lady Anne Queen of England, George Boleyn Viscount Rochford, Henry Morris, groom of the stole, Sir Francis Weston, and William Brereton, gentlemen of the privy chamber, and Mark Smeaton, a performer on musical instruments, who, for his skill, had been promoted to be a groom of the chambers. Two days afterwards the four commoners were tried in Westminster-hall. Smeaton pleaded guilty, under circumstances which proved the utter worthlessness of his testimony, whilst the other three resolutely maintained their own and the queen's innocence. The following is Miss Strickland's account:—

'Smeaton endeavoured to save his life by pleading guilty to the indictment. He had previously confessed, before the council, the crime with which he and the queen were charged. The three gentle-

men, Norris, Weston, and Brereton, resolutely maintained their innocence, and that of their royal mistress, though urged by every persuasive, even the promise of mercy, if they would confess. They persisted in their plea, and was all condemned to death. On what evidence they were found guilty no one can now say, for the records of the trial are not in existence; but in that reign of terror, English liberty and English law were empty words. Almost every person whom Henry VIII. brought to trial for high treason was condemned, as a matter of course; and at last he omitted the ceremony of trials at all, and slew his noble and royal victims by acts of attainder, *ad libitum*.

‘Every effort was used to obtain evidence against Anne from the condemned prisoners, but in vain. ‘No one,’ says Sir Edward Baynton, in his letters to the treasurer, ‘will accuse her, but *alonely* Mark, of any actual thing.’ How Mark’s confession was obtained becomes an important question as to the guilt or innocence of the queen. Constantine, whose testimony is anything but favourable to Anne Boleyn, says, ‘that Mark confessed, but it was reported that he had been grievously racked first.’ According to Grafton, he was beguiled into signing the deposition which criminated himself, the queen, and others, by the subtlety of the admiral, Sir William Fitzwilliam, who perceiving his hesitation and terror, said, ‘Subscribe, Mark, and you will see what will come of it.’ The implied hope of preserving a dishonoured existence prevailed. The wretched creature signed the fatal paper, which proved the death-doom of himself, as of his royal mistress. He was hanged that he might tell no tales. Norris was offered his life if he would confess, but declared ‘that he would rather die a thousand deaths than accuse the queen of that of which he believed her, in his conscience, innocent.’ When this noble reply was reported to the king, he cried out, ‘Hang him up, then! hang him up!’ —pp. 269, 270.

The trial of the queen and of her brother, Lord Rochford, took place a few days afterwards, in a temporary building erected by order of the king in the great hall in the Tower. Twenty-six peers were nominated by Henry ‘as lords triers,’ amongst whom was the Earl of Northumberland, Anne’s first lover, from whom she had been separated by the agency of Wolsey. Fear of the king’s displeasure probably compelled his attendance, but his agitation was so great as to bring on sudden illness, which compelled him to quit the court before the arraignment either of the queen or of her brother. Had she been tried by the whole peerage, which, at this time, amounted only to fifty three, Anne might have stood some chance of acquittal, but her judges were selected by her accuser, and her cause was therefore hopeless from the first. The only evidence adduced against Lord Rochford was, ‘that on one occasion, when making some request to his sister the queen, he leaned over her bed, and was said by the bystanders to have kissed her.’ Such was the proof,

and such only, which a royal accuser could adduce in support of the unnatural crime with which he wished to blacken the memory of his queen and her brother. Lord Rochford defended himself with great firmness and eloquence, but his jurors were packed men, whose sentence was previously agreed on. On his removal from the court, Anne was led to the bar, and exhibited in her demeanour a striking contrast to what some passages of her history would have led us to anticipate. She was without an adviser or friend, yet no symptoms of agitation or self-distrust were visible. She had evidently rallied all her powers to meet the awful crisis, and she stood in consequence unappalled before men to whose dishonest judgment she knew her life to be committed. The lord of Milherve informs us 'that she presented herself at the bar with the true dignity of a queen, and curtsied to her judges, looking round upon them all without any sign of fear.' To the indictment she firmly pleaded 'not guilty,' and argued the various counts contained in it with a clearness, modesty, and force, which, under other circumstances, could scarcely have failed to save her life. The Lord Mayor, who was present on this occasion, subsequently remarked, that 'he could not observe anything in the proceedings against her, but that they were resolved to make an occasion to get rid of her.' No opinion can now be formed on the evidence itself, as the records of the trial have been destroyed, though not, as Dr. Lingard ungenerously insinuates, 'by the hands of those who respected her memory,' since they were seen by Burnett, and can scarcely be supposed to have perished subsequently by any unfair means. On the character of the queen's trial it is needless to remark: 'nothing in this detestable reign,' observes Mr. Hallam, 'is worse. She was indicted partly upon the statute of Edward III., which, by a just, though rather technical construction, has been held to extend the guilt of treason to an adulterous queen as well as to her paramour, and partly on the recent law for preservation of the succession, which attached the same penalties to anything done or said in slander of the king's issue.*' She was, of course, found guilty, and was condemned to be burned or beheaded at the king's pleasure. To this terrible sentence she is reported to have listened without the least change of colour, but immediately on its being pronounced, she clasped her hands, and raising her eyes to heaven, exclaimed, 'O Father, O Creator! Thou who art the way, the life, and the truth, knowest whether I have deserved this death.' To her earthly judges she then addressed herself in a tone which became her better self, and which may serve by its elevation and generosity to redeem some of the weaker

* Constitutional History, i, 43.

passages of her history. Her words are thus reported by a foreign contemporary who was one of the few spectators of the scene :—

‘My lords, I will not say your sentence is unjust, nor presume that my reasons can prevail against your convictions. I am willing to believe that you have sufficient reasons for what you have done, but then they must be other than those which have been produced in court, for I am clear of all the offences which you then laid to my charge. I have ever been a faithful wife to the king, though I do not say I have always shown him that humility which his goodness to me, and the honour to which he raised me, merited. I confess I have had jealous fancies and suspicions of him, which I had not discretion and wisdom enough to conceal at all times. But God knows, and is my witness, that I never sinned against him in any other way. Think not I say this in the hope to prolong my life. God hath taught me how to die, and he will strengthen my faith. Think not that I am so bewildered in my mind as not to lay the honour of my chastity to heart now in mine extremity, when I have maintained it all my life long, as much as ever queen did. I know these, my last words, will avail me nothing, but for the justification of my chastity and honour. As for my brother and those others who are unjustly condemned, I would willingly suffer many deaths to deliver them; but since I see it so pleases the king, I shall willingly accompany them in death, with this assurance, that I shall lead an endless life with them in peace.’—p. 274.

The death-warrant of his once passionately loved and still beautiful queen was speedily signed by Henry, who sent Cranmer to her, partly perhaps in pity, and partly, if not altogether, in deceit, to receive her confession. She derived comfort from the primate’s visit, and for a moment entertained the hope of life. With what message Cranmer had been charged we know not, neither are we informed of the manner in which he discharged his mission, but the effect on the ill-fated Anne was evident, from her informing her attendants that ‘she understood she was to be banished, and she supposed she should be sent to Antwerp.’ The delusive nature of the communication was, however, soon apparent. On the seventeenth of May she was summoned to appear in the Archbishop’s Court at Lambeth, to answer questions respecting the validity of her marriage with the king. The object of this proceeding was to annul her marriage and declare her issue illegitimate, and Anne was induced to submit to this degradation as the only means of avoiding being burned to death. Her judges had referred it to the king’s pleasure whether she should be burned or beheaded, and it is generally believed that the fear of the former was employed as a means of inducing her to acknowledge a pre-contract of marriage with Lord Percy, on which ground Cranmer pronounced ‘that the marriage between Henry and Anne was null and void, and always had been so.’ The

part acted by Cranmer on this occasion is far from redounding to his honour. His timid and vacillating spirit cowered before the frown of Henry, and the sanction of his name and office were consequently lent to a transaction against which his better nature protested. The struggle of his mind is obvious even in his letter to the king, but he was too supple and compliant to act out the part which humanity and religion alike enjoined. His position was most unenviable, and must have appeared so, even to himself. At the bidding of his master he had formerly pronounced the marriage between Henry and Anne to be valid, and now, at the command of the same master, he reversed his former judgment, and that too upon grounds, the falsity of which he could not but know. The enemies of Cranmer need scarcely desire a greater triumph than his conduct on this occasion furnishes. It was disgraceful to himself, detrimental to his office, and cruelly injurious to the queen, whom he had professed to hold in high respect.

The execution of the queen was not long delayed. Henry was intent on his third marriage, and the 19th of May was, in consequence, the last day which shone on the living form of Anne Boleyn. When about to receive the sacrament she sent for the lieutenant of the Tower, to whom she solemnly protested her innocence of the crimes for which she was about to die. The hour of her execution was kept a profound mystery, through fear of some popular movement taking place on her behalf. A few minutes before twelve, however, she appeared on the green within the Tower, 'dressed in a robe of black damask, with a deep white cape falling over it, on her neck.' Her appearance was eminently beautiful, and her whole deportment calm, self-possessed, and dignified. Whatever the weaknesses of her life had been, her demeanour at last was every way worthy of her high station, and indicative of conscious rectitude. The brutal monarch remained near the metropolis till the report of the signal gun announced her death, when he joyously exclaimed, 'Ah! ah! it is done, the business is done! uncouple the dogs and let us follow the sport.' In this temper he instantly rode off to Wolf-hall, where, within twenty-four hours, he became the husband of Jane Seymour.

Of the general character of Anne we have already spoken, and need not, therefore, now enlarge. 'Few, very few,' remarks Mr. Hallam, 'except some bigoted and implacable calumniators of the Romish-school, have, in any age, entertained a doubt of her innocence.' She had, however, many of the failings of a vain woman, and was exposed by her sudden elevation to the severest test that could be applied to such a character. Her discretion was unequal to her position, and she consequently committed

many serious errors which, though unnoticed at the time, hastened forward the tragedy of her death. Her union with the king sprung from ambition, not from love. It had grown out of the weaker and baser elements of her nature, and could not, therefore, carry with it either the warmth or the purity of conjugal attachment. Her heart had been given to Percy, her hand only was surrendered to the king. Henry probably perceived this, and the transition of his own affections to Jane Seymour must thereby have been facilitated. Of the means adopted to effect her ruin, one opinion only can be entertained. They admit of no vindication nor apology, and have never been referred to, save by the most heartless bigots, without strong expressions of reprobation. The baseness of the king towards her, and the mean compliance of his courtiers, render the history of this reign one of the most repulsive and disgraceful chapters in the annals of England.

Art. VII. *The Pilgrim of Glencoe, and other Poems.* By Thomas Campbell. Small 8vo. pp. 120. London: Moxon. 1842.

FIVE and forty years ago, Thomas Campbell, a young man of one and twenty, achieved for himself a lasting reputation, and took his place among the poets of Great Britain, by the publication of the 'Pleasures of Hope.' He was fortunate in his subject and in his title, which, though an echo of the 'Pleasures of Memory,' promised a contrast, rather than a servile imitation, and borrowed advantage from the popularity of Mr. Rogers's classically elegant production. As the composition of so young a man, it was justly deemed a surprising work; and if it excited expectations of future excellence that were not destined to be fully realized, this was but one of the illusions of hope, and to have produced it was a triumph of genius. Mr. Campbell appears to have been aware, however, of the hazard he ran, of not equalling the expectations awakened by his first publication; for it was not till 1809, after an interval of eleven years, that he published his second volume, containing *Gertrude of Wyoming*, *Lochiel*, and other smaller pieces. The principal poem, the 'Pennsylvanian Tale,' exquisite as is the versification, and strikingly beautiful as are many passages, revealed to the critic that the Author's forte did not lie in the management of poetic narrative,—that he was not equal to the construction of an epic or a drama, of which, indeed, the 'Pleasures of Hope' gave no promise; but the lyrical pieces in that volume were of themselves sufficient to ensure a literary immortality. A man who studies perfection in what he writes, will not find himself able to write

much. Such productions are not the flowers, but the pearls and gems of poetry, slowly matured in the secrecy and depth of the poet's mind, before they are exposed to view, finished and imperishable. Since that time, through more than thirty years, Mr. Campbell's reputation may be said to have undergone little increase or abatement. In 1823, after another long pause, appeared 'Theodric, a Domestic Tale, and other Poems,' the contents of which proved, beyond all possibility of mistake, that the Author was so exclusively as well as pre-eminently a lyrical poet, that he could succeed in no other kind. The failure in the long narrative poem which gave its title to the volume was so palpable as to render it perfectly astonishing that a genius of so pure a flame could be allied to so feeble a judgment,—that the Author should be so unconscious of the secret of his strength as not to know when it had departed from him. In that volume were contained some of the most spirit-stirring odes which are to be found in any language. The 'Song of the Greeks,' the song, 'Men of England,' and the stanzas 'to the Memory of the Spanish Patriots,' breathe an unaffected enthusiasm which seems to have had the effect of intellectual inspiration. It is, indeed, upon such themes that Mr. Campbell excels himself, as well as every other competitor. Lord Byron, in his political odes, was, if not the imitator, the scholar of our Author, who is characteristically and pre-eminently the patriot bard. Freedom is his muse; and while there is, it must be confessed, a general poverty of moral sentiment in his productions, in reference to other and holier topics, upon this one he never fails to strike a chord to which every heart must vibrate.

And now, once more, the veteran Poet, whose name has been familiar to us from childhood, whose polished verse was the favourite recitation of our school-days, and who has survived so many of his younger contemporaries, presents himself at the tribunal of criticism. We must confess ourselves unable to treat a new publication from such a quarter with the heartless flippancy with which we have seen 'The Pilgrim of Glencoe' criticized, as if its Author's claims to admiration rested upon the success of this fresh experiment in narrative verse. The present poem is decidedly superior in interest, and in vigour of execution, to 'Theodric.' The story is worthy of poetry, as being connected with traits of national manners which are fading away into tradition; but ordinary readers may not sympathize with the early recollections and associations that constitute the charm of the simple incident to the imagination of one familiar with the scene. To them, the notes may be more interesting than the text. The characters, however, of the fierce old Highlander,

his wiser son, and their visiter, Allan Campbell, are distinctly portrayed and skilfully discriminated.

‘ ——— old Norman’s éye
 Was proudly savage ev’n in courtesy.
 His sinewy shoulders—each, though aged and lean,
 Broad as the curl’d Herculean head between,—
 His scornful lip, his eyes of yellow fire,
 And nostrils that dilated quick with ire,
 With ever downward slanting shaggy brows,
 Mark’d the old lion you would dread to rouse.
 Norman, in truth, had led his earlier life
 In raids of red revenge and feudal strife;
 Religious duty in revenge he saw,
 Proud Honour’s right, and Nature’s honest law.
 First in the charge, and foremost in pursuit,
 Long-breath’d, deep-chested, and in speed of foot
 A match for stags—still fleeter when the prey
 Was man, in persecution’s evil day;
 Cheer’d to that chase by brutal, bold Dundee,
 No highland hound had lapp’d more blood than he.
 Oft had he changed the covenanter’s breath
 From howls of psalmody to howls of death;
 And though long bound to peace, it irk’d him still,
 His dirk had ne’er one hated foe to kill.’

We cannot say that we approve of the half-apologetical comparison between Norman’s ‘fierce virtues’ and the tender mercies of

‘Cold-blooded Tories of the modern stock,
 Who starve the breadless poor with fraud and cant.’

This sarcasm is certainly out of place; and, much as modern Toryism has to answer for, it is going a little too far to attribute to it a cold-blooded inhumanity worse than the ferocity of the days of persecution.

But we must proceed to notice the minor poems. ‘The Child and Hind’ is a sweet and simple ballad, such as Wordsworth might have written; and most of the pieces are in the same quiet, domestic style, of which Mr. Campbell’s former volumes contain some exquisite specimens. In ‘The Launch of a First-rate,’ we recognise something of the patriotic enthusiasm of the Author, though softened down to a more subdued tone. But the most perfectly beautiful poem in the volume is the following, which justifies the description given of his compositions, as poetry in which every word has meaning, and every line has melody:—

'CORALINN, OR THE FALLS OF THE CLYDE.

- 'The time I saw thee, Cora, last,
 'Twas with congenial friends;
 And calmer hours of pleasure past,
 My memory seldom sends.
- 'It was as sweet an autumn day
 As ever shone on Clyde,
 And Lanark's orchards all the way
 Put forth their golden pride.
- 'Ev'n hedges, busk'd in bravery,
 Look'd rich that sunny morn;
 The scarlet hip and blackberry
 So prank'd September's thorn.
- 'In Cora's glen the calm how deep!
 That trees on loftiest hill
 Like statues stood, or things asleep,
 All motionless and still.
- 'The torrent spoke, as if his noise
 Bade earth be quiet round,
 And give his loud and lonely voice
 A more commanding sound.
- 'His foam, beneath the yellow light
 Of noon, came down like one
 Continuous sheet of jaspers bright,
 Broad rolling by the sun.
- 'Dear Linn! let loftier falling floods
 Have prouder names than thine;
 And king of all, enthroned in woods,
 Let Niagara shine.
- 'Barbarian! let him shake his coasts
 With recking thunders far;
 Extended like th' array of hosts
 In broad, embattled war!
- 'His voice appals the wilderness:
 Approaching thine, we feel
 A solemn, deep melodiousness,
 That needs no louder peal.
- 'More fury would but disenchant
 Thy dream-inspiring din;
 Be thou the Scottish muse's haunt,
 Romantic Cora Linn!

Mr. Campbell does not succeed in the sportive or humorous any better than Wordsworth; and we could have wished that he

had not thought so well of his attempts in this line as to print them. The 'Fragment of an Oratorio from the Book of Job,' is the confession of a failure; for what a man leaves unfinished he owns to be above his powers; and we do not wonder that the task baffled our Poet as much as, we suspect, it would have done his friend the composer, at whose request it was commenced.

In closing these pages, we feel as if receiving a farewell from one whose visits, 'few and far between,' have yielded delight to every lover of poetry, and have secured to the Author a name that will not die so long as the English language survives. The contents of this publication will neither raise nor detract from his reputation. They are autumn blossoms, which do not aspire to rival in their hues the flowers of summer, but are welcomed for their lateness, and mourned because they are the last.

Art. VIII. *Proverbial Philosophy. A Book of Thoughts and Arguments originally treated.* By Martin Farquhar Tupper, Esq., M.A., of Christ Church, Oxford. Fourth Edition. London: J. Hatchard and Son.

SUCH is the title of a somewhat fanciful work issuing from the pen of one of the *alumni* of our oldest university. We had almost written *affected* instead of fanciful, but refrained, as we remembered some passages of genuine piety, couched in language, if not eloquent, yet considerably above mediocrity, which are dispersed, at no great intervals, throughout the three hundred pages which compose the volume. Our first glance at the book before us, we must confess, was decidedly unfavourable. We perceived with concern, not to say impatience, all that outward garniture and affected ornament with which many of the Oxford divines of the present day delight to dress their productions; and although, after perusal, we willingly acknowledge the existence of not a few beauties beneath this unprepossessing exterior, we yet regretted, and still regret, that the author of such a work did not present it to the public in a more simple, and, to our eye, more pleasing garb. To give the reader an idea of the way in which 'Proverbial Philosophy' is 'originally treated,' we will make a brief extract from that portion of the work which the author styles 'Prefatory,' and which is addressed to his—

'Thoughts that have tarried in my mind, and peopled its inner chambers,
The sober children of reason, or desultory train of fancy;
Clear running wine of conviction, with the scum and the lees of speculation;
Corn from the sheaves of science, with stubble from mine own garner;
Searchings after truth, that have tracked her secret lodes,

And come up again to the surface-world with a knowledge grounded deeper ;
 Arguments of high scope, that have soared to the key-stone of heaven,
 And thence have stooped to their certain mark, as the falcon to its quarry ;
 The fruits I have gathered of Prudence, the ripened harvest of my musings,
 These I commend unto thee, O docile scholar of wisdom,
 These I give to thy gentle heart, thou lover of the right.'

It will be perceived, from this introduction, that Mr. Tupper indulges himself rather plentifully in the metaphorical style of writing prevalent in the East ; a style of composition which we do not profess greatly to admire, and which more frequently provokes a smile than an exclamation of delight. For instance, such expressions as 'clear running wine of conviction,' and 'scum and lees of speculation,' convey to us more an idea of familiarity, if not of ridicule, than of sublimity or poetry. It may be objected that such or similar metaphorical expressions abound in the most beautiful and poetical portions of Holy Writ, but we must remember, on the one hand, that such ornaments naturally belong to the genius of the language in which the Bible was originally written ; and on the other, that viewing them as the productions of human genius merely, the delicacy, richness, and elegance of their diction far excel anything that has been composed before or since, and most certainly anything that it is in the power of Mr. Tupper to produce.

Mr. Tupper proceeds in his 'Prefatory' to deprecate the truths which he is about to teach being slighted on account of the deficiencies of the teacher ; and after professing entire charity and peace with all mankind, he brings to a close his remarks with some abruptness.

The work itself consists of a collection of didactic and sententious (we use not the word in an offensive sense) apothegms, arranged in separate essays upon divers miscellaneous subjects. Perhaps it may be advisable to present the reader with the titles of some of these essays :—'The Words of Wisdom,' 'Of Truth in Things False,' 'Of Anticipation of Hidden Uses,' 'The Philosophy of Prayer,' 'Of Discretion,' 'Of Trifles,' 'Of Reading,' 'Of Wealth,' 'Of Cruelty to Animals,' 'Of Love,' 'Of Marriage,' &c. &c.

These are a few, taken at random out of about forty different subjects, some of which are treated with more and some with less originality and talent.

It would be easy to select passages of great spirit and beauty, which are scattered throughout the work. They are too often, however, disfigured by an affected eccentricity of thought and expression, which the real beauty nevertheless observable in his pages can scarcely enable us to tolerate. The following passage,

selected from the essay upon Speaking, will justify, we imagine, both our praise and our blame.

After speaking of the trials to which those who possess the eloquence of the soul, but not of speech, are often exposed from the impossibility of giving vent to 'the fire which burneth at their heart,' he bursts forth into this impassioned description of the triumph and power of well directed eloquence:—

'Come, I will tell thee of a joy, which the parasites of pleasure have not known,

Though earth and air and sea have gorged all the appetites of sense.

Behold, what fire is in his eye, what fervour on his cheek!

That glorious burst of winged words! how bound they from his tongue!

The full expression of mighty thought, the strong triumphant argument,

The rush of native eloquence, resistless as Niagara,

The keen demand, the clear reply, the fine poetic image,

The nice analogy, the clenching fact, the metaphor bold and free,

The grasp of concentrated intellect wielding the omnipotence of truth,

The grandeur of his speech, in his majesty of mind!

Champion of the right—patriot, or priest, or pleader of the innocent cause,
Upon whose honey lips the mystic bee hath dropped the honey of persuasion,

Whose heart and tongue have been touched, as of old, by the live coal from the altar;

How wide the spreading of thy peace, how deep the draught of thy pleasures!

To hold the multitude as one, breathing in measured cadence,

A thousand men with flashing eyes, waiting upon thy will;

A thousand hearts kindled by thee with consecrated fire,

Ten thousand spiritual hecatombs offered on the mount of God:

And now a pause,—a thrilling pause,—they live but in thy words,—

Thou hast broken the bounds of self, as the Nile at its rising,

Thou art expanded into them, one faith, one hope, one spirit;

They breathe but in thy breath, their minds are passive unto thine;

Thou turnest the key of their love, bending their affections to thy purpose,

And all, in sympathy with thee, tremble with tumultuous emotions.

Verily, O man, with truth for thy theme, eloquence shall throne thee with archangels.'—pp. 179—181.

This is forcible and spirited, and although we rather shrink from such expressions as 'nice analogy' and 'clenching facts,' and conceive that Mr. Tupper is somewhat too passionately enamoured of the metaphor of a river breaking its bounds 'as the Nile at its rising,' or rushing along 'resistless as Niagara,' similes which, however apt, are hardly remarkable for originality, yet we could be well content if there was nothing more offensive to be met with, than in the passage we have quoted.

It is ever a painful and invidious task to search out for blots and failings in what is generally commendable. Such, however, is the impartial critic's duty, and we must not shrink from the office, although we shall shorten this most disagreeable portion of our task as much as possible. We cannot help suggesting,

however, the folly of introducing such feeble and epithet-crowded lines as the following :—

‘ Shame upon thee, savage monarch-man, savage monopolist of reason ;
Shame upon creation’s lord, the fierce ensanguined despot.—p. 232.

In these two lines there are five epithets, although the author has had the grace to attempt the concealment of one of them, by the coinage of the would-be Germanic word ‘ monarch-man.’

We pause, not from want of materials, but because we feel it harsh, if not unjust, to cavil at a few blemishes where there is so much that is really estimable, and even poetical. Take, for example, the following description of

‘ Love :—what a volume in a word, an ocean in a tear,
A seventh heaven in a glance, a whirlwind in a sigh,
The lightning in a touch, a millennium in a moment,
What concentrated joy or woe in blest or blighted love!’

We wish we could have continued, but the inequality of excellence, which we have before mentioned, stays our pen. Three lines lower down the page, occurs this line :—

‘ The word—the king of words, carved on Jehovah’s heart!’—
a confused and surely a somewhat bold metaphor!

We take leave of the book with a strong admiration of the *intention*, and, indeed, with an admiration of individual parts of the execution of the volume. It is not a new book, and may therefore, perhaps, be hardly thought to fall within the province of our pen ; but having seen it rise—not without, we must own, some slight admixture of surprise—to a *fourth* edition, we took it up under the notion that we must, at first sight, have under-rated its merits. Neither can we, upon the whole, plead ‘ not guilty’ to this charge, and we willingly make this *amende honorable*.

Brief Notices.

The Newe Testament of our Lord Iesus Christ, conferred diligently with the Greke and best approved translations, with the arguments as wel before the chapters, as for every Boke and Epistle, also diversities of readings and most proffitable annotations of all hard places ; whereunto is added a copious Table. London: Bagster.

THIS is a fac-simile reprint of the celebrated Genevan Testament, which was first published in 1557, by a company of English exiles who had fled to Geneva on the breaking out of the Marian persecution in England. The translation was the joint production of several of the most distinguished reformers who found shelter in that city, and

was designed to supply their countrymen, both at home and abroad, with an accurate version of that volume which is able to make wise unto salvation. It was the first English version in which the division of verses was introduced, after the manner of Robert Stephens' Greek Testament, which had been published six years before. The marginal notes are numerous, and were for some time held in such esteem as to have been inserted in several editions of King James' version. The use of italic supplements is very frequent, and though undesirable in the present state of biblical knowledge, was probably advantageous in the sixteenth century. It is needless to say that the volume is got up with great neatness, as the press from which it issues is ample evidence of this. We thank Mr. Bagster for the publication, and strongly recommend it to such of our readers as are interested in tracing out the history of English versions.

Four Discourses on the Sacrifice and Priesthood of Jesus Christ, and the Atonement and Redemption thence accruing: with supplementary Notes and Illustrations. By John Pye Smith, D.D., F.R.S. Second Edition enlarged. London: Jackson and Walford.

These discourses have been before the public for several years, and are held in high and deserved esteem. For some time past they have been out of print, and we rejoice that the requests and remonstrances of his friends have at length induced their venerated author to reissue them. The discussions which they contain are amongst the most momentous which can engage the human mind, while the temper in which such discussions are conducted, and the sound scholarship which they display, are in admirable keeping with the requirements of the case. The whole has been subjected to a careful revision, and considerable additions have been made to the notes. The value of the publication is hereby greatly increased, while the neat form in which it is now issued will place it within the reach of all. We strongly recommend its immediate and attentive perusal to the junior members of our ministry.

Elements of Mental and Moral Science. By George Payne, LL.D. Second Edition, enlarged. London: John Gladding.

The original design of this work was to exhibit, within a brief compass, the opinions entertained by our most enlightened and philosophical writers, on the principal topics of mental and moral science, together with such an estimate of those opinions as long continued examination had led the author to form, and as was adapted to aid the enquiries of junior students. Our high opinion of the work was recorded at the time of its first publication, and we see no reason to modify the judgment then pronounced. It is a volume replete with the marks of a sound and well-disciplined mind, extensively acquainted with the writings of other men, yet capable of prosecuting independent enquiry, and of

pronouncing an impartial judgment. Some of the opinions formerly expressed by Dr. Payne are modified in the present edition of his work. This is especially the case with the subjects of attention, the nature of the emotions, the distinction between desire and volition, the liberty of the will, &c. The department of moral science has been considerably enlarged, so as to constitute substantially a new work. We shall be glad to find that, in its improved condition and diminished price, it obtains the extensive circulation to which it is well entitled.

The Life and Labours of Adam Clarke, LL.D. 8vo. Second Edition. London: Longman and Co.

This edition differs from its predecessor in several respects. Some portions of the volume have been retrenched, and corresponding additions, deemed more appropriate and useful, have been substituted. It is less controversial and at the same time more full and complete in all matters adapted to illustrate either the character or the history of Dr. Clarke.

Plain Sermons on the Church Ministry and Sacraments. By the Rev. Cyril Hutchinson, M.A., Student of Christ Church. London: Cleaver, Baker-street.

These sermons are a precious sample of Oxford and Church of England divinity. Our readers will be contented, or rather disgusted, with the following specimen—it is on Regeneration. After perverting and grossly misrepresenting the views of the evangelical reformers, both ancient and modern, on this fundamental doctrine of Christianity, and adopting without the least reserve, and in their literal sense, the prayers and statements in the office of baptism, Mr. Hutchinson asks his hearers—‘Can you now doubt what is the doctrine of the church in regard to regeneration, to being born again, to the new birth, the new creature?’ and he then proceeds:—

‘In the reception service of Infants at the church, after they have been privately baptized at home, there is *no* prayer whatever for regeneration; but, on the contrary, a declaration that ‘this child *is by baptism* regenerate.’ And previously, also, the minister prays, not that the child ‘*may be* born again,’ as in the former case, but that ‘being born again’—being already by baptism—‘he may continue thy servant.’

‘Can you now doubt? Those persons, therefore, who profess themselves members of the church of England, and denude baptism of the work of regeneration, certainly never got their doctrine from the church, nor sound churchmen, but from the dissenting chapel, the dissenting book, or the dissent of their own mind; and should not accuse us of not knowing the tenets of our own church, in teaching as we do. We are, at least, *masters* in our own Israel in this thing.’ Yes, and they are just such masters as Nicodemus was, in regard to their ignorance of the Scriptures and the doctrine of Christ. That they are true churchmen, consistent churchmen, we are not disposed to

deny. How lamentable that a protestant church should be at variance with Christ and his apostles! Mr. Hutchinson is a churchman. Is he a Christian? He has been regenerated by baptism; but so, according to his theory, have been many others whose hearts were estranged from God. Oh, this baptismal curse! when shall it cease to destroy the souls of men!

Letters from Italy to a Younger Sister. By Catherine Taylor. In two volumes. Vol. II. London: John Murray.

Miss Taylor has concluded her lucubrations in Italy, and has added a delightful second volume to her first. By both she has earned honourable distinction among the female writers of the day. Her Letters not merely convey, in a very pleasing and elegant style, her own observations on the scenes through which she passed, but she informs us that many of the notes and translations have been contributed by her brother; and that she has to acknowledge the kind assistance of her aunt, Mrs. Austin, whose encouragement in the prosecution of her task is a privilege of which she cannot well estimate the value.

The Moral Influence, Dangers, and Duties connected with Great Cities. By John Todd. London: Ward and Co.

‘This little work,’ the author tells us, ‘is sent into the world with the warm wish that it may convey hints and make impressions which will be useful upon three classes of the great community—viz., those who reside in great cities,—those who are about to come into the great city,—and those who have sent, or who are about to send, children and friends to reside in the great city.’ In this warm wish we heartily concur.

The Mother with her Family: being Scriptural Exercises and Prayers for Children, every Sunday Evening. By the Rev. T. Timpson, author of the ‘Companion to the Bible,’ ‘The Key to the Bible,’ &c. &c.; with Counsels to Mothers in teaching religion to their Children. By Mrs. Hannah More. London: John Snow.

While we have such indefatigable compilers of books as the Rev. T. Timpson, machinery may be considered to be in abeyance. A steam engine might do the work faster, and perhaps as well; at present, however, the supply is quite equal to the demand. We cannot find fault with the materials Mr. Timpson transfers to his pages, nor with the tendency of the books when they are made up; but we would gently hint to him, and to a few brothers of the trade, that we want workmen, while we could dispense with many of our labourers. ‘The Mother with her Family’ is an excellent title—a taking title; but where are they?—not in this dry, didactic book of common-place.

Recollections of the Lakes, and other Poems. By the Author of 'The Moral of Flowers,' and 'The Spirit of the Woods.'

We really take to ourselves shame that these 'Recollections' have so long escaped our memory. They were read months ago, and laid on our table for early notice; but in their modest gentleness they shrunk before works of larger pretension and perhaps of inferior excellence, and were forgotten till we opened the volume and felt ourselves reproached by the title-page. The fair author is a true poet, and we can well believe her when we consider the principles which are blended with her poetical temperament that 'poetry has been to her its own exceeding great reward;' that 'it has soothed her afflictions, multiplied and refined her enjoyments; endeared solitude, and given her the habit of wishing to discover the good and the beautiful in all that meets and surrounds her.' In the perusal of these Poems we can promise our readers pure and exquisite delight, especially those who are happily imbued with the genuine spirit of piety.

Valdenses, Valdo, and Vigilantius; being the articles under these heads in the seventh edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica. By the Rev. W. S. Gilly, D.D., author of 'Waldensian Researches.' Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black.

A valuable reprint, in a portable form. Dr. Gilly is so well known in this department of our ecclesiastical literature, that we need only announce that these articles are the production of his pen, to ensure their favourable reception by the public.

Sermons preached in the Lower Meeting-house, Kingsbridge. By James Philip Hewlett. London: Ward and Co.

These are excellent sermons; whether we consider the importance of the subjects they exhibit, the style of their composition, their rich evangelical sentiment, their tone of piety, or the spirit of earnest solicitude which they breathe for the salvation of those to whom they were addressed.

Literary Intelligence.

In the Press.

An Introduction to a New Translation of the Psalms, being an attempt to ascertain the circumstances under, and the date at which each Psalm was composed. By the late John Mason Good, M.D., F.R.S., author of 'New Translation of the Book of Job,' &c.

Just Published.

The Life and Defence of the Conduct and Principles of the venerable and calumniated Edmund Bonner, Bishop of London; to which is added, 'The best mode of again changing the Religion of this Nation.' By a Tractarian British Critic.

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