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# CONTENTS

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# WESTMINSTER REVIEW.

## JANUARY, 1824.

ART. I. *Men and Things in* 1823. A Poem, with Notes. By James Shergold Boone, M.A. Hatchard. 8vo. 1823.

*TEMPORA mutantur*, &c. has been quoted through many an age, and will be repeated for ages more. Every generation contributes something towards the proof of its truth, and the variety of its illustration. Man is compounded of a fixed and a flowing quantity; the principles of his constitution are eternal as the heavens, and the modes of their development not less diversified than the appearances of clouds and sunshine. Nature always makes him the same, and events always make him different. Were he less pliable to circumstances, his history would be monotonous; and if his character were wholly formed by their influence, that history would be worth no more than a fairy tale, as a basis of our reasonings from the past to the future. The sameness is in all cases much greater than the diversity; the essentials of humanity are mightier than climate, education, habit, society, government, and events; they are untouched by these causes, in all their combinations, and continually limit their results. Still a sufficiently extensive sphere is left for their operation, and they mould the rational clay into a prodigious number of distinguishable and even contrasted shapes. We are disposed to enquire what they are doing just now with us and our contemporaries.

When Dr. Brown made his estimate of the manners and principles of the times, about three-fourths of a century since, he passed over the people altogether, as of no consequence in the investigation. He considered them as "a brute and random bolt, or a lifeless ball sleeping in the cannon," and requiring "some superior intelligence to give it both impulse and direction." Here our opening quotation comes in well; if our estimate were to commence in the same way, Hamlet would be again left out of his own tragedy. Nobody would think of such an omission now, or

dream of jumping to his conclusion over the nation's head. This mistake in Brown arose from no servile motive. He loved his country, and wrote as he thought. The people have made themselves of more importance, and they are felt and acknowledged to be so, by every man that speaks, or writes, upon whatever subject. The manners and spirit of the higher classes would no longer be the sole, or the leading, topics of a dissertation on the state and prospects of the country. They are reduced to their proper dimensions. They have their chapter in the volume along with others, and stand in the index instead of being in the title. The people no longer sit quietly by as spectators, while Whig and Tory, that is, a few great families with their connexions and dependants, and a few pensioned or expectant creatures, play out the political game, in their own way, and for their own benefit. The "lifeless ball" has become instinct with mind, and the "brute and random bolt" will, in due time, strike unerringly and resistlessly. There is an obvious deference for the people, and an implied appeal to them in the transactions of every department, whether political, religious, or literary. The House of Commons orator speaks not to those around him on the benches, but to those above him in the gallery. It is of them, and of those of whom they are a representative portion, that he is thinking when he makes his best points or turns his best periods. Dissenting religionists, whether seeking or deprecating political patronage for their opinions, must court the public to give them importance enough to ask that patronage, or strength enough to defy it. Their established antagonists must plead at the same bar. The multitude of theological publications, to say nothing of the pulpit, makes Britain appear like one great court of Areopagus, preparing for judgment on the "setters forth of strange gods." The most abstruse controversies, on which the learned used to write in Latin, and discuss as in a secret sitting with closed doors, are now canvassed in cheap tracts, and debated in every village. The book-manufacturers show that respect for the people which all manufacturers show for a new and extensive market. All the standard works of our language make their appearance in cheap editions, or weekly numbers. The Bible no longer stands on the cottage-shelf alone, or supported only by the Prayer-book and the Pilgrim's Progress. Flattering dedications are defunct; the public is the best patron now for your literary adventurer. The poor have their periodicals and their institutes. Shoals of twopenny magazines issue from the press, some of them respectably got up, and circulating to the amount of several thousands weekly. In short, the prodigiously increased importance of the

people is recognised in the speeches of the statesman, the sermons of the divine, the lucubrations of the author, and the criticisms of the reviewer. All seem impressed with the rise of a new power, and, blessing or cursing, they pay to it a certain degree of homage.

It could not be expected that political power should remain the exclusive and undisputed possession of the few, after the many had once begun to feel, and make felt, their importance. Nations and governments are just in the middle of a warm controversy on this point. The question is increasingly interesting to all rulers and all subjects, and the combined power of the former is marshalled against the combined intelligence of the latter. The theory of despotism is more offensively stated, and more broadly asserted than ever. Despots have more than ever made a common cause of it. These facts are not so alarming as they have appeared to some friends of liberty. The principle of legitimacy was never so asserted before, because never before so controverted. The combination of despots was never before so complete, because their monstrous usurpations were never before in such peril. Their sole reliance is on the ignorant and the mercenary; and with such agents they may oppress and execute for a time, but can scarcely hope for ultimate success. The people are becoming aware that they too have a common cause. The world is dividing into two great classes, the oppressors and the oppressed; and the members of both classes have their Holy Alliances. Any stretch of prerogative, in any country, is felt as a victory gained by every member of the great monarchical conspiracy. Any popular advantage is a triumph for all nations. There is less of that narrow and selfish patriotism which used to exult in the slavish condition of other countries. It has given way to a nobler feeling—to sympathy with all who are struggling to be free. It begins to be reckoned as good a thing for the Greeks to win a battle, as for the Opposition to carry a motion. In either case, the common enemy is beaten. Foreign politics and home politics lose their distinction. At home or abroad, there is but one subject in them. The science is reduced to the solution of a single question—are kings to be every thing, or shall the people have a voice in the direction of their own affairs? Different answers make a division paramount to that of party or country. The cause of liberty is one and indivisible. The sympathy of its friends is characteristic of the present age. The consolidation of their union may emancipate a future generation.

An impartial portraiture of the spirit of the times is our object, and we are compelled here to notice one feature on which we cannot dwell with complacency. We are a trading nation, and

treat freedom too much as a matter of mere calculation. Its pecuniary advantages are rated above its intellectual and moral influence. A reform in parliament is often petitioned for on the ground of its diminishing the public burdens. So it undoubtedly would; but that is not the only, nor the best reason, for desiring it. An oligarchy has worse evils in its train than pensions, sinecures, and wasteful expenditure. A degraded character is more to be deprecated than an empty pocket. The great advantage of liberty is, that it makes man *manly*. He ceases to be either a machine, or a beast of burden. He "learns to venerate himself," and that is the first lesson of public and of private virtue. His portion of the public sovereignty is a wreath of glory round his brows. He knows himself an equal member of a free community, and that knowledge qualifies him to discharge his duties and adorn his country. The consciousness of his rights is never out of his mind, and it dignifies every thought that inhabits with it. He acquires an erect attitude, a bold tone, and an unquailing eye. There is no servility in his manners, nor in his thoughts. The "brave New World, that hath such creatures in it," should not be prized solely because it is cheap living there. That recommendation is strong enough, heaven knows. Very numerous are the unwelcome visitors, with pens behind their ears, and little books under their arms, whose calls one wishes less frequent; and which would be so, were the nation to regain its proper control over its own purse-strings. Although it be undoubtedly a very important principle that two and two make four, a principle so strenuously insisted upon by Mr. Hume, who has traced its bearings on the whole system of our government, and made it the basis of a very effective and popular opposition to His Majesty's ministers, we submit that there are other public principles as important, and that man and his purse are not altogether co-equal. Mental independence, and full liberty of speech and action, so far as they infringe not on others' rights, are what constitute a freeman; and he who desires not these loves not liberty, though he may hate taxation. If he wishes to wed her, it is only for her dowry, and a despotism that well feeds its slaves would soon induce him to transfer his affections. This empty-stomach or empty-pocket patriotism is not of a kind to endure through "the times that try men's souls." It fluctuates with the state of the markets; it goes off on the winds that waft away large exports, and is reduced by the chancellor of the exchequer, every time that he takes off a tax. That men's rights are seldom, perhaps never, infringed without their condition being deteriorated, is a fact that ought not to be lost sight of. Let it be by all means deeply impressed upon the public mind; but it is

unworthy of being made the very head and front of our plea for the introduction of a better state of society. Some of the freest communities that the world has ever seen, have also been the poorest. However incomprehensible the proposition to many of our countrymen, we also believe that they have been the happiest. That an admission of popular claims would bring speedy relief from the crushing impositions of an almost unrestrained aristocracy, is an argument which ought to be resistless, and may become so; but for a change produced on this principle to be of real and lasting benefit to the country, it should be desired and demanded even though no such result could be anticipated. Liberty, for herself, is the cry we would hear raised; or, at least, should rejoice at observing a greater disposition to adopt. But this is altogether a calculating age, and every thing is thrown out of the question which cannot be reduced to pounds, shillings, and pence. There has been a corresponding change in servile loyalty, which, from being enthusiastic, has become mercenary. Burke described no imaginary change when he lamented that the age of chivalry was gone. Sovereigns have no more service now than they can purchase. The power of private interest is behind the throne, and greater than the throne. Kings possess attachment and allegiance only *ex officio*. All goes with the throne, and nothing with the person, or family, any longer than they sit thereon. The principle of servility is, that a larger dividend comes to the individual by supporting the measures of a governing and plundering faction, than by promoting the public good. This state of things is partly owing to our having become so completely a manufacturing and commercial people. The one great thing on which we are intent, is getting money; and our politics, religion, literature, are only branches of that pursuit, and considered as subordinate operations to be conducted with constant reference to the main object. The peculiar character of the power which is possessed by our House of Commons has also contributed to this result. All the influence which that body has in the government, arises from the single privilege of granting supplies. By this has its authority been preserved and extended; probably its very existence been secured. Its members legislate in virtue of their being the only constitutional leviers of taxes. The laws which they enact, at least so far as those laws are extensive of the people's privileges, are so many bargains with the crown, in which prerogative gives them a right, provided they will vote prerogative a subsidy. Hence there is scarcely ever a great debate in which financial considerations are not prominent. We seem to be listening to a counting-house discussion amongst the directors of a great trad-

ing company. A considerable change has also been going on in the class of persons who sit in that house. Formerly it was land chiefly that was represented; but now, money. The agricultural interest is rapidly waning. Hereditary estates, and hereditary influence, and hereditary prejudices, are all marching off the stage together. The aristocracy of wealth swallows up all. The public mind is taught by its leaders to be intent on nothing but calculation. The worst of it is that public principle is rapidly withering under this system. A young man chooses his political party as he chooses his trade or profession; and changes it with as little hesitation or shame whenever circumstances make it convenient for him to do so. He finds that every thing is considered merely as matter of profit or loss to the nation, and cannot see why he should not so consider it in relation to his own affairs. He studies ethics in Cocker, and estimates honour by the rule of three. The politics of the present day have brought forth a plentiful crop of this unvarnished profligacy.

This evil is happily limited by the fact, that, with the great mass of the community it is impossible to create a private interest at variance with the public good. Corruption has done as much as could be done towards effecting this, and one class has been continually played off against another. Still it is only a comparatively small minority, or an ignorant majority, that can be thus bribed or deceived. While the growing intelligence of the people has been indicated by the appeals continually made to them on the parts of those who are, or aspire to be, of some personal consequence in the state, it has also been very powerfully aided in its advance by that very circumstance, which has thus been at once cause and effect. Orators and writers endeavour to make the people understand a subject in order to gain their suffrages. Their opinions are wanted; not as in days of old their thewes and sinews. To gain the permanent aid of that opinion, they must be informed and convinced. The very highest talent has been applied to this purpose. At public meetings it is evident that most of our great speakers now do their best. They no longer come in that careless and unprepared way, which seemed to say, and did mean, any nonsense may be talked to a multitude. They have become conscious, some of them rather late, that the cause they advocate, and their own reputation, were at stake; and in supporting both they have cultivated the minds of their auditory. Our newspapers bear abundant marks of a similar improvement. The talent regularly engaged in them is of a superior order to what was formerly employed, and they are the not unfrequent vehicle of communication between the very noblest minds, and the common sense and heart of the

many. True, they are party engines; they vituperate and misrepresent for party purposes: they may often mislead, often inflame, but to be effective engines they must be conducted with ability; they must meet the demand for fact and argument, a demand which "grows by what it feeds upon;" they must have a character which, after the amplest deductions, is generally favourable to the intellectual improvement of that immense population amongst which they circulate. Every theory of government, every question of political science, every measure of the administration of the day, becomes in turn the subject of controversy, and all classes are familiarised with whatever superior talent or extensive knowledge can bring to its illustration. The well-meaning patrons of the poor, who think they should know something of their duty but nothing else, and who favour them with edifying tracts in a laboured simplicity of style "made level to the meanest capacities," are sadly thrown out. Their occupation's gone. Their milk for babes is superseded by a stronger nutriment. No sooner were the poor taught to read, than, somehow or other, they took to reading Cobbett. Of that man, who, had he added consistency to his other qualities, would have been by this time the most powerful man in the country, none have so much reason to complain as the friends of liberty; for he has so managed as to render his opposition and his support alike injurious to their cause. There is something else, we will not turn aside to discuss what, to which he has always sacrificed that cause, and sometimes at very critical moments. But one good service he has rendered, and must continue to render as long as he continues to write; and long may that be. His shrewd and manly intellect; his inexhaustible stock of facts on all subjects of political economy; his eternal freshness, for "age cannot wither him, nor custom stale his infinite variety;" his clear, unaffected, vigorous, English style; and his bloodhound chace of a favourite topic, neither wearied by the length, nor foiled by the intricacy of the pursuit;—if they have not accomplished the glorious results at which a man so gifted should have aimed, and of which we can scarcely believe he would have failed, have yet done what was next to be wished; they have roused into action the dormant sense of the poorer classes, and provided materials for thought, and induced habits of investigation which will correct all the evils that can be inflicted by all the writers whom party spirit or personal ambition may bring into the arena. "It is certain," said he, on one occasion, "that I have been the great enlightener of the people of England." It was impossible to avoid laughing at him, and yet at the same time feeling, in our hearts, that the impudent fellow had some

ground for his boast. He has been a greater enlightener than he intended, and has so well instructed thousands that he cannot now himself lead them, nor obtain a jot more at their hands than that fair hearing to which every well-qualified pleader on a public question is entitled. In this he has only outstripped others who have been engaged in the same work; but their contributions have not equalled his, and probably would never have been made at all but for his example.

The intelligence thus created must, ere long, obtain that extension of the elective franchise for the use of which it is so well qualified; which constitutes, in fact, the difference between a freeman and a slave; and by which alone the many can recover or secure their rights and interests against the ambition, the venality, or the servility of the few. Other consequences, besides political ones, of a most important description may be expected from it. Already has it combined in various ways with that tendency to associate which, in the extent to which it has been carried, may be classed amongst the characteristics of the present age. Every object of literature or benevolence is now pursued by voluntary societies formed for that specific purpose. The charitable institutions of the metropolis fill a decent-sized volume with the mere enumeration of their objects and lists of their conductors. There has been a striking descent, as to the station in society, of the contributors to such institutions. The donations of wealthy individuals have been found not so permanent a resource as the united mites of numbers. The zeal of philanthropic leaders led to the opening of this mine; but the labourers have discovered its worth, and they are beginning to work it for themselves. It is becoming available for more than the contingencies of sickness, or even a supply of books. We are advancing from a reading to a scientific population. London has followed Glasgow and Edinburgh in the establishment of a Mechanic's Institute. At Norwich steps have been taken towards forming a society amongst the manufacturing journeymen, for affording a practical trial to the inventions and supposed improvements which may be suggested by the ingenuity of individuals amongst themselves. These proceedings are evidently progressive, and tend to a great and felicitous change in the structure of society. It may be difficult to anticipate the exact course of events; but the effect must be to elevate the character and increase the enjoyments of the labouring portion of the community. Our social arrangements may stop far short of the forms contemplated by Mr. Owen; but there seems good reason to expect that they will be modified by the influences of his favourite co-operative principle; that combination will in some

measure supply the want of capital; and that the prodigious improvements in machinery which have been, and will be made, instead of merely enriching individuals already wealthy, will become directly subservient to the interests of the operative classes, on whom they now so often inflict severe though temporary injury.

The intellect of the age, that portion of it, we mean, which is devoted to literary and scientific pursuits, is chiefly directed towards subjects which are generally interesting to a population thus advancing in knowledge. Our authors have a vivid and constant consciousness of belonging to a large community. The study is no longer a hermitage in a wilderness. Its tenant is no longer abstracted, even in his profoundest speculations, or wildest imaginings, from the society of his fellows. It is no longer a cell in the cloister of a monkish fraternity—the literary few, who were all the world to every individual of the brotherhood. He has now the "kingdom for a stage;" and there is a wider fame than their praise, and a louder peal than the anticipated echo of posterity to their voice, in the immediate and immense plaudits of the multitudes who constitute his auditory. He never forgets this; nor since Grecian poets and historians recited their compositions at the public games, and Grecian philosophers disputed in the public walks, has the sense of oneness with a people been so large an ingredient in the literary spirit. Hence there is a dash of politics in almost every production. It is thrown in as seasoning which the national palate is sure to relish. Whatever be the promise of a title page; poem, play, or tale; dissertations on the belles lettres, or voyages round the world; history, criticism, science, or even theology; the odds are fifty to one that we get not one half through without allusions to the men or manners of the day. At the theatres, such allusions are continually made in modern plays, and out of old ones. Even Shakspeare and all his wonderful creations cannot induce us to forget Castlereagh and Canning, the Queen and Napoleon, the French and the Spaniards. The audience not merely take hints, but make them. The subject seems never to come amiss, and consequently it is always coming. It has a general invitation, and mixes familiarly with whatever company may at any time be assembled. It possesses a sort of bibliographical omnipresence, and seems to claim an existence coextensive with that of types and paper. What, indeed, can effectually exclude a topic which has the good-will of both writers and readers for its admission?

Of course, in lists of new publications, the article "Politics"

always appears splendidly attended, and drags along an almost interminable train of titles. The character of the times, however, is not so distinctly marked in this as in the subjects, style, and size of the works announced. The writers are evidently pleading at the bar of the public, and not at that of the legislature or the aristocracy. They send forth pamphlets instead of volumes. They have descended from the high ground of theory into the broad field of practical utility. Or if they theorise, it is not on the origin of society and rights of man, but on the principles to which it is sought to reduce the multitudinous and seemingly conflicting facts of political economy. The degree of interest felt in them by the public is the great regulator of our studies. The abstruser branches of mathematical science are comparatively neglected. We care not to toil after truth for truth's sake; but must first know what use we shall make of it, and what get by it of fame or profit. The geometrical purists are making their parting bow, like other gentlemen of the old school. The short cut of analysis has superseded the circuitous route of strict geometrical demonstration. It is not Euclidian; but it solves the problem, and that's enough. The ancient method is said to have been a fine exercise of the intellectual faculties; but so, it is replied, was the length of the old road to church, three miles round, a fine exercise of the walking faculties, yet now every body goes the new path. Nor has the art of reasoning (especially if we are to judge by the works which some of the greatest mathematicians were so unfortunate as to publish in unscientific matters) suffered more by the change than the art of walking. Accordingly, propositions are established, and theorems demonstrated, and problems solved, and questions answered, as Bonaparte took towns and destroyed armies, in the most expeditious and business-like way, in defiance of old rules and old masters. The loves of the triangles have waxed cold. Their suitors affect them, not for themselves alone, but for their properties in navigation or mechanics. A formidable rival too has arisen in chemistry, which has every requisite for popularity. It can be illustrated to all the world in public lectures; and its connections with the arts seem boundless. It has a flash and a bounce for eye and ear, and puts money in the pocket besides. The master of the house is profiting by it all the day in his counting-house, and the children of his family are delighted by it all the evening in the lecture-room. This is irresistible. We are a chemical people; and it is something for any science to make its way so low and so widely in a nation, especially when that very fact directs to its advancement the best

efforts of great minds, and when it is a science so immediately and extensively subservient to the multiplication of the conveniences and enjoyments of life.

Metaphysics seem governed by the same laws as mathematics, and are waning also. Few persons study ontology. Little heed is given even to speculations on the nature of the human mind, and the origin of its faculties. They are too remote from public interest and public utility, to have many votaries. A supposed connection with religious doctrine keeps some opinions on this subject a little in grace; and they have the additional recommendation of occasionally being instrumental to the raising of a clamour about materialism, atheism, and French principles, against some obnoxious geologist or anatomist; but this purpose answered, they go back to the armoury of the friends of "social order," to accumulate rust for a future execution to rub off. Practical treatises on education succeed better. They harmonise with the spirit of the age. We take man as he is, and make the best we can of him, and read those who assist us in so doing. The rest is considered perhaps somewhat too exclusively, as "not germane to the matter;" or if the relationship be made out, still it is a quarter from which there are no expectancies, and therefore no account is taken of it. This *cui bono* disposition makes terrible work with learning. It commits irreverence on the Greek metres, and has much reduced the number of classical quotations. Even Greek and Latin must be made subservient to some obviously useful purpose of history or science, or they are pushed from their stools. The wig that is stuffed with them must wear well, to win either praise or a purchaser. The multitude does not understand such matters; and the literary world only cares about what the multitude does understand.

However invention may flourish in the arts, there is but little of it in literature. We have a rich stock, and are making much of it. Our ingenuity is chiefly displayed in varying the forms of our forefathers' thoughts; and they will so long enable us to meet the demand, that but little prospect remains of increasing their number. Essays and disquisitions breed like flies in some huge old body of philosophy. History is dished up in the "court" of this sovereign, and the "life" of that, and the "times" of a third; or it is brought in, as a dessert, still more pleasantly in "Historical Tales by the author of Waverley." A sermon of Barrow furnishes two or three months' good preaching for a modern divine. The new consists of little more than selections, expansions, simplifications, and re-arrangements, of the old. The massy plate of antiquity is melted, coined, and pushed into circulation. The first scene of the metamorphosis is the history

of modern literature. Besides this transmigration of the spirit of the works of former times, there is a good deal of resurrection, of direct and avowed republication. Happy were they, as to their chance of revisiting the eyes of readers, who were not very voluminous in their productions. Quantity may make all the difference between a new edition, and an article in a periodical, or a little pilfering for an *original* work. Folios are quite out of fashion; and, if any thing enshrined in their Titanic forms be ventured on for revival, octavos, or perhaps duodecimos, are the *nova corpora* into which it must pass. In one way or the other, all our hoarded treasures are made available for common use. This is the object for which so much extracting, reviving, and remoulding, is going forward. Undignified as modern book-making appears, compared with the elaborate composition of elder times, when so much profound learning and original talent were put in requisition for that work, it is yet the process by which the prisoners of the British Museum, and similar collections, make their escape into the book clubs and circulating libraries of the people. We live under a new dynasty in literature: the sovereignty of the people has succeeded to the oligarchy of learning; and the accession is celebrated by a gaol delivery of all authors who are not guilty of the capital offence, of being not readable, or not capable of being made so.

The influence of this state of things on our national poetry is very considerable and very obvious. All our great poets write for the people. Sir Walter Scott is the choicest specimen. Not that he is entitled to rank as the first living poet; but his productions exhibit many of the characteristic marks to which we refer, more glaringly than those of his contemporaries. His tales of war, and chivalry, and love; the unelaborate and universally perceptible melody of his verse; his resort to nursery tales and vulgar superstitions in preference to the stores of classic history and mythology; his recklessness of the charge of plagiarism, and free use of common-place expression or description, whenever it serves his purpose; his frequent disregard of the niceties of language and of rhyme; and the bold outline by which he aims at effect: these, if we add to them from Byron the Kean-like expression of the most violent passions, an occasional mixture of the vituperative and the burlesque, and ever recurring hits at the popular topics of the day, will furnish a pretty complete picture of a poet moulded by the spirit of the age, and bearing the image of his creator. The anxiety of Wordsworth to be the head of a school, or rather to be himself the whole school; of Campbell to secure the suffrages of men of refined taste; of Moore to charm young ladies; and of Southey to promote the

interests of his employers; — have modified this influence on them, which the structure of their minds seems also less calculated to receive: yet its impression is on them, broad and deep. They sing for the many; except that Wordsworth seems rather to chaunt a demonstration to the initiated few that the many should be sung to. Cowper was the herald of this revolution. He first disused the conventional phraseology which poetry had been schooled to use, and bade her "speak right on" in the language of nature and simplicity. He was unconscious of what he did; and wrote, not to please the people, but to please himself, one of the people. Pursuing the latter object he attained the former. Wordsworth aimed at the former, and succeeded in the latter. This reformation of the poetical dialect is a happy consummation; but whether the effects, taken altogether, which have resulted from the increased number and different character of the readers of poetry have made it of more intrinsic worth, is very questionable. It is not, however, for the present generation to quarrel with bards, who in their eagerness to secure its plaudits are ready to "jump the life to come" of posthumous reputation. And even if poetry should prove to be somewhat deteriorated, prose works of fiction have had a compensating increase of excellence. We speak of their general character. The laurels of Sterne, Fielding, Smollett, and Richardson, are in no danger; but in spite of their immortal works a stain remained on the title of novel or romance, which it was reserved for the present times to obliterate. Independently of the "great unknown," we have a host of writers of great talent cultivating this wide field with splendid success. If observation no longer supply them with material in the strongly marked peculiarities of individual character and manners, they have laid almost every period of our national history under contribution to supply the deficiency. And more than this has been done; for by the employment not only of historical knowledge, but of antiquarian research into the literature, manners, and daily habits and amusements of our ancestors, a more faithful and vivid picture of the state of society, at different and remote times, has been presented, than any professed history in existence can supply us with. If any body wants to become acquainted with his predecessors, the Fortunes of Nigel is a better book for his purpose than Hume's History of the Stuarts. Such works of fiction are amongst the best vehicles of truth. That they are in demand, and their authors powerfully stimulated to their production; that they are craved for, and devoured, and incessantly supplied; — is a very pleasant symptom.

We are a most religious people, through all the gradations of society. The higher classes became so, from the opposite

extreme, very much out of loyalty to George the Third and hatred of the French Revolution. The faith of their inferiors has been cherished by a variety of popular institutions, Bible, Missionary, and Tract Societies without number; with meetings, speeches, and sermons, succeeding each other without interval. We mention them not disrespectfully, nor with any doubt that much good has been accomplished by their agency; but to show how religion itself has been affected by the causes which operate so powerfully upon literature. That the press is kept constantly at work by these societies; that crowds are continually assembled to hear reports of their proceedings and be inspired with zeal for their objects; and that, on such occasions, statesmen, peers, and prelates mingle with the multitude;—are not only demonstrations of devout zeal, but acts of homage to the people, who were formerly left to learn their creed and their duty in a quiet way from the clergyman of the parish. Heresy, and even infidelity itself, partake of this change. Those who dissent from the doctrines of the established church have their hostile meetings and missions, and publish in the streets what used to be whispered in the closet. That scepticism should have descended also to struggle in the public arena; should exchange its delicate irony and covert insinuations for fierce attack and denunciation; should have its apostles, its confessors, and its martyrs;—is more extraordinary; and though something of the sort might naturally have been expected, yet, in the extent to which it has actually happened, must be partly ascribed to the injudicious zeal which, by seeking its violent suppression, roused in its behalf that sympathy which human nature is prone to feel with those who are, or are supposed to be, persecuted.

If the increased prevalence of the religious principle be a subject of congratulation, there is one consequence which naturally follows when its diffusion has been promoted by the spiritual forcing to which we have adverted, and when knowledge, though advancing, has not kept even pace with it, which must be lamented. We mean the much more increased prevalence of religious language; its employment by men whose mouths it becomes not, its frequent and almost profane misapplication, its separation from any real feeling, and even from any rational meaning, and its currency in the form of phrases, which only serve to impose on some and disgust others. With what a host of illustrations might we fill our number, from royal proclamations down to tabernacle tracts! We say nothing of privileged characters and places, nor of the religious meetings at town-halls and taverns, though there some commit the offence who have no claim to benefit of clergy; as when the statesman comes fresh

from the imposition of some demoralizing tax to subscribe for the spread of Christian precepts of purity; or a dissipated lordling lends his titled name to grace the religion of universal brotherhood; or the lawyer foams his testimony to the word of truth; or the soldier leans on the hilt of, perhaps, a mercenary sword to support him through the praises of the gospel of peace. What is worse than even this is, that we all cant, at all times and in all places. The fashionable religious tinge is given even to the speeches from the throne of our most gracious sovereign. His ministers are, of course, the champions of religion and morals. From the bar one often hears a great deal of *furious* Christianity, and from the bench sometimes a little animated sermonising. We have noticed also, that they are not always the cheapest shops where the tradesman keeps a Missionary or Bible Society box upon his counter. The professed and sincere religionists of the present day are much too apt to cultivate a peculiar theological dialect, and to employ it on very improper occasions; they scruple not to "sing the songs of Zion in a strange land;" but it is much less tolerable that the taskmasters and traffickers of Babylon should join in the chorus.

Perhaps the enthusiasm of religion may flourish the more from its being the only enthusiasm (though the cant of religion is certainly not the only cant) in which we seem disposed to indulge one another. An affected levity and heartlessness have crept over much of our literature, and more of our criticism, whose cant deserves to be held in equal abomination. Our elder brothers of the reviewing family have a considerable portion of this mischief to answer for; and the rest may be laid at Lord Byron's door. Because some master minds can gracefully sport with a subject, and playfully dispose (but not less acutely than playfully) of a philosophical controversy; or because a powerful effect was produced by the inspired delineation of a libertine, his feelings worn out and his heart seared, moving through all that is beautiful and grand, and finding in it only food for scorn;—does it therefore *follow*, that every stripling who can indite a pretty verse, or fabricate a readable paper for a magazine, is to find nothing in heaven or earth, in life, mind, or morals, important enough to make him serious, or interesting enough to demand emotion? The affectation of deep feeling is bad enough; but not half so bad as the affectation of no feeling at all, and the ridicule of it in others, where its absence bespeaks either an original want of the native sympathies of humanity, or the callousness which it requires a long course of selfish dissipation to superinduce. This taste is not English; it cannot last long; nor would it have prevailed at all but for the insufferable dullness to

which (in some departments) it succeeded, and the seductive glare of certain productions which should have remained unimitated as they are inimitable. Let mere talent revolve in its own orbit, a very honourable one, without launching forth into the eccentric sphere of genius. The fact is, that many laugh for fear of being laughed at. They are more in dread of being ridiculed than of being ridiculous. He who would readily encounter an argument quails before a joke. The levity of criticism has withered many a sensitive mind which gave promise of bright excellence. It represses whatever is pathetic in poetry, or bold in philosophy. It has made us a timid race, unworthy of our lineage, for "we are sprung of earth's best blood;" and an uncurbed originality of thought, and the free vent of every emotion that becomes a man, are the traits of our ancestral literature. This is most ungrateful and unwise; for criticism feeds on authorship, and should not deteriorate the quality of its own food: unless, indeed, criticism means to be self-supported, and to supersede the authors altogether. There have been symptoms of a tendency towards this anarchical state. The professed reviewer writes a dissertation on his author's subject, and in retaliation the author reviews himself in his own book, criticising as he proceeds. But enough of the errors of reviewers, which, perhaps, our own pages may soon be put in requisition to exemplify. Periodical literature has enlarged its boundaries; and its conquests, like most others, bear a mixed character of good and evil. It has been acted upon by that popular impulse which has so extensively affected the whole of our literature; and the wider range it now takes, and the higher talent embarked in it, qualify it to re-act powerfully upon the public mind. That this re-action should be as beneficial as it is powerful, is of the first importance. That the spirit and manner in which the leading reviews have been conducted are deemed susceptible of improvement, is implied in the present attempt to increase their number. Our hope of success is grounded on that greater conformity with the spirit of the times, in all its honourable peculiarities, which is allowed by our freedom from the trammels of party. Such a publication as we project, seems to us to be called for by the voice of the people; of whom we are, from whom we have no separate interests or objects, and to whom, though we cannot sacrifice a single just principle or personal conviction, we heartily devote our efforts in the pages of *The Westminster Review*. Let us be tried by our country.

Mr. Boone's view of "Men and Things in 1823" has a more immediate reference to the political topics and events of the day than that which it has been attempted to sketch in

the foregoing pages. He reads a lecture, a very friendly and laudatory one, to Mr. Canning, on the state of parties, and the conflict of principles both at home and abroad, and on the course which that gentleman should pursue to secure his own fame and his country's good. Some of the statements and advice have already become obsolete. The then situation of Spain, and what Mr. Canning might or should have done, are unhappily of this description. It is justly remarked, however, that "beneath the surface of the present conflict a far wider revolution is going on; and its mainspring, its vivifying principle, is the diffusion of knowledge. The pen is become a far more powerful and effectual weapon than the sword; and they who would oppose the arm of power to the influence of the press, must soon have occasion to rue the hopelessness of the contest." Accordingly, the progress which knowledge and liberty have made, and must continue to make in the world, are said and sung by Mr. Boone, in the first of his poetical epistles and its notes. He then becomes a little alarmed at the extent of the anticipated triumph which he has celebrated. He is fearful of our having too much of a good thing, and descants on the "danger of their being carried too far, or running wild." The prevention of such danger is a *dignus vindice nodus*, and his Magnus Apollo is invocated for that purpose.

> 'Such ills have risen!—Oh! lest they rise again,
> Let reason's arm avert th' impending bane.
> But *how*?—think, Canning:—in thy mind revolve
> That awful problem man has now to solve.'

The author's hints towards the solution of the problem are recommendatory of a liberal and conceding policy to governments, that they may thus "take the cause of freedom out of the hands of political enthusiasts, hair-brained speculators, soldiers of fortune, ambitious rebels, hungry, desperate, unprincipled adventurers," and *place it in their own*. We wish they may adopt this advice; but submit, nevertheless, that the cause of freedom may be in safer and better hands than either. Let the people keep it in their own. Unless they do, it is a lost cause.

Mr. B. is not, nor does he affect to be, a poet. His epistles, he says, "are put into rhyme, because, without that aid, a mere didactic exposition of general principles would be altogether unpalatable." We hope not; and have, therefore, ventured to offer our remarks in prose. It is but just to add, that he has accomplished all that he pretends to; that the syllables in each line are correctly counted, and the final ones have a very

tolerable degree of resemblance to each other. Some passages deserve higher praise, and might be quoted as specimens of nervous versification.

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ART. II. *Fables for the Holy Alliance, Rhymes on the Road, etc. etc.* By Thomas Brown the younger, Secretary of the Poco-curante Society, and Author of the "Fudge Family" and "The Two-penny Post Bag." 1823. 12mo. pp. 198. Longman and Co.

MR. Moore has not been, like many others of his class, (though we believe he might have been with profit to himself,) a court sycophant;—he has taken in hand and in heart the great cause of mankind; he has sympathised with the oppressed many, instead of making common cause with the oppressing few; he has dared to attack the vices and follies of men in power, and his most brilliant sallies of wit and satire have been directed against the tyrants and bigots who would keep mankind in perpetual ignorance to make them the objects of perpetual pillage. "The Fudge Family," "Tom Crib's Memorial to Congress," and "The Letters of the Two-penny Post Bag," though unhappily devoted to topics of a nature too transient for poetical immortality, are to our taste highly entertaining and instructive productions; and we wish heartily that the work which we now propose to examine, had in any way corresponded with those master-pieces of ridicule and invective.

Unfortunately, the *exclusive* culture of the faculty of imagination has but too strong a tendency to impair the powers of judgment; and how much soever poets may *wish* to instruct as well as to amuse, ("*et prodesse* volunt, *et delectare poetæ*,") it rarely happens that they accomplish this double purpose. The very qualities of mind which fit a man for the production of fine poetry, tend in a great degree to incapacitate him for the strict process of logical deduction. Poetry (which never has been, and perhaps cannot be, accurately defined) seems to differ from prose mainly in this, that, instead of being such a statement of the totality of the particulars belonging to any given subject as is requisite to enable the judgment to arrive at correct conclusions in relation to that subject, it is a selection of such only of the particulars as are calculated to affect the imagination. The greatest poet, like the greatest painter, is he who can produce the most vivid impression by the smallest number of lines; and the chief skill of both artists consists in bringing to view or aggravating such only of the striking features in each subject as

may enable the imagination to fill up the picture with varying though vigorous conceptions.

It is evident that an habitual process such as this cannot but tend to disqualify any man for the severer exercise of his reason. Truth can be attained no otherwise than by a minute and comprehensive examination of all the details of a subject, and general conclusions on which reliance may be placed can only be drawn from a dry and painful exhaustion of almost innumerable particulars. This is more especially the case with regard to political science. "Truths in general have been called stubborn things; the truths just mentioned are so in their own way. They are not to be forced into detached and general propositions unincumbered with explanations and exceptions. They will not compress themselves into epigrams. They recoil from the tongue and pen of the declaimer. They flourish not in the same soil with *sentiment.* They grow among thorns; and are not to be plucked, like daisies, by infants as they run. Labour, the inevitable lot of humanity, is in no track more inevitable than here. In vain would an Alexander bespeak a peculiar road for royal vanity, or Ptolemy a smoother one for royal indolence. There is no *King's Road*, no *Stadtholder's Gate*, to legislative any more than to mathematic science."

To the ardour and rapidity of poetical genius, such a task is repulsive and difficult, if not impossible; and, as we seldom succeed where the affections are not engaged, there are few great poets who have been good reasoners. They are the mere creatures of sentimental sympathy and antipathy; their heart tells them this, and their heart tells them that; their love and hatred, their approbation and disapprobation, are measured by no intelligible standard. Their fine feelings supply them instinctively with all the rules of morality. In their view, logic has indeed a closed fist and a scowling aspect, and the tune of "*Triste raison*" is always uppermost in their ears. They love to carry us back to days of yore, when the mind of man was still cradled in infantine weakness; and appear almost to regret the passing away of the blessed days of chivalry, with all their darkness and *donjons*, violence and insecurity; when the functions of chronicler and romancer were equally blended, and the dreams of imagination were received with the same credence as authentic historical narrative.

From this intellectual weakness, common to the greater number of his poetical brethren, Mr. Moore is by no means exempt. His instinctive hatred of oppression has indeed impelled him to attack the whole race of oppressors; but from the contents of the volume now before us, it may be inferred that he is ignorant

of the causes which give birth and continuance to these enemies of mankind, and of the only means which can accomplish their downfal: his reprobation is confined to individual actions and individual personages; he never seems to suspect that these personages are endowed with the powers of mischief, and these reprehensible actions occasioned by *systems* adverse to the interests of the mass of mankind, and that, as, in the long run, men have always been the same, the same results must ensue so long as the same systems prevail. His opinions, so far as he has any, are the offspring, not of his enquiries, but of his sympathies. Mr. Moore has resided in America; and, we understand, speaks of the Americans with unbounded dislike and contempt. The cause of all this is obvious enough; — one, who during a large portion of his life has been the god of drawing-room idolatry, who, constantly surrounded by titled and fascinating females, has found himself the delight of every ear, the object of every eye, and the theme of every tongue; one, who has inhaled a whole atmosphere of flattery, could scarcely be expected to retain his sober senses amid such peril of intoxication. It is natural enough that this brilliant scene should be the nucleus round which his sympathies should be encircled; that he should forget or place out of the account all other classes of human beings, and fall into the common mistake of supposing that the *fashionable* world is the *whole* world, or at least the whole whose existence is of any importance.

Now in America there are no titles, little fashion, and few drawing-rooms. People who have scarcely existed as a nation so long as the ordinary life of man, must necessarily be for the most part engaged in the obtaining of subsistence: they have not had time to produce a very polished or very leisurely class; no class for whom the delicate gossamers of European aristocracy can entertain any great degree of sympathy. True it is that the great mass of their population is exempt from the evils of poverty and misgovernment, to a degree which no other nation has ever experienced; true it is that taking the aggregate of numbers there exists among them a greater amount of happiness than the same numbers have ever before enjoyed; — but, in the estimation of the sentimentalist, they are a coarse, calculating, matter-of-fact people. The possession of competence, security, and content, can never compensate the want of that elegance which alone can render a community worthy of his consideration, and in the absence of which it is impossible that they can, in his eyes, retain any redeeming qualities.

Upon the nature, the cause, and the extensive effects of good government, it is probable that Mr. Moore has never enquired

or thought very deeply; indeed we suspect that the whole amount of his political opinions is comprehended in certain vague associations attached to the words *liberty* and *freedom*, so often the subject of his most exhilarating strains. What he means by liberty he has not told us; perhaps he means security from oppression or injustice at the hands of men in power; but the tribe of writers who are hired to cheat mankind out of their senses, and persuade the flock that it is their interest to be shorn to the quick, will tell Mr. Moore that liberty means hanging up opulent men to the lamp-post and dividing their spoil among the executioners, — some such executions having once been performed on its oppressors by an infuriated nation whom those oppressors had succeeded in rendering ignorant and ferocious, and had failed in keeping subject. The backwoodsman of America will tell him, it means exemption from all the restraints of society in a habitation fifty miles distant from any other human abode: — and *we* tell him it means nothing. The reign of vague generalities is passing fast away; — before we can attain what we esteem desirable, we must be able to describe with accuracy what we wish to attain, and abstain from the employment of terms which no two individuals understand in the same sense.

However, as to this matter, the fault seems to lie rather in the art of poetry than in the artist; and perhaps all we have said amounts to no more than this, that Mr. Moore *is* a *poet*, and therefore is *not* a *reasoner*. Provided he encourages institutions and feelings likely to operate beneficially upon the condition of the people at large, we ought to be contented with his performance, and abstain from analysing very rigorously the process by which he arrives at his conclusions, or the terms which he employs to express them; and we should never have entered upon the investigation we have just concluded, had not indulgence in sentimentality and indisposition to reason impelled our author in his last performance to express sentiments incompatible with justice and the best interests of mankind.

For instance, with regard to the Neapolitans, he exclaims, —

'Ay — down to the dust with them, slaves as they are!
From this hour, let the blood in their dastardly veins,
That shrunk at the first touch of Liberty's war,
Be suck'd out by tyrants, or stagnate in chains!

'On, on like a cloud, through their beautiful vales,
Ye locusts of tyranny, blasting them o'er —
Fill, fill up their wide sunny waters, ye sails
From each slave-mart of Europe, and poison their shore!

'Let their fate be a mock-word; let men of all lands
Laugh out, with a scorn that shall ring to the poles,
When each sword, that the cowards let fall from their hands,
Shall be forged into fetters to enter their souls.

'And deep, and more deep, as the iron is driven,
Base slaves! may the whet of their agony be,
To think — as the damn'd haply think of that heav'n
They had once in their reach—that they *might* have been free.'

Now, in our judgment, nothing can be more cruel, unjust, and absurd, than the sort of language so generally expressed by sentimentalists on the unhappy issue of the attempts made by the Neapolitans and Spaniards to rid themselves of a portion of the manifold evils of misgovernment.

"Out upon them!" — says the tender-hearted, love-sick sonnetteer. "Out upon them!" "Down to the dust with them!" "Drive in the iron!" "Suck out their blood!" "Trample out every spark of freedom!" — And why? Because the scanty population of a diminutive country, degraded and brutalised by whole centuries of ignorance and oppression, did not exhibit the same resolution and use the same efforts in their own defence which a well educated and intelligent people might have resorted to, had their country been in like manner attacked. We say *might* — not *would*; because to whatever extremes men may be impelled by republican enthusiasm or philosophic determination, we are quite sure, that in point of military propriety, few would recommend a half-armed, undisciplined, unsupported band of ten thousand men, to sustain the shock of five or six hundred thousand veteran troops pouring in upon them by successive armies, week after week, and month after month; and we are equally sure that no one who reflects would ever imagine a territory scarcely larger than Wales, able to cope a moment with the strength of Austria and Russia. Yet in his sentimental and disproportionate abhorrence of that weakness of mind and body called cowardice, Mr. Moore has no mercy on the unfortunate victims of arbitrary power; — it is the topic in which he seems to delight. He has a whining elegy on the same subject in the last number of the "National Melodies," which, if we have not been misinformed, is one of his most favourite productions, and that with which in singing he most frequently regales his hearers. 'Tis well for those whose "lives and fortunes" still remain after the long contest against the improvement of mankind, to cry "A plague of all cowards, I say, and a vengeance too! Marry and amen! Give me a cup of sack, boy! Is there no virtue extant?" But the mighty in song are not always mighty

in fight; and we cannot feel altogether assured, that the prick of an Austrian bayonet might not have power to change a poet's note, or, like the American torpedo, to paralyse if not to silence his tongue. Let him not be ruffled at this distant supposition: as great as he have fallen into the same weakness; and when Horace took to his heels, he had the magnanimity to confess it.

It is not in the sufferings of the Neapolitans alone, that Mr. Moore seems to take such pious delight. Duped into error and injustice by the commonest form of poetical expression,—by one of his own personifications,—he views with complacency, if not with delight, all the sufferings endured by the enslaved Venetians.—

> 'Mourn not for Venice,—though her fall
> Be awful, as if ocean's wave
> Swept o'er her,—she *deserves* it all,
> And justice triumphs o'er her grave.
> Desolate Venice! when I track
> Thy haughty course through centuries back,—
> When I review all this, and see
> What thou art sunk and crush'd to now,
> I feel the *moral* vengeance *sweet*,
> And *smiling*, o'er the wreck, repeat,
> Thus perish every king and state,
> That tread the steps which Venice trod.'

This is poetical justice with a vengeance, and justice only on the bare surface of the words employed to describe it. The fallacy lies in a single personification; and is so transparent, that even a poet, if he paused a moment, could scarcely fail to detect it. Whoever is guilty of crime ought to be punished. Venice, says the poet, has been guilty of crime; therefore Venice ought to be punished. But though it possibly escaped his penetration, the Venice mentioned secondly is altogether a different personage from the Venice mentioned firstly; and in plain prose the matter stands thus:—

"Certain persons called Venetians, none of which persons are now in existence, committed great atrocities between the years 1400 and 1500: "*Ergo*, certain other persons called Venetians, who had no share in those atrocities, but who live in the year 1823, deserve to be enslaved, and afflicted with manifold sufferings."

Perhaps, even in this position, a poetical intellect which has never bestowed a single thought on the principles which ought to regulate punishment, may not be enabled to detect any thing very incongruous or unjust; but we think we can place the matter

in a light which, for the future, may induce even Mr. Moore to pause before he measures out retribution according to the dictates of sentimentality.

" Certain persons called *Catholics*, none of which persons are now in existence, committed, a few centuries ago, great atrocities in Ireland: *Ergo*, certain other persons called Catholics, who have had no share in those atrocities, ought throughout Ireland to be the victims of persecution in 1824."

In an address to Montblanc — describing the effects produced upon him by an evening view of this mountain,—Mr. Moore says —

> ' I stood entranced and mute, —
> Mighty Montblanc! thou wert to me,
> That minute, with thy brow in heaven,
> As sure a sign of deity
> As e'er to mortal gaze was given.
> Nor ever ——————————
> Can I the deep-felt awe forget,
> The ecstasy that thrill'd me then!
> 'Twas all that consciousness of power
> And life beyond this mortal hour; —
> That proud assurance of our claim
> To rank among the sons of light,
> Mingled with shame, — oh, bitter shame! —
> At having risk'd that splendid right
> For aught that earth, through all its range
> Of glories, offers in exchange ——
> And should my spirit's hope grow weak,
> Should I, oh God! e'er doubt thy power,
> This mighty scene again I'll seek,
> At the same calm and glowing hour;
> And here, at the sublimest shrine
> That nature ever rear'd to thee,
> Rekindle all that hope divine
> And *feel* my immortality!'

If Mr. Moore, as we are led to suspect from the foregoing extract, has ever been of a sceptical turn, we congratulate him on the discovery of any argument likely to promote any belief which may be conducive to his happiness: but a little of that charity which is one of the chief characteristics of the creed which our author professes,—a little forbearance towards those with whom, if in error, he himself may have erred in common, might, we think, have induced him to abstain from joining in the attack (p. 33.) against an individual now suffering protracted imprisonment for the publication of opinions differing from the opinions professed by his prosecutors. The unhappy

prisoner, it is true, may have arrived at his conclusions by arguments less high-flown than the elevation of Montblanc, — his conclusions may be altogether erroneous; but it can scarcely be doubted that they are the result of investigation, and believed with at least as much sincerity as those at which Mr. Moore has been enabled to arrive by a speedier process of induction. At any rate, persecution for opinions, whether under colour of law or in any other way, is injustice. Disregard of the sufferings of persecuted men, let their errors be what they may, is cruelty.

Perhaps, after all, there is not perfect sincerity in the attack; and, considering the whig-aristocratical atmosphere in which Mr. Moore dwells, we suspect that an apprehension of being esteemed somewhat of an *exaltado*, may have induced him to make this little sacrifice to the prejudices and interests of those who have much to lose and little to gain by any change, and who mask under professions of moderation their steady discountenance of every attempt at political improvement.

However, did not the present work afford conflicting evidence on the point, we might almost suspect that our author had been bought up by the Vice Society and Constitutional Association, to further the purposes of those enlightened and humane bodies; and now when youth is passing away, desire cooling, and the "fifty fair maids" with whom he may "have kissed and prattled" are growing old, to cry out with Solomon at the end of the chapter, and not till the end of the chapter, "All is vanity."

Not content with prostration at the shrine of intolerance, he turns knight-errant in defence of female chastity, and launches out a long acrimonious invective against Rousseau and Madame de Warens. (P. 125.) Now from Thomas Little this is a little too good! Don Juan preaching a sermon against incontinence, and consigning to eternal infamy a matronly lady for befriending a poor pennyless boy, and for committing a few irregularities to save him from the effects of his own youth and indiscretion! — Spare, spare, gentle moralist! your indignation against actions which occasioned pain to no human being, and point it against those which are the cause of assignable mischief. Lash the male coquet, who excites hopes which he is predetermined to disappoint. Lash the male seducer, who for the sake of a moment's gratification does not hesitate to involve a whole family in protracted misery and disgrace. Thunder against the tyrants and bigots who would fetter our intellects, and despoil us of the fruits of our labours. — But let one benevolent old woman settle the account of her frailties before another tribunal.

In the stanzas on country dance and quadrille, we are surprised to find in Mr. Moore (an educated and travelled gentle-

man) a degree of petty nationality such as is now scarcely to be met with in a vulgar squire or more vulgar cockney. Undoubtedly the sympathies and associations of each individual will for the most part lead him to prefer the manners and habits of his own country; but the very variety of tastes which he must observe at home, might lead him to abstain from fostering a mass of hostility and prejudice against our fellow-men, for no better reason than the circumstance of their being born a few leagues from our own doors, and differing a little in their dress and pleasures.

Upon the whole, we deem the present the least interesting and impressive of all Mr. Moore's productions. We say this with no bitterness, and with no desire to occasion pain: he has still, as a poet, great powers; and if he will continue to exert his energies against the foes of improvement, and encourage us in the pursuit of the blessings of good government, he will be an object of interest more extensive and lasting, and of regard more cheering, whether for the middle or the close of life, than all he may have hitherto enjoyed in the blaze of drawing-rooms or the caresses of beauty.

With the following extract, which exhibits, if not a very vigorous, at least an accurate picture, and which we esteem the best piece in the present volume, we shall now conclude: —

*Epitaph on a Lawyer.*

'Here lies a lawyer — one, whose mind
(Like that of all the lawyer kind)
Resembled, though so grave and stately,
The pupil of a cat's eye greatly, —
Which for the mousing deeds transacted
In holes and corners is well fitted,
But which, in sunshine, grows contracted,
As if 'twould, — *rather* not admit it, —
As if, in short, a man would quite
Throw time away who tried to let in a
Decent portion of God's light
On lawyer's mind or pussy's retina.
Hence when he took to politics,
As a refreshing change of evil,
Unfit with grand affairs to mix,
His little nisi prius tricks,
Like imps at bo-peep, play'd the devil;
And proved that when a small law wit
Of statesmanship attempts the trial,
'Tis like a player on the kit,
Put all at once to a bass viol.

Nay, ev'n when honest (which he could
Be, now and then) still quibbling daily,
He served his country as he would
A client thief at *the* Old Bailey.
But — do him justice — short and rare
His wish through honest paths to roam;
Born with a taste for the unfair,
Where falsehood call'd he still was there,
And when least honest most at home.
Thus shuffling, bullying, lying, creeping,
He work'd his way up near the throne,
And long before he took the keeping
Of the king's conscience, lost his own.'

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ART. III. *For the Oracles of God, Four Orations. For Judgment to come, an Argument, in Nine Parts.* By the Rev. Edward Irving, M. A. London. T. Hamilton. 1823. 8vo. pp. 548.

WE are of opinion that Mr. Irving is a man of extraordinary talents; who, either from an undue hankering after premature fame, or from the solicitations, perhaps, of misjudging friends, has been induced to put forth a most unequal work.

So curiously indeed are the faults and beauties mixed up in the book now before us; so nice and accurate is the compensation given and received by each class; so much is there, on the one hand, of flowing and poetical language, of lofty thought, and, moreover, of just reasoning, while, on the other, there are such unequivocal specimens of expression the most vulgar, conceptions the most abortive, and logic the most pointless; that we must honestly declare, we know not in which scale the balance preponderates. We are aware that such an acknowledgment of fallibility as this which we now make, will seem a little odd to those who mark the first essays of public criticism; the positiveness of a reviewer being generally in the inverse ratio of his experience. But we are, nevertheless, constrained to repeat, upon this subject of the merits and faults of Mr. Irving, that we are utterly unable to decide upon the question of their relative magnitude. We believe both to be so great, that, had we tendered our evidence on a late important investigation*, the counsel on both sides would, by mutual consent, have rejected us.

In several of the objects which, as we gather from his preface, Mr. Irving chiefly proposed to himself in the composition of these sermons, we think that he has most signally failed; and that, whatever success may attend his preaching, if we are to

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* Trial of the Rev. Edw. Irving. See the clever pamphlet with that title.

judge from the specimens contained in this volume, will be found to be of a different, though hardly less important kind, than that which the author seems principally to have had in view. Mr. Irving seems to have sat down to the work of composition with the purpose of writing to (or at) the literary, the imaginative, and the scientific among unbelievers; and intended either to bring over to his own standard all those classes of opponents, or, at any rate to neutralise the effects of their opposition, by stigmatising and depreciating them in the opinions of the people. Now in this we believe that he has failed; and, moreover, that if an angel from heaven had set about the same task in the same manner, he would have met with no greater success. For, really, the literary and scientific men of the present day are a stiff-necked generation, neither to be converted nor yet silenced by dint of undiscriminating invective; and we do marvel that any man should have lived to the age of Mr. Irving without perceiving, that the effect of undervaluing the pursuits of such men, of directly attacking their influence upon society (which, by the way, was never so powerful as it is at present), and of seeking to drive them violently, and all at once, out of the strong holds which they have built, could be no other than to provoke them into an active and formidable hostility. Instead of stealthily and gradually sealing up the hive—patiently stopping each particular chink—and carrying off his enemies while wrapt in darkness and sleep,—he has chosen to break in upon the honeycombs at mid-day, deranging the whole economy of the cells, and rousing the very drones to resent his unceremonious invasion.

If, therefore, it should be admitted, that this gentleman has been successful in disenchanting some minds from the influence of the wizards of literature and science; if he should have stopped up some ears against the voice of these "charmers, charm they never so wisely;"—we should still be inclined to doubt whether, upon the whole, the loss has not been greater than the gain. For, though the enemy have been driven out of some of his fortresses, he has been injudiciously exasperated into a degree of activity which may gain him many others. But, for our own part, we are disposed to believe that very little has been done even in this way. Among those classes of the people for whom Mr. Irving professedly writes, there are few individuals indeed who have not some literary or scientific attachments, and who are not, therefore, likely to receive, with more of anger than of submission, the general invectives which are found in the volume before us. With the single exception of Wordsworth and his disciples, we know of none who may not with reason complain of the contemptuous hostility with which they are here

assailed. Had Mr. Irving explained to his hearers the supreme importance of religion, without thinking it necessary to deviate, for the sake of contrast, into dissertations upon the unheavenly tendency of this poet's verses, or that reasoner's argumentation; had he contented himself with expounding St. Peter and St. Paul, without interweaving a running commentary upon Byron, Southey, and Moore; — his talents and his earnestness would have made more converts and fewer enemies.

In like manner, we must be permitted to doubt whether the reforms which Mr. Irving seems anxious to produce in the lives and discourses of his fellow ministers, are very likely to be brought about by the means which he has adopted for the purpose. Mr. Irving's own life, we have been informed, and believe, is characterised by zeal for the interests of religion, and by great and most praiseworthy efforts to promote them. His sermons, too, are full of earnestness, and certainly contain most of those qualities in which he asserts that the discourses of others are deficient. And we would ask any reasonable man, whether the personal example of this gentleman, in both these respects, is not likely to produce infinitely more effect upon the conduct and the sermons of his brethren, than any quantity of invective and sarcasm which his eloquence can heap upon them? In this, and in other points, Mr. Irving seems to have too little respect for the reasoning faculties of those with whom he has to deal; he insists upon blurting out every truth (supposing that all his charges are truths), instead of leaving any thing to be inferred, though the inference be never so easy and natural. The consequence has been, that his attacks upon science and literature have procured him the marked hostility of nearly every publication of the day; while we have reason to know, that, among his own brethren, there is hardly one, who does not retort (at least in private) the scorn with which he has been treated.

Let it not be supposed, that, in making these remarks, we are finding fault with the independence of thought and the fearlessness of speech, which so favourably characterise Mr. Irving. On the contrary, we are ready to give him the tribute of our admiration for his boldness, — qualified, nevertheless, by many doubts as to the extent of his discretion. Speaking in our own character, we applaud, instead of condemning, the conduct of any man who proclaims the existence of delusion or abuse: indeed it is a liberty of which we shall claim a large portion for ourselves. But, after all, the knife and cautery are only to be used now and then in desperate cases; and our complaint against Mr. Irving is, that he uses these when other specifics would be preferable. He is a Quixote, who holds all parley in

scorn; and rides, with lance couched, not only against ravishers and giants, but also against fulling-mills and flocks of sheep.

Having thus protested against the indiscretion which is sometimes observable in these discourses, we are now at liberty to say, that we think it nearly the heaviest charge which can be brought against Mr. Irving. We speak not of the composition of his sermons; but of the spirit in which they are written. Perhaps, however, we ought to say a little of a certain tone of dogmatism which shows itself oftener than we could wish, — an assumption of the character of Sir Oracle; which, in the first production of so young a man, and a man too whose reasoning powers are not the highest of his faculties, seems not a little injudicious. It will convince nobody, and it offends many. Such are the principal faults discernible in the sermons before us, so far as the manner and spirit are concerned; and, as we are sincerely desirous that the observations we are now making should have the effect rather of removing obstacles out of the way to this gentleman's future success, by furnishing him with some useful hints, than of creating any additional prejudice against him, we shall be heartily glad to find no material for any new criticism of this kind in the works which he may hereafter be induced to consign to the press.

We believe that, while it would be quite impossible for the most partial friend of Mr. Irving to assert that he has not the faults which we have imputed to him, it would be equally out of the power of his enemies to deny him the possession of many qualities which deserve and command approbation. There is about him so much of open sincerity and ardent zeal; so thorough a contempt for prejudice, however inveterate, and for fashion, however prevalent; so fixed a devotedness to the cause which he supports; such decision, in short, and such enthusiasm, as serve to remind us very forcibly of the early Scotch Reformers, and to produce in the mind, notwithstanding our suspicions of the occasional impolicy of his language, a very extraordinary degree of sympathy, respect, and admiration. From the bottom of our hearts we feel reverence for the man who can display so much of moral courage as we discern in Mr. Irving. Surrounded as he was at the time when these discourses were delivered, by the gay, the fashionable, and the selfish, he has not scrupled to bear his testimony to that equality, which, in like manner as it originally existed amongst men, finally awaits them. With ministers of state among his auditors, he hesitates not to speak of the excellence of civil liberty, and to refer with evident exultation to the times in our own history when it assumed even an aspect of republicanism. In the presence of literary men of all ranks

(whose power either as friends or as enemies, is, at this day, incalculable), he has denounced the allurements of literature, when they would seduce from the paths of religious duty. Throughout the whole book there is no such thing as equivocation or trimming; no paring down of principle to fit a particular standard; neither retraction nor qualification. It is Bourdaloue preaching to the court of Louis XIV.; or South haranguing the royal profligate of England; or the fearless apostle of the Gentiles addressing the heathens and sceptics of Athens.

It is perhaps scarcely necessary to add, that, in consequence of the qualities we have just referred to, the style of Mr. Irving is often exceedingly impressive. Indeed, we are persuaded that a selection might be made from this volume, furnishing a cento of brilliant and most forcible passages, which should be equal in strength, in warmth, and in all the qualities which commend themselves to the heart of man, to any similar collection which could be made from the same number of sermons of any divine, antiquated or modern. And here we cannot but express our grief, that, in consequence of the profusion with which Mr. Irving has scattered his metaphysical and argumentative passages (in which he shows no superiority, to say the least) over the surface of his work, the volume is likely to remain a sealed book to the great majority of readers. Just as a person new to the works of Jeremy Taylor is apt to be wearied and disgusted by the perpetual recurrence of quibbling theology, and insufferably heavy quotations from the Heathen and Christian writers of antiquity, though, if he will but persevere, he may meet with bursts of the truest eloquence in which heart ever spoke to heart; so in this tome of Mr. Irving's, any reader who is not bound, like an unlucky reviewer, to read a book through, will feel his patience give way under the piles of clumsy argument, and will hardly take pains to cull out the pearls which might every now and then be found imbedded amongst them. Indeed, the universal complaint is, that the book is not readable; and we are compelled, from our own painful experience in travelling through it, to acknowledge that there is but too much justice in the imputation.

We shall not meddle at all with Mr. Irving's theology, which we suspect to be, in some points, nearly peculiar to himself. We have not looked at this volume with any view of discovering its doctrinal merits or demerits, but almost exclusively with the purpose of determining its literary character. The preceding observations have forced themselves upon us in the perusal, and we have thought it not amiss to lay them before our

readers, because we think they may serve, in some measure, to account for that host of critical prejudices with which the reputation of Mr. Irving has hitherto had to struggle. In consequence of those prejudices, the bad and questionable passages in this work are a great deal better known to the public, than those which are of an opposite description; and, for that reason, we shall confine ourselves, in the few extracts we have to make, almost exclusively to the favourable specimens of these discourses. The bombast, the foolish quaintnesses, the puerile conceits, and the lame and incongruous figures in which the volume abounds, have been already laid before the public in every possible shape; and we shall content ourselves with referring our readers, for the faults of Mr. Irving, to the thousand and one publications in which they have been zealously and carefully set forth. For what could we, who unfortunately bring up the rear of criticism upon this subject, and who are compelled to fall on Mr. Irving when every critical tooth in the nation has been fleshed upon him already, — what could we say, more than has been said over and over again, in condemnation of the many sins against grammar, good English, and good taste, which are to be found in this variegated volume? Why should we renew the outcry against "the flinty heart which strikes its fangs into its own proper bosom" (p. 63.); or "the stumblingblock of a mistaken paltriness, cast between enlightened men and the cross of Christ" (p. 24.); or "the platform of our being, erected upon the new condition of probation, different from that of all known existences?" or against the syntax, taste, and sense of the assertion, that "masterful men, or the masterful current of opinion, hath ploughed with the word of God, and the fruit has been to inveigle the mind into the exclusive admiration of some few truths, which being planted in the belief, and sacrificed to in all religious expositions and discourses, have become popular idols, which frown heresy and excommunication upon all who dare stand for the unadulterated, uncurtailed testimony?" (p. 41.) Ours shall be the more novel, and really more agreeable task, of pointing out some of the matter which may justify Mr. Irving's extraordinary popularity as a preacher, and warrant the hope that, with ample pruning and much caution, he may hereafter become a really eloquent divine.

The following is the opening passage to the volume; with the exception of the two last sentences, we think there is a great deal of simplicity and beauty in it:—

'There was a time when each revelation of the word of God had an introduction into this earth which neither permitted men to doubt whence it came, nor wherefore it was sent. If, at the giving

of each several truth, a star was not lighted up in heaven, as at the birth of the Prince of Truth, there was done upon the earth a wonder, to make her children listen to the message of their Maker. The Almighty made bare his arm; and, through mighty acts shown by his holy servants, gave demonstration of his truth, and found for it a sure place among the other matters of human knowledge and belief.

'But now the miracles of God have ceased, and nature, secure and unmolested, is no longer called on for testimonies to her Creator's voice. No burning bush draws the footsteps to his presence chamber; no invisible voice holds the ear awake; no hand cometh forth from the obscure to write his purposes in letters of flame. The vision is shut up, and the testimony is sealed, and the word of the Lord is ended; and this solitary volume, with its chapters and verses, is the sum total of all for which the chariot of heaven made so many visits to the earth, and the Son of God himself tabernacled and dwelt among us.

'The truth which it contains once dwelt undivulged in the bosom of God: and, on coming forth to take its place among things revealed, the heavens and the earth, and nature through all her chambers, gave it reverent welcome. Beyond what it reveals, the mysteries of the future are unknown. To gain it acceptation and currency the noble company of martyrs testified unto the death. The general assembly of the first-born in heaven made it the day-star of their hopes, and the pavilion of their peace. Its every sentence is charmed with the power of God, and powerful to the everlasting salvation of souls.' pp. 1, 2.

In the same chaste and simple style is the following, which we quote chiefly on account of the very beautiful tribute to the memory of a true and warm-hearted poet with which the passage concludes: —

'The constitution described in the two last divisions of this argument, is alone equal to this restoration of the lower classes from their brutal apathy to what is noble, and their brutal excess in what is sensual. For, as we have seen, it addresseth every good and generous feeling within the breast, and prompts it into activity by every inducement. Then from the personal it proceeds to watch over the social principle, regulating all the relationships of life with tenderness and affection; planting love in families, mutual respect among the ranks of life, and disinterested attention to the wellbeing of all. It awakens spiritual tastes, and refreshes the mind with divine sentiments, and introduceth to virtuous company. It casteth a restraint upon every wicked propensity, and putteth a divine economy through all one's affairs; and by all these influences works over a community the most complete of all reformations. For what is a community but a number of fathers, mothers, brothers and sisters, masters and servants, governors and governed? And if each of these is held to his office by a wise and powerful authority, made to love it and delight in it, what is wanting to the wellbeing of that community? Religion would also bring back with it all the social and generous

virtues which once dwelt within the land, and restore the efflorescence of happiness which hath almost faded away. It would wipe away the disgustful scenes into which their irrepressible freedom hurries the people. Sobriety, and economy, and domestic peace, it would plant in the families of the most dejected. The industry of parents would thrive under the blessing of God and the expectation of everlasting rest. The children would be trained in the fear of God; the young men would be strong in self-command; the young maidens clothed in modesty, and chastity, and a divine gracefulness. Servants would be faithful and masters kind; and within every cottage of the land would be realized that bower of innocency and paradise of religious content, which our sorely tried, and, alas! too yielding poet, hath sung in his "Cotter's Saturday Night;" thereby redeeming half his frailties, and making the cause of religion his debtor — a debt, it seems to me, which the religious have little thought of in their persecution of his name, and cruel exposure of all his faults.' pp. 234, 235.

We shall now give a few lines from one of those questionable passages, from which both the friends and the enemies of Mr. Irving have professed to derive support for their respective opinions of his eloquence. The earlier part we acknowledge to be desperately bad; but in the short extract which we subjoin, there appears to us to be a good deal of likeness to the manner of Jeremy Taylor. There is all the eloquent amplification which so much distinguishes that admirable writer, mixed with some of his faults. Upon the theology of the passage we have no remark to offer. Mr. Irving is speaking of the approach of the judgment day, and of the horrors which it will bring to the impenitent: —

'And the gay glory of time shall depart; and sportful liberty shall be bound for ever in the chain of obdurate necessity. The green earth, with all her blooming beauty and bowers of peace, shall depart. The morning and evening salutations of kinsmen shall depart; and the ever-welcome voice of friendship, and the tender whispering of full-hearted affection, shall depart, for the sad discord of weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth. And the tender names of children, father and mother, wife and husband, with the communion of domestic love and mutual affection, and the inward touches of natural instinct, — which family compact, when undivided by discord, wraps the live-long day into one swell of tender emotion, making earth's lowly scenes worthy of heaven itself: — all, all shall pass away; and instead shall come the level lake that burneth, and the solitary dungeon, and the desolate bosom, and the throes and tossings of horror and hopelessness, and the worm that dieth not, and the fire that is not quenched.' pp. 63, 64.

We remember nothing which appears to us more excellent in its kind, than the following little extract: —

'Oh, how shall I speak of this unutterable glory, who am a man of unclean lips, and of a deceitful and defiled heart, and have nowhere to gather illustration save this unhappy and unrighteous world! You have felt, or you have seen, the wrapt (rapt) enjoyment of an aged sire, making a round of his children in their several homes, beholding them blooming and rejoicing in the favour of the Lord, with their little ones encircling them like the shoots of the tender vine. No discords to heal, no sorrows to assuage, no misfortunes to lament in all that have sprung of his loins. What an emotion of paternal glory and pious thankfulness fills his breast! He looks round upon the numerous and happy flock, bone of his bone, and flesh of his flesh, and the tear silently fills his eye, which he lifts to heaven, the seat of God, with a look that would say, Thou hast dealt bountifully with thy servant; now let him depart in peace. One such sight makes a parent forget the care and labour of a long life; one such emotion puts to flight all the fears and forebodings of a parent's heart, — his soul is satisfied, the measure of his joy is full.' p. 184.

Where, again, shall we find a spirit of truer eloquence — of that eloquence which makes its way directly to the heart, and dwells there long after the voice of the speaker has ceased to vibrate on the ear, — than in the following most successful passage! —

'Let us then contemplate what sustains the spirit of a man under the removal of those things upon which his desire is set here below, that we may gather what will support his soul when bereaved of all its corporeal possessions and enjoyments. When a beloved object is removed, there is for a season within the soul a sense of emptiness, as if really a part of herself had been torn away. Into this empty chamber she retireth to dwell alone. Engagements, and pleasures, and discourse of friends, are for a while foregone. Inaction of body, abstraction of mind, a fixed eye, and a sealed spirit, go with us, and cleave unto us like our shadow. "Farewell the tranquil mind! Farewell content!" But by degrees nature recovers from the blow which had stunned her powers, and then her first employment is to look back into the annals of the past, when her delight was with the departed object of her love; and if she finds that she had treated it well, that she had honoured it in the highest place, and made of it the most account; that its memory is associated with duties performed, and kind offices discharged; that she can ruminate upon virtuous, and innocent, and happy intercourse, and discourse with contentment and gratification of all that passed between them; that there is no invasion of repentance nor remorse, for arrears of love unpaid, or overtures of advantage unaccepted: then she hath a consolation, and to memory she fleeth as to a city of refuge. The object gone getteth a second life, it liveth in those parts of the mind which dwell with the past; in the seasons of stillness it cometh up and keepeth us company, it riseth up like a spirit in the places where we sojourned together, it cometh to us in visions of the night, when deep sleep falleth upon man, invested with those same attributes of love and joy which it wore towards us in our earthly converse, and which it

weareth still in the converse of memory. But besides living with the past, it liveth also with the present, in the affections which it cultivated, in the good habits which it strengthened, and the good interests which it hath secured: when we rejoice over the good and worthy part of our nature, it shareth in our joy; and when we pursue the honourable paths to which it accompanied us once, it accompanieth us still; and when we tend alone the cares to which it once gave us aid, we reflect upon its counsels and walk in its footsteps. An object therefore which hath been rightly used continues to have a share of the happy, holy parts of our life, and is as it were only cut off from the senses, but to the spirit is present as before. To these two we join, if it be possible, the anticipation of beholding it again — we seek to give it a life in those parts of the soul which hold converse with the future: and it is unspeakable the consolation which comes from any shadow of hope in this direction. This poureth life anew into the chambers of death, and eternity into the moulds of time. Death loseth his sting, and the grave her victory, and mortality is swallowed up in life. We seem to hear the departed spirit inviting us to come and be joined to its fellowship, to hasten and come unto our rest. Death is a journey from friends to friends, life a visit amongst friends, and death a return to our friends.' pp. 301—303.

Equally meritorious in its way is the eloquent argumentation of the following paragraphs. It will be observed, that we vary these extracts as much as possible, so as to afford our readers an opportunity of judging as to the diversity of Mr. Irving's powers: —

'If, then, the truth of God's presence and presidency in our worldly affairs find for itself universal belief amongst Christians, though resting upon Revelation alone, and having no foundation either in sight or perception; upon what plea will they reject the doctrine of the Spirit's presence and presidency in the great world of grace, if it be found revealed with the same distinctness? There ought therefore to be no preliminary objection taken to it upon the grounds of its not being perceptible, but the Scriptures should be searched whether it be so or not.

'Rather, upon the other hand, because it is not perceptible, we should entertain it as more akin to the other operations of the invisible God. For, exalting your thoughts a little, conceive the ways of God; look abroad over the world, and what do you behold? — Noiseless nature putting forth her buds, and drinking the milk of her existence from the distant sun. Where is God? he is not seen, he is not heard: — where is the sound of his footsteps — where the rushing of his chariot wheels — where is his storehouse for this inhabited earth — where are the germs of future plants, the juices of future fruits — and where is the hand dividing its portion to every living thing, and filling their hearts with life and joy? Lift your thoughts a little higher; behold the sun, — doth he, when preparing to run his race, shake himself like a strong man after sleep, and make a rustling noise, and lift up his voice to God for a renewal of his ex-

hausted strength? Doth the pale-faced and modest moon, which cometh forth in the season of the night, make music in the still silence to her Maker's praise? Do the stars in their several spheres tell to mortal sense the wondrous stories of their births? Again, turn your thoughts inward upon yourselves, and say if your manly strength did grow out of infant helplessness with busy preparations and noisy workmanship, as the chiseled form of man groweth out of the quarried stone? In the still evening, when you lay you down wearied and worn out, doth your strength return during the watches of the sleepy and unconscious night by noise and trouble, as a worn-out machine is refitted by the cunning workman? Tell me how intelligence grows upon the unconscious babe; where are the avenues of knowledge, and by what method doth it fix itself?' pp. 486—488.

It is pretty evident, from the foregoing specimens, that this gentleman has infinitely greater powers of eloquence, than his critics have generally been disposed to allow him; and greater, perhaps, than some of his admirers may hitherto have suspected. Many of the latter, indeed, when called upon to point out the beauties in this volume — the green spots in the desert — have adduced passages which possess no extraordinary merit, as the very best which the volume will supply. Perhaps among those which have been frequently quoted, the following is one of the least exceptionable; though in our minds, the picture is by no means well-finished. Some persons, however, for whose opinions we have much respect, think differently; and we shall on that account, and because the passage furnishes a specimen of Mr. Irving's narrative and descriptive talent, give it a place among our extracts:—

'Perhaps the best way of making this experiment is to look upon the last hours of the condemned. There are no practical despisers of death like those who touch, and taste, and handle death daily, by daily committing capital offences. They make a jest of death: all its forms, and all its terrors, are in their mouths a scorn. Now it hath been my lot to attend on the condemned cells of prisoners, and to note the effects when they were kept cool in body and in mind, and saw that enemy at hand whom they affected to despise when at a distance; and in the North we have a better opportunity of making this painful observation, seeing weeks, not days, intervene between sentence and execution. Now this is the fact: that, first of all, death in sight hath such a terrible aspect, that they make every effort to escape him. If there be one ray of hope, it is entertained with the whole soul. All friends are importuned; every channel of interest beset; and a reprieve is sought by every argument and entreaty. Some have lived such a life of enormity, and are enveloped in such a cloud of brutal ignorance, that they die without care, and run the risk of another world, if there be one. But this is not frequent. The greater number abandon their untenable position of hardihood, and

seek a shelter when the terrible storm hurtleth in the heavens, and they see its dismal preparation. I know how it is, for I have watched all the night and all the morning in their cells, and walked with them to the drop; and one only I have found whose heart would not yield; and when I took his hand it was cold and clammy, and ever and anon there shot a shiver through his frame, and again resolution braced him up, and again the convulsive throb of nature shot thrilling to the extremities, which testified the strife of nature within.' pp. 534, 535.

We ought to give an example of the manner in which Mr. Irving inveighs against the follies and vices of the day, inasmuch as we believe that to his efforts of this kind he owes a large share of his popularity. The following is one of the best instances that we can find. More of the author's occasional quaintness is discernible in this extract, than in any of those which have been already given. The latter paragraph, however, is written with much force and truth: —

'There be those who confound the foresight of death with a fearfulness of death, and talk of meeting death like brave men; and there be institutions in human society which seem made on purpose to hinder the thoughts of death from coming timeously before the deliberation of the mind. And they who die in war, be they ever so dissipated, abandoned, and wretched, have oft a halo of everlasting glory arrayed by poetry and music around their heads; and the forlorn hope of any enterprise goeth (go) to their terrible post amidst the applauding shouts of all their comrades. And "to die game," is a brutal form of speech which they are now proud to apply to men. And our prize-fights, where they go plunging upon the edge of eternity, and often plunge through, are applauded by tens of thousands, just in proportion as the bull-dog quality of the human creature carries it over every other. And to run hair-breadth escapes, to graze the grass that skirts the grave, and escape the yawning pit, the impious, daring wretches call cheating the devil; and the watch-word of your dissolute, debauched people is, "A short life and a merry one." All which tribes of reckless, godless people lift loud the laugh against the saints, as a sickly, timorous crew, who have no upright gait in life, but are always cringing under apprehensions of death and the devil. And these bravos think they play the man in spurning God and his concerns away from their places; that there would be no chivalry, nor gallantry, nor battle-brunt in the temper of man, were he to stand in awe of the sequel which followeth death. And thus the devil hath built up a strong embattled tower, from which he lordeth it over the spirits of many men, winning them over to himself, playing them off for his sport, in utter darkness all their life long, till in the end they take a leap in the dark, and plunge into his yawning pit, never, never to rise again.

'I would try these flush and flashy spirits with their own weapons, and play a little with them at their own game. They do but prate about their exploits at fighting, drinking, and death-despising. I can

tell them of those who fought with savage beasts; yea, of maidens who durst enter as coolly as a modern bully into the ring, to take their chance with infuriated beasts of prey; and I can tell them of those who drank the molten lead as cheerfully as they do the juice of the grape, and handled the red fire, and played with the bickering flames as gaily as they do with love's dimples or woman's amorous tresses. And what do they talk of war? Have they forgot Cromwell's iron band, who made their chivalry to skip? or the Scots Cameronians, who seven times, with their Christian chief, received the thanks of Marlborough, that first of English captains? or Gustavus of the North, whose camp sung psalms in every tent? It is not so long, that they should forget Nelson's Methodists, who were the most trusted of that hero's crew. Poor men! they know nothing who do not know, out of their country's history, who it was that set at nought the wilfulness of Henry VIII. and the sharp rage of the virgin queen against liberty, and bore the black cruelty of her popish sister; and presented the petition of rights, and the bill of rights, and the claim of rights. Was it chivalry? was it blind bravery? No: these second-rate qualities may do for a pitched field, or a fenced ring; but when it comes to death or liberty, death or virtue, death or religion, they wax dubious, generally bow their necks under hardship, or turn their backs for a bait of honour, or a mess of solid and substantial meat.' pp. 526—528.

We had nearly overlooked a few lines which we find in an earlier part of the volume, and which we should have been sorry to omit, as they appear to us to possess great merit. The figure which they contain, though certainly not very new, is extremely well chosen, and, moreover, very consistently supported throughout the passage: —

'But while the press is free (which may it for ever remain!) it will send forth its host of intellectual messengers, as evening sendeth forth her constellations to rule over the darkness of the night. And as astrology believeth of the stars which come forth at even-tide, these messengers of intellectual light do, without a fable, shed various influence over the lives and fortunes of man: — some, like the martial planet, stirring him to strife; some melting him to tender love, some rousing him to gay and jovial moods, and some foredooming him to the saturnine fates of melancholy and misfortune. Likewise, as in the starry firmament there is but one blessed light which hath in it any steady guidance to the lost wanderer or the sea-faring voyager, so amongst those various lights in the firmament of mind, there is but the solitary light of religion which hath in it any consolation or direction to guide the soul of man as it fareth through the perilous gulf of death onward to eternity. Therefore from the press there should at all times issue forth, amidst its teeming company, some forms of religious truth, to guide the course of those who are ever influenced by its novelties.' p. 431.

In our last extract from this work we shall enable our readers to form a judgment of the plainness and earnestness with which

the preacher frequently exhorts his hearers; a kind of mixture, as it appears to us, of the peculiarities of the early Scotch preachers, and those of our own antiquated divines. We have nevertheless to protest against the words which we have printed in Italics, and to express our inability to comprehend what Mr. Irving means by "the theological love of childhood." Upon the whole, however, the passage is a very favourable specimen of the volume: —

'Have ye the conscience to think, brethren, that for this neglect an occasional visit to the church catechism of a Sabbath night will compensate? or can you believe that certain words lying dormant in the memory during the years of budding manhood will operate like an eastern talisman, or a catholic scapular, against the encounter of evil? Why should the wounded prejudices of any man wince while thus we speak, as if it were not God's truth we spoke? Have we not the experience within ourselves, of having been mastered by this world's ambitious schools, albeit not untutored in the *theological love* of childhood*, and have ye not the same experience? Feel ye not, when ye would set your hearts in order before the Lord, that they are all like an unweeded garden, and that you have to begin by tearing and lacerating *the loves, admirations, and proprieties which in early life cast their seducements over you*, without note of warning from parents, or from the books in which your parents and your masters schooled you? Take heed, then, and resist the evil in its first beginning. Give the enemy the spring season, and you generally give him the summer, the autumn, and the winter of life, with all eternity to boot; but tutor your children in the institutions of God, with a constant watchfulness and a patient perseverance, beginning with restraint, then with soft persuasion leading on, then with arguments of duty and interest confirming; and in the end, habit, which at first is adverse, will turn propitious, and the blessing of God, promised to the right training of children, will keep them from leaving his paths when they are old.' pp. 60, 61.

The extracts which we have now made from this work will have afforded our readers some notions of the excellences with which it abounds. We do not give the passages we have quoted as the best; but they are those which were most available for our purpose. Many of Mr. Irving's very good things are so involved in obscurity, so completely enveloped in objectionable matter of all kinds, that we should have found great difficulty in separating the pure metal from the dross, without doing a good deal of violence to the train of the preacher's thoughts. But as it has been our chief object to show that this volume is really not destitute of merit, and as we believe that that point is satisfactorily established by the quotations now made; we shall not stay to enquire whether we could have demonstrated our proposition in a different method.

* Perhaps a misprint for *lore*. Ed.

In wading through these sermons, we have been repeatedly struck with the very strong resemblance which exists between Mr. Irving and some of our earliest divines, especially those of the puritan school, not only in thought and manner, but even down to their peculiarities of language. One large portion of this book is occupied with a series of discourses upon the final judgment which awaits mankind: in the course of this dissertation, we meet with a number of very striking pictures of the scenes which the preacher anticipates. There is a considerable similarity, of course, discoverable in these several descriptions; but we will venture to say, that Mr. Irving is not more like himself in any one assignable instance, than he is like one of the old preachers who flourished during the time of the English commonwealth. In a sermon by Thomas Reeve, printed in 1657, we find a passage which it would puzzle those best acquainted with Mr. Irving to distinguish in style, in quaintness, and in force, from many of those which are to be found in the volume before us. The passage is short, and we give it, that our readers may form a comparison for themselves: —

'Oh how is the world potentate-struck! Grandee-inchanted! We are only waiting at man's heels, listening to the thunder-claps of his lips, fearing his cold irons, and strangling gibbets. But hath not man his equal? Yes; though man do swell upon the thought of his high deserts, (and great is the haughtiness of this Achillean race,) yet man doth but stand upon the lower ground,—he is but an inferior; for wipe thine eyes, chafe thy temples, expostulate with reason, awaken conscience, and see if man be the object to whom all thy regard and reverence ought to be limited. No; if thou canst lift up thine eyelids, pry into the heavens, and behold afar off that great tribunal where thy last account must pass, thou wilt say thou hast mistaken thy awe, misplaced thy dread. For let there be never such tremebundoes below, yet this earth hath not the face of authority which thou oughtest to stoop unto; no, there is One higher than the highest. It is a dangerous thing to fall under man's displeasure, but it is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the ever-living God. What are man's fetters to God's chains of darkness? man's executioners to infernal fiends? man's vengeance-corners to God's tormenting tophet? Fear not them then that can kill the body and can go no further, but fear him that can cast both body and soul into hell fire. Let summoning and sentencing man go, and tremble thou at the judging and cursing God.' — *God's Plea for Nineveh.*

We have now done with this book. But, ere we part with Mr. Irving, he must permit us to offer, with great sincerity, one or two hints which may be beneficial to him, and which we really must tender, whether he will accept them or not, in

discharge of our own conscience. We beg him to understand that in doing so, we have at heart not only the interests of his reputation, but also his success as a preacher. In the first place, then, we protest against his further indulgence of that notion which has evidently taken possession of him, that he is most successful in argumentation; and though we know that a Scotchman is likely to resent any imputation upon his logic, or his metaphysics, we are bound to say that we think the logical and metaphysical parts of his volume incomparably the worst. Mr. Irving himself has very truly remarked, that one of the provinces of the Christian preacher, and perhaps the most important, so long as there are Christian writers and reasoners out of doors, is that of affecting the heart by faithful and vivid pictures of human life, its various courses, and their several consequences — by a plain and benevolent exposition of the principles of religion, and by earnest, simple, and energetic exhortations. In all these respects, we know of no man more qualified than Mr. Irving to become a successful preacher. In the next place, we do beseech him to lay aside a few (if he cannot part with all), of those startling peculiarities of diction, which are calculated to produce a most unfortunate effect, when it is the object of the preacher to make his hearer or reader serious. Above all, we entreat him to desist from those attacks upon other men, their doctrines, prejudices, and conduct, which being enforced by no reasoning, can produce nothing but dissatisfaction, without any intermixture of benefit.

For our own part, we think there is much both to be hoped and feared for Mr. Irving's future reputation. We are afraid, that while this whole metropolis has been agitated by his popularity, the head of the preacher himself can scarcely have escaped from the intoxicating influence of public adulation. But we firmly believe, that not more surely will the year upon which we are now entering come to a close, than will the fame of Mr. Irving, unless he shall exercise much greater watchfulness over himself, than any which we can trace in this volume. So long, indeed, as fashion shall countenance him, and rank and beauty shall rendezvous in Cross-street, as at the opera, or in the park; so long as it shall be deemed an exploit to get into the Caledonian church, without loss of life or limb; and so long as there shall remain persons, who, having had their curiosity once excited with respect to this novelty, have not yet had the opportunity of gratifying it; — so long, and no longer, will the fame of the preacher endure, if he shall neglect to put in, ere it is too late, less questionable claims to public approbation. But if, on the

other hand, he will cultivate with assiduity the talents which he has been so largely gifted with — if he will throw aside clap-trap, and study the effect which may be produced by sincerity, simplicity, and earnestness — if he will trust more to nature, and less to the effect of meretricious art, — we venture to affirm that Mr. Irving, besides effecting incomparably more good as a religious orator in his own day, may hereafter rank among the most distinguished ornaments of our national literature.

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ART. IV. *Chrestomathia:* being a Collection of Papers explanatory of the Design of an Institution proposed to be set on foot under the Name of the Chrestomathia Day School, or Chrestomathia School, for the Extension of the New System of Instruction to the higher Branches of Learning. For the Use of the middling and higher Ranks in Life. By Jeremy Bentham, Esq. Payne and Foss, 1816.

*Public Education:* a Plan for the Government and liberal Instruction of Boys in large Numbers; drawn from Experience. 1822.

THE object of education is twofold; to point out those objects in nature which are most important to be known, and those principles in conduct which are most proper to be observed; to teach what it is most useful to know, and what it is most conducive to happiness to do: hence, education is intellectual and moral. There exists a vast treasure of facts which the observation and experience of mankind have accumulated: it is the business of education to communicate a knowledge of these facts; and it is in the power of an able teacher to communicate in an hour what it required the labour of years to acquire; to show at once results which were not obtained without the most complicated and skilful processes; and to exhibit those results free from the obscurity, imperfection, and error, in which they were at first involved, and for the removal of which the calm and persevering attention of the most powerful minds was necessary. It has often been said, that the brevity of man's life, in consequence of which he is removed from the scene of observation and experiment as soon as his faculties are developed, and he has acquired so much elementary knowledge as would enable him to pursue his investigation with advantage, must for ever keep the human mind in a state of infancy; and it would be so, did the minds that quit the scene leave behind them no trace of their progress, no results of their labour; but they do not thus utterly perish. Education feeds the infancy of succeeding minds with the fruits produced by the strength of the maturity of those that preceded: whence the for-

mer not only acquire an earlier and greater vigour, but start forward in their career from the point at which their predecessors stopped, with the acuteness of the youthful sense, and the ardour inspired by the feeling of the freshness and energy of their powers. Thus, by means of education, that law which would otherwise have been fatal to the improvement of the human mind in knowledge and virtue, becomes the very source whence it is supplied with inexhaustible vigour.

But education has not hitherto accomplished the wonders it is capable of producing. The mode adopted in working the machine has deprived it in an incalculable measure of its power. We are but beginning to see the stupendous results which benevolence, enlightened by science, may obtain from it. We perfectly agree with the author of Public Education, "that it is one thing to have learned, and another to be able to teach; that it is possible to possess vast stores of knowledge without being able to impart them, even to the willing and anxious pupil; and that to fix the volatile, stimulate the sluggish, and overcome the obstinate, demands an acquaintance with the human mind not quite innate, nor likely to be gained without some experience." It was not possible indeed that a proper method of instruction should have been adopted, until the arts and sciences had been brought to a tolerable degree of perfection, and a very considerable progress had been made in the knowledge of the human mind; because that method could have been the result only of a generalization of all the knowledge which was accumulated, or a deduction of general principles from particular facts, and adaptation of those principles to the principles of the human mind. Yet considering the progress actually made in art, in science, and even in the philosophy of the mind, the adoption of a scientific method of instruction has been later than could have been anticipated, and than can well be explained. Both in the selection of subjects to be taught, and in the mode of teaching them which has been perpetuated even to the present day, there is exemplified a most extraordinary ignorance of the very elements of rational instruction. Ingulphus, an Englishman, who flourished as an ecclesiastic and historian in the reign of Edward the Confessor, speaks of having been educated first at Westminster, and afterwards at Oxford. On this narrative, Mr. Harris remarks, that Westminster and Oxford seem to have been destined to the same purpose then as now; that the scholar at Westminster was to begin, and at Oxford was to finish: "A plan of education," continues he, "which still exists, which is not easy to be mended, and which can plead so ancient and so uninterrupted a prescription." Now this "plan of education" consisted of little

more than teaching Latin and Greek: at least, whatever else was comprehended in it was made completely subservient to the acquisition of those languages, and the whole course was adapted only to the education of churchmen. When this plan was first instituted there was some reason for it. At that period the Greek and Latin languages contained all the knowledge which the observation and experience of mankind had yet accumulated. Of science, properly so called, nothing was known, and therefore nothing could be taught; at any rate, the little which existed was to be found in the ancient languages, and churchmen were the only persons in the community who had the least pretension to learning. But that this plan should be continued in the present age, when the Greek and Latin languages do not contain a thousandth part of the information which ought to be communicated, whether the importance of that information be estimated by its extent or value, is sufficiently extraordinary. Yet hitherto there has been no medium between studying language as the principal object of education, and as part of a course calculated only for the cultivation of the learned professions, and receiving no education at all. No plan of instruction has been adopted for those who are to be engaged in the active business of life. A gentleman who might happen to have no desire to be a scholar, must have gone without any instruction whatever; and the merchant to whom it might not be convenient to wade through "tremendous Lilly," has been doomed to enter the counting-house with little further acquaintance with the treasures of knowledge than could be acquired by "poring into the mysteries of long division with a dirty slate before him and the *frustrum* of a pencil in his fingers, heaping one set of figures upon the ghosts of their predecessors." It is no less true than lamentable, that hitherto the education proper for civil and active life has been neglected; that nothing has been done to enable those who are actually to conduct the affairs of the world, to carry them on in a manner worthy of the age and country in which they live, by communicating to them the knowledge and the spirit of their age and country; that there has been no access for any man to the temple of science but through the gate of language, and that the only key to it have been the Westminster and Eton grammars.

The evil of this unfortunate restriction in the range of subjects, great as it is, would be comparatively small, were it not for the method of teaching them which is still adopted, which has descended from the dark ages, and of which those execrable grammars afford a specimen. We do not apply to these grammars the word "execrable" without designing to excite against

them, in the mind of the reader, the deepest feelings of contempt and detestation which have ever been associated with that term. It is an utter disgrace to our age and country that these books should still be tolerated as the medium of initiation into the Latin language. We shall be much mistaken if we do not make it evident that the mischief produced by the ignorance or supineness of those who perpetuate the absurdity is most serious. Yet before we proceed, we are anxious to guard against being misunderstood. We are by no means unfriendly to the cultivation of classical literature; we think a comprehensive and unprejudiced consideration both of its intrinsic worth, and of its relative importance, will invariably terminate in the conviction, that it is of great value, especially as a means of exercising the intellectual faculties, and as conducive to the formation of a pure and correct taste: to a gentleman it is highly ornamental; to a member of the learned professions it is indispensable: but we object altogether to the mode in which it is taught; we object still more to the space which it is allowed to occupy in the common course of instruction; and we object to its forming any part of the education of a very important class of the community, to whom, at least as it is at present communicated, experience proves it to be utterly useless.

Mr. Edgeworth, in imploring the assistance of some able and friendly hand to reform the present generation of grammars and school-books, asks, whether it be indispensably necessary that a boy as an initiatory lesson should learn by rote that "relative sentences are independent; *i. e.* no word in a relative sentence is governed either of verb or adjective that stands in another sentence, or depends upon any appurtenances of the relative; and that the English word *that* is always a relative when it may be turned into *which* in good sense, which must be tried by reading over the English sentence *warily*, and judging how the sentence will bear it; but when it cannot be altered *salvo sensu*, it is a conjunction." This, to be sure, is sufficiently appalling. What is the understanding of a child to make of such obscure and barbarous language, one principal object of studying which, be it remembered, is to enable him to form an elegant style? But what is this, compared to the absurdity of making a boy learn Latin in the Latin language itself! Of all the follies that ever entered into the mind of man, surely this is equalled by none. It is to require a perfect knowledge of an unknown language, in order to learn the rudiments of it. Let us see how this method operates when it is reduced to practice: let us take for an example the Eton grammar, which is generally considered the most simple and the

best arranged. In this grammar, as soon as the boy has got through his accidence, he is put to learn the following far-famed rule :—

> " *Propria, quæ maribus tribuantur, mascula dicas :*
> *Ut sunt divorum ; Mars, Bacchus, Apollo : virorum ;*
> *Ut, Cato, Virgilius.*"

It must be borne in mind, that as yet the child knows nothing of construing; in order to prepare him for this, he has been learning the declensions of nouns, the conjugation of verbs, and so on: he is now to be taught the genders of nouns; and to construe the very first rule which is to give him any information on this subject, he must possess a knowledge of the Latin language not to be obtained, as is universally acknowledged, in common schools in two or three years, and often not really acquired in six. The second rule is of the same description.

> " *Propria fœmineum referentia nomina sexum*
> *Fœmineo generi tribuantur : sive dearum*
> *Sunt ; ut, Juno, Venus : mulierum ; ceu, Anna, Philotis,*" *&c.*

Can any thing be better calculated to confound the understanding of a child, and to place in his way at the very threshold insuperable difficulties? But it will be said, a translation of these rules is given. A translation is indeed given, and then the lesson to be learned is as follows: " *Propria*, proper names; *quæ*, which; *tribuantur*, are attributed; *maribus*, to the male kind; *dicas*, you may call; *mascula*, masculine; *ut*, as; *sunt*, are; *divorum*, the names of the heathen gods; *Mars*, the god of war; *Bacchus*, the god of wine; *Apollo*, the god of wisdom; *virorum*, the names of men; *ut*, as; *Cato*, a noble Roman; *Virgilius*, the poet Virgil." And this is the apparatus adopted to teach the profound and mysterious truth, that males are of the masculine and females of the feminine gender. Can any thing be more easy than to teach a child these rules in the simplest words of his native tongue? By the method here adopted, not only is the construction of the rule the most intricate, and the words in which it is expressed the most varied, but to understand it in the least degree, requires such a previous acquaintance with the Latin syntax, which the scholar does not begin to learn till he has finished forty-seven pages in the same style, that it should seem expressly designed to impede his progress and to produce an utter disgust with his studies. " Totally incapable of analyzing or translating otherwise than by rote the first sentence of his initiatory lesson, he is led to rest in the use of his memory, and is unaccustomed to, and discouraged from the exercise of his understanding, even when in the prosecution of his studies he

comes to tasks which are level to his comprehension. And after he does arrive at the syntax, there are eighty-one more pages (including construing) in a similar style." *

And the syntax itself, the manner in which that is taught is equally, and, if possible, even more absurd. Almost all the rules anticipate future rules not yet learned, or embrace preceding rules not understood. The application of the rule often requires a previous knowledge of all the words in the context, and of all the rules under which they come; but with none of these is the learner familiar, and the words themselves are in the very language which it is his business to learn: yet these rules, in the order in which they occur in the grammar, in the unknown tongue which he is to acquire, the boy must learn *memoriter*. Take, for instance, the first example in the first concord.

"*Sera nunquam est ad bonos mores via.*"

In this first example the nominative is thrown behind the verb at a distance from it; but what shall be said of the number of rules anticipated in another example under this first rule?

"*Ingenuas didicisse fideliter artes*
*Emollit mores, nec sinit esse feros.*"

By such initiatory lessons, what special pains appear to be taken to perplex and confound the pupil, to alienate and disgust his mind, and to prevent the exercise of his understanding! If all the rules for performing addition, multiplication, division, the rule of three, vulgar and decimal fractions, were given to the scholar to commit to memory before he had performed a single operation in arithmetic; if then he were presented with promiscuous questions to work, as they occurred in the books of a merchant, without any regard to the order in which arithmetic is taught, rule by rule, in regular succession; or if the student were made to get by heart, in the original Greek, before he had learned that language, the enumerations of all the propositions in Euclid's Elements, and were then obliged to construe the denominations of the propositions, regardless of the mode in which they are arranged †; it would be but an extension to the science of number of that method of teaching which is actually adopted in regard to language. For three centuries no alteration has been made in that method. The grammar taught in all public schools at the present day, is essentially the same as that taught by command of king Henry VIII., who ordered that one kind of grammar should "only every where be taught:" and in the reign of queen Eliza-

* Elements of Tuition. By Andrew Bell, D. D. Part III. p. 383. *et seq.*

† Elements of Tuition, Part. III. p. 395.

beth the bishops were obliged to "enquire, at their visitation, whether there were any other grammar taught in any school within their respective dioceses." It is of this same grammar that a modern author says, "I may confidently recommend its continuance, because the experience of more than two centuries has evinced its utility, and because I am sure there is none better accommodated to schools. Time has decided on it; and it is often no less injurious than presumptuous to controvert his decisions." * Yet, as knowledge advanced, its disadvantages became clearly manifest and deeply felt. "All arts and sciences (says Lewis, Vestib. Tech. 1675) have been exceedingly improved; only the education of youth in England stands at a stay, and is the same it was almost two hundred years since, when Lily's Grammar was first compiled; as if, in the twilight, when reformed learning first peeped into the world, things were brought to that state that nothing might be farther suggested without a crime." "It is grievous (remarks More, in his Pref. Gram. 1689), that at this time of day, when all the arts, as well as sciences, are wonderfully cultivated, grammar alone, which is the gate of the sciences, remains uncultivated, covered with briers and overgrown with thorns. With so many intricacies, and so many difficulties are boys encompassed at school, that not a few, even of our noble youth, have entirely abandoned their study from despair; others also, — how lamentable! — in the very entrance, are compelled to yield to the burden, and prevented from advancing a step farther." "If all malicious fiends and men (says Hoadley) were met in consult to contrive a way to learning of endless trouble to the master and vexatious toil to the scholar, they could not have found one that could be admitted to use, worse than that we have." And our Milton says, "We do amiss to spend seven or eight years in scraping together so much miserable Latin and Greek as might be learned otherwise easily and delightfully in one year."

How deep must have been the sense in Johnson's mind of the disgust produced by this mode of teaching, when he declared, that no child loves the person who teaches him Latin! How striking is the illustration of the loss of time occasioned by it, which is afforded by the author of "A Supplement to the English Introduction of Lily's Grammar," who declares, that "upon many years' experience he can testify that the learning of Lily's Grammar throughout by rote, without understanding it (which is afterwards to be done), is a task of two years to the generality of boys: and though some few, by quickness of memory, could take

* Liberal Education, or a Practical Treatise on the Methods of Acquiring Useful and Polite Learning. By Vicesimus Knox, D.D.

it in little above a twelvemonth's time, yet more (of harder wits) would be three years about it, who, in the end, according to his observation, made better scholars than the former. His experience," this author continues, "made him conclude, that as an adult person, in whom age hath ripened judgment, would, with all his parts, improved by use and sharpened by study, find it a troublesome piece of business to learn by heart a single page in an unknown tongue, and would think himself mocked by the imposing thereof; so to boys that have the least dawning of that noble and manly faculty, judgment, a hundred pages of the same could not but be very disagreeable, and so much the more as that dawning is the clearer and stronger; and considering the tenderness of their spirit and their age, must be such a load as neither their minds nor their bodies could well bear, being injurious to the health of the one, and tending to create in the other an aversion to learning never to be removed." * And Clarke, in his Essay on Education, affirms that "Lily will be found to cost boys, in most and best schools, two years' time at least, and in many others a great deal more."

A perfect contrast to this is the testimony borne to a more rational method by one whom many will admit to be a competent judge, who himself made the experiment, and who has placed on record the result. "Omitting some of the theoretic or didactic part of grammar," says Mr. Edgeworth, "which should only be read, and which may be explained with care and patience, the whole of the declensions, pronouns, conjugations, the list of prepositions and conjunctions, interjections, some adverbs, the concords, and common rules of syntax, may be comprised with sufficient repetitions in about two or three hundred lessons of ten minutes each; that is to say, ten minutes' application of the scholar in presence of the teacher." According to this account, the essential part of grammar may be learned by the judicious distribution of study over not more than forty hours; — that is, in forty hours it is possible to convey to a boy more real knowledge of the grammar than is actually taught, in the common method, in two, and often in three years. "In the midst of a variety of other occupations," continues this writer, "half an hour every morning for many years, during the time of dressing, has been allotted to the instruction of boys of different ages in languages, and no other time has been spent in this employment. Were it asserted, that these boys made a

* A Supplement to the English Introduction of Lily's Grammar, for the Use of the School in Eton commonly called the Free School. 2d edit. Eton, 1719.

*reasonable progress*, the expression would convey no distinct meaning to the reader: we shall therefore mention an example tried this morning, November 8. 1796, to ascertain the progress of one of these pupils, whose age was just ten years. Without previous study he translated twenty lines of the story of Ceyx and Alcyone from Ovid, consulting the dictionary only twice: he was then desired to translate the passage which he had read into English verse; and in two or three hours he produced" a very tolerable version, which is recorded in the volume to which we are referring. *

To complete the wretchedness of the common method, it has been the custom in grammar-schools from time immemorial, to arrange the boys in classes, without any regard to their age, talents, or proficiency, according to their standing in the school. The same tasks are assigned to all, the same time is allowed to all for learning them. By this means many are inevitably retarded by the inferiority of others; and this is the least part of the evil: boys of less talent, or less quickness, or less proficiency, lose their time and labour altogether; their lessons are of no manner of use to them, because beyond their capacity. No regard is paid to the proper succession of their lessons. They are made scarcely in any degree, much less strictly, consecutive. The instruction intended to be communicated in one lesson, often cannot be at all understood for want of the information which is deferred to a subsequent lesson; and rarely indeed is it ascertained that one lesson is mastered before another is begun.

This miserable system, which has stood the shock of ages, which has exercised an influence so universal and uncontrolled, which like other tyrannies has excited the execrations of thousands, because it has filled with bitterness the most precious years of life, which has so often blasted the bud of intelligence and genius, and so constantly checked their growth, is, we trust, nearly at an end. In our day an improvement has been made in the art of teaching of more importance to the advancement of knowledge than any discovery that has been made since the invention of the alphabet itself. This new system of education has spread with unexampled rapidity; there is scarcely an inhabited spot in our country to which it has not already penetrated; it will become universal: but neither its principles nor its application appear to be perfectly understood by many who sincerely rejoice in the effects which they see it daily produce, and who would willingly aid in extending it. No subject can be more important. We shall point out what the principles of this system

* Practical Education, vol. ii. p. 202. et seq.

really are, and to what extent it seems practicable to apply them.

1. The first and essential principle of the new system of education is, that children teach each other. This, like many other important discoveries, is but the new application of an old truth; for no maxim is more ancient than that, what a person understands he can communicate, and that the best way to learn is to teach.—2. In this system, in order that the scholars may teach each other, the school is divided into classes. These classes consist of all the scholars who are nearly of the same age, and who have made nearly an equal progress. The consequence of this arrangement is, that the rank of every boy in his class and in his school is determined by his attainments. Each class is further paired off into tutors and pupils. Thus in a class of twenty-four boys, the twelve who are the best informed and the most worthy of trust are made tutors to the twelve worst, for whose knowledge of their lessons and behaviour in school hours they are responsible. The effect of this arrangement is often highly important: occasionally, however, it is dispensed with in the higher and more perfect classes.—3. But what is never dispensed with is, the appointment to each class of a certain number of monitors. This is one of the chief characteristics and advantages of the system. The duty of the monitor is to attend exclusively to the business of his class: to see that every boy is attending to his duty; to instruct the tutors in learning their lessons and assist them in teaching their pupils, and to hear the class say its lesson the moment it is prepared. Every instant the monitor sees how every boy in his class is employed, and hears every word that is uttered. The monitor, raised from the class he teaches, must have mastered what he is now intrusted to teach: he must be a well-informed boy, and a boy of good conduct: his office is a proof of both; it is earned by merit; it is a place of trust, and the confidence reposed in him makes him worthy of it.—4. The lessons taught are plain: each contains but a few ideas, expressed in the clearest language; nothing is anticipated: the knowledge acquired in the preceding lesson prepares for that which succeeds, and that again for the next.—5. These lessons are short: they never require more than ten minutes or at most a quarter of an hour to learn them; as soon as they are prepared they are said at once, without the delay of a moment: thus three, six, or even ten lessons, are sometimes repeated in an hour; and they continue to be repeated until it is certain that the scholar understands them perfectly. Special care is taken that not a single word is passed over which every boy in the class does not fully comprehend; that no new lesson is begun until the old

is completely mastered. There is nothing with which so much pains is taken as to secure this capital object; and the superlative excellence of the system is, that whatever progress appears to be made is real, and that the instruction, to whatever extent it goes, is perfect.

The manner in which the lessons are said is similar to that in which they are learned. Each boy takes precedence of him whose error he is able to correct: hence as a high place in the class can be obtained only by great attention, so it can be maintained only by uniform vigilance. Each lesson, as soon as said, is marked in the monitor's book: and the sum of these daily lessons, and of all the other daily tasks, together with the individual proficiency of each scholar, are entered in a register book. Such are the principles which constitute this system: it may be useful to advert a moment to some of its more important effects.

In the first place, it is evident that on this system children are better taught than on the old, because from the sympathy they take in each other, they learn every thing communicable by one to the other more easily and perfectly. Whatever a child has been taught, he will communicate to his companions better than a master; because his manner of teaching, and the words he employs, will be suited to the capacity of his pupils: he knows where their difficulty lies, and how to remove it. — By this system the attention is fixed: there is no idleness; the mind must be engaged in the business in hand; a lesson is to be said every ten minutes; the monitor's eye is on every child; the pupil's task is easy; the time allowed for learning it is short. By this single arrangement the great difficulty in the art of education is overcome: a certain method is discovered of fixing the attention, of abstracting the mind, and bending it vigorously and unremittingly to the accomplishment of the particular object in which it is engaged: no matter for how short a period this is done: a few minutes of real, continuous, uninterrupted application, if the occasion for the exertion frequently recur, will lead to an unusual development of this most valuable faculty of the human mind — that which even in the most vigorous understandings is always unfolded more slowly, and cultivated less perfectly than any other. — The knowledge which is thus communicated is clear and precise, and is fixed indelibly in the mind by repetition. Should a boy not retain the previous lessons he has learned, it will appear from his answers; and he must sink to the bottom of his class; and if he remain there long he will be degraded, and he knows it, to an inferior class. Of the successful operation of this principle the testimony is uniform, and the evidence irresistible. It was the triumphant appeal of one of the

principal founders of the system to those who came to visit his school — "You have often heard that there are boys in every school who cannot learn their lessons distinctly and accurately. Examine every class in this school, and show me a boy of this description. Lay your hand upon any class, and any boy in that class; let him say how far he is advanced: open his book at any place which he has read, and examine him throughout the course of his past studies." What other master would have ventured to make such an appeal! — 4. By this system the greatest possible assistance is given to the slow, and the greatest advantage to the quick. The slow are stimulated and impelled; the quick are never for a moment retarded. As soon as they get to the top of their class, remain there steadily, and thus show that they perfectly understand its business, they are promoted to a higher class. Here then is a free course for genius. The active and indolent, the stumbling and the sure-footed, though they may be yoked together, are not forced to keep pace with each other; if stupidity be dragged along by the vigour of genius, it is a clear advantage gained: genius cannot be chained down by the weight of stupidity. It has been said by an excellent judge — "To mark precisely the moment when the pupil understands what is said, the moment when he is master of the necessary ideas, and consequently the moment when repetition should cease, is, perhaps, the most difficult thing in the art of teaching." * By this arrangement of classes, this period is pointed out with perfect exactness and invariable certainty. — In this system there is a prodigious saving of time. In the school at Penley, in Flintshire, it is stated, that "children who had not known a letter nor a figure at their entering the school, were, in less than four months, able to read and spell accurately, and to cypher as far as long division, being able to state and write down any sum. Moreover, they were able to say all the catechism, and most of the chief truths of the Christian religion." † The celebrated experiment made to show the perfection to which the manufactures of this country are brought, in the present times, by shearing a sheep in the morning, causing its wool to pass through all the processes necessary to form cloth, making the cloth thus manufactured into a coat, which was worn at dinner on the same day, scarcely exceeds this. — Another advantage is, that there is a wonderful saving of masters. Rousseau says, "One man cannot educate more than one." Edgeworth affirms, "Without a multiplicity of masters it is impossible to suit instruction to the different capacities and previous acquirements of a variety of pupils." In Joseph Lancas-

* Edgeworth on Practical Education, vol. i. p. 152.

† Elements of Tuition, Part II. p. 124.

ter's school, one master alone educates one thousand boys in reading, writing, and arithmetic, as effectually and with as little trouble as twenty or thirty have ever been instructed by the usual modes of tuition. — By this system the best possible advantage is taken of the stimulus of emulation. It is just sufficient for the purpose, and no more. There is no waste of excitement. It produces no angry, no malignant feelings. By the manner in which it is directed, it becomes a totally different principle from that emulation which is excited occasionally, by the addresses of the tutor to his pupil. It is the result of the fixed laws of the school: it operates silently, uniformly, unceasingly, and with inflexible justice. — By this system misconduct is prevented, and consequently punishment is rendered unnecessary. Every moment of time being occupied under the strict superintendence of the monitors, there is no opportunity for idleness, or for any of the school-boy's besetting sins. The plan of preventing the commission of offences, rather than that of punishing them, is here carried to an extent that is truly edifying; and when offences do come, the mildest remedies are found sufficient to correct them. "My experience at home has served to confirm my experiment made abroad, where, for months together, it was not necessary to inflict a single punishment. In the hands of a master of energy, who enters into the spirit of the system, and has for some time reduced it to successful practice, and is supported by able teachers, whose business is not to correct, but to prevent faults, and to preclude the use of punishment, I am persuaded that no other punishments or even rewards are absolutely necessary than those which the emulation of the New School, the principle of honour and shame, keeps in perpetual action." — Lastly, by this system the highest pleasure is afforded to the pupil. It is idle to declaim against the inattention of children, and their aversion to their lessons. Knowledge is delightful to the human mind: the pleasure connected with the gratification of the senses is neither more real nor more lively. He must be both a careless observer, and a bad teacher, who, when he has been explaining to a child some interesting fact of a nature which he could comprehend, in clear and precise language, has not seen his eye sparkle with intelligent enthusiasm, and been struck with the deep, anxious, and delighted attention which his whole soul has put forth to understand it perfectly, and to trace it in all its relations. It is words without meaning, or with a meaning above his comprehension, propositions not intelligible in themselves, or not to be understood without some elementary knowledge, that are disgusting to a child. Give him ideas, bring

them down to a level with his capacity, exhibit them to him with clearness, and you will see him as much engaged and as happy as in the merriest moment of his merriest sport.

With an exception or two hereafter to be mentioned, this admirable plan of education has hitherto been restricted to the mere elements of instruction; namely, to reading, writing, and arithmetic. The success with which it has taught these elementary arts, by far the most difficult to be communicated in the whole circle of the science of education, is perfect; and the labour, money, and time saved by it truly wonderful. That it is capable of being applied with equal advantage to the higher branches of education; that with some modification it might be made the instrument of teaching language, art, and science, in all the variety and extent in which these subjects ever are, or can be communicated by one mind to another; — is the constantly repeated opinion of the inventor of the system, and is also the opinion of every intelligent man who has attended to the subject, as far as we know, without a single exception. But the honour of proposing to try the experiment, and of digesting a plan of instruction for the New School, has been reserved for the illustrious author of the *Chrestomathia.* It is truly encouraging to find the name of Bentham connected with this most important subject. In this work he has drawn liberally from the stores of his highly cultivated mind; he has put forth its strength: it is a work distinguished for the power and accuracy of its reasoning, and the profoundness and comprehensiveness of its views.

The term by which the New School is designated, *Chrestomathic*, is derived from two Greek words, which signify conducive to useful learning. The volume before us contains a scheme of instruction adapted to the purposes of an institution in which all the higher branches of learning might be taught on the principles of the system which has already been enlarged upon. It is framed to comprehend the various branches of education, which are spread over the whole field of knowledge, giving to each its due share of importance, with a view to the greatest possible sum of practical benefit. This scheme is displayed in two tables termed "Chrestomathic Instruction Tables," which are developed and explained in the volume itself.

The first table is intended to show the several branches of intellectual instruction proposed to be included in the aggregate course. The second contains an application of the principles of the new system of instruction to the higher branches of learning. Both as an exhibition of the contents of this work, and as a means of directing the attention of the reader to the subjects

which it is proposed to teach in the New School, we shall give a brief but connected outline of the course of instruction which is here sketched.

The first table is divided into five columns. The first column states the advantages which are to be derived from intellectual instruction; namely, that it secures to the possessor a proportionable share of general respect; that it is a security against idleness, considered as a source of sensuality and mischievousness; that it is a security against ennui; that it is a security for admission into good company, &c. The second column states the grounds on which the order in which the various subjects of intellectual instruction are most advantageously taught, depends. This is a subject of extreme importance, which has been perfectly understood and acted on only in the new system of education; and had this system done nothing more, it would have produced incalculable benefit. The first ground of precocity on the part of the mind, is its degree of preparedness with relation to the subject and mode of instruction in question; and the second, the natural pleasantness of the subject. At the dawn of reason an object is the more pleasant the more exclusively it presents itself to the senses, especially to the senses of sight and hearing, and the less forcibly it appeals to the understanding, and calls for the exercise of the judgment. Hence the various sensible forms presented by nature and art, particularly by nature, excite at this period a stronger interest than is produced by the transactions which arise out of the mutual intercourse that takes place between persons of mature age. Thus birds and beasts are among the most interesting objects that can be presented to the observation of children. Corporeal find the mind earlier prepared for their reception, than incorporeal ideas. For example, natural substances, such as stones, plants, and animals; artificial substances, such as buildings, furniture, clothing, tools, articles of food and drink, and the materials, wrought or unwrought, of which, and the tools and the other instruments with which, they are respectively composed. Hence the juvenile mind is earlier prepared for the reception of instruction, with reference to natural history than to natural philosophy.

The third and fourth columns exhibit the distribution of the course of instruction, which is divided into stages. Of these columns the first commences with the preparatory or elementary stage, which comprehends the elementary arts; namely, 1. Reading, taught by writing. 2. Writing, and, 3. Common arithmetic.

Stage I. The first stage purposes to treat of natural history. This includes: 1. Mineralogy; in this early stage to be taught

only by the exhibition of figure, colour, and other sensible qualities, without reference to causes and effects. — 2. Botany; to be taught like the former subjects, without reference to cause and effect. — 3. Zoology; to be taught as above. On these subjects the exercises prescribed are to be accompanied with the exhibition of specimens both dead and living, and with draughts or models of specimens. — 4. Geography; the familiar or purely geographical part only, which may be taught by maps with a few verbal explanations. The scientific part, that which exhibits the facts and appearances which result from the earth's connection with the sun, moon, and other parts of the universe, to be deferred to a future stage. — 5. Geometry; the demonstrative and even the enunciative parts of the propositions, except perhaps a few of the most simple and easily conceived, to be postponed to a future stage. At present the definitions alone are to be taught; for the illustration of which the most familiar specimens, such as rules, pencils, slates, marbles, balls, tops, &c. to be employed. — 6. Historical chronology: that is, history so far as exhibited by chronology considered in the most familiar point of view, consisting only of indications of the principal events known or supposed to have happened to mankind, mentioned in the briefest manner in regard to the portions of time in which they are supposed to have taken place, and without reference to their causes and effects, or the characters of the respective actors of which the matter of history is composed. History thus, as it were, clothed, to be reserved partly for a higher stage in the same school, partly for a maturer time of life. Exercises in historical chronology, to be afforded by tables, charts, and *memoriter* verse; and answers to be written and repeated in prose, in return to corresponding questions. — 7. Biographical chronology. To be taught in the same manner and with the same kind of exercises as historical chronology. — 8. Appropriate drawing: that is, drawing corresponding on the one hand to the state of the bodily faculties and the degree of proficiency attained, and on the other to the particular nature of the branch of art and science to which its application is to be made. The first rude essays in drawing cannot take place too soon. Writing is but a particular application of it. Mineralogy, with the right-lined angles exhibited by its chrystals, the outlines of some of the objects included in botany, and zoology, and geometry especially, afford forms more easily traced upon sand or slate than those which are produced by writing under the name of letters and words. By the several branches of natural history, comprised in this stage, is furnished the matter upon which the juvenile mind will have to operate in the course of the several succeeding stages. With

these objects, as exhibited in this most simple point of view, the mind is to be made perfectly familiar, in order that it may experience no difficulty in its endeavours to comprehend the propositions of which they will be taken for the subjects in the course of the succeeding stages.

Stage II. The second stage purposes to treat of natural philosophy, including, I. Mechanics; — II. Chemistry; — III. Subjects belonging to chemistry and mechanics jointly.—I. Mechanics: 1. Mechanics, in the limited sense of the word, that is, in the sense in which it is employed for the designation of the several distinguishable classes of configurations, contrived principally for the purpose of gaining force at the expense of dispatch, or dispatch at the expense of force. These are, the lever, — the wheel turning upon a fixed axis, — the pulley or shifting wheel, — the inclined plane, — the screw, — the wedge; — to which has of late years been added, the funicular machine. These are now denominated by the common appellation of the mechanical powers. The species of force to which all distinguishable bodies or masses of matter appear to be indebted for the quantity of matter, the form, and the texture they possess are, attraction of gravity, — attraction of cohesion, — electricity, — attraction and repulsion as assisting in magnetism, — in electricity, — in galvanism, — in what is termed electrive attraction. — 2. Hydrostatics. To this head belong the means employed for ascertaining the specific gravity of different bodies: likewise in a considerable degree the effects of pump-work, of mill-work, more particularly in the case of water-mills, and the efficiency of such solid constructions as are employed in resisting the pressure of the water: for example, navigable vessels, wharfs, docks, &c. — 3. Hydraulics; the mechanical properties of liquids, as confined in solid channels of a determinate form: it is a modification of hydrostatics. To this kind belong, for example, pump-work, and in general the art of conveying water upon a large scale to places in which it is wanted. — 4. Mechanical pneumatics. To this head belong the mechanical properties which are possessed in common by all such portions of matter as are in the aërial or gaseous state; and in particular their weight, their elasticity, and that pressure on all sides which is the result of the sort of compromise which takes place amongst these antagonising forces. On these principles depend, for example, the art of mill-work, in so far as concerns wind-mills; the art of constructing and navigating vessels, in so far as sails are employed; and in virtue of the tendency of the same body, namely, water, to pass from the liquid into the gaseous state and back again, according to the quantity of heat

combined or mixed with it, the construction of steam-engines.— 5. Acoustics. — 6. Optics. — II. Chemistry, including chemical pneumatics. — 7. Mineral chemistry. — 8. Vegetable chemistry. — 9. Animal chemistry: that is, chemistry considered in its application to those three different classes of bodies. In the course of the instruction given in chemistry, as it comes to be applied respectively to the subjects of the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms, occasion will occur for recalling, enlivening, and fixing in the memory the information accorded in relation to them in Stage I.—10. Meteorology.—III. Subjects belonging to chemistry and mechanics jointly. — 11. Magnetism. — 12. Electricity. — 13. Galvinism. — 14. Balistics; the art of projectiles. — 15. Geography continued. In the first stage, the instruction relating to geography will have been confined to mere topography; the knowledge of the divisions and remarkable spots partly natural, partly factitious, observable on the earth's surface, beginning with the country in which the instruction is administered. At this next, and in other succeeding stages, the same ground will be retrodden; and as the capacity advances, information will be afforded of that sort which has recently been referred to a distinct name, that is, statistics; such as that which concerns population, the manner and proportions in which the matter of wealth, the matter of power, and the matter of dignity are distributed; quantity and quality of military force, &c. &c. — 16. Geometry. — 17. Historical chronology continued. In the same manner as geography, presented at first in the state of a naked field, receives by degrees its proper clothing, so will historical chronology. In both cases, the signs will be repeated, and at each repetition an additional quantity of information will be superadded. To this account given of great military wars, and other political events, composed of battles, unions and dismemberments, acquisitions and losses of territory, changes in dynasties, and in forms of government, will by degrees be added the sort of information designated by the term archæology; that is, account of antiquities, or of the state of persons and things in former times, including information respecting lodging, diet, clothing, military equipment, pastimes, power, and functions belonging to officers civil, political, and religious, &c. — 18. Biographical chronology. — 19. Appropriate drawing continued. In the *Chrestomathic* School, the great use of drawing is to give assistance to, and to serve both as a test and a cause of proficiency in the branches of art and science to which it is applied. — 20. Grammatical exercises applied to English, Latin, Greek, French, and German in conjunction. The object aimed at in these exercises will be, — to render the scholar acquainted

with the structure of language in general, and that of his own language in particular; — to familiarize him with the greater part of the terms belonging to foreign languages from which those of his own are derived; — to render the approach to the several branches of art and science as smooth and easy as possible; — to lay a substantial foundation for a more particular acquaintance with the several foreign languages comprehended in the scheme, or such of them as at a maturer age may promise to be conducive to the scholar's advancement in life, or may be agreeable to his taste. The subjects of the exercises, in addition to the rules of grammar, may consist of select portions of history and biography taken from the most approved works composed in the several languages.

Stage III. At this stage the general information obtained in the two preceding stages is still repeated, and the application made of it to the exigencies and qualifications of common life, rendered more and more particular and determinate, and brought still nearer to actual use. 1. Mining; only a very general view to be given of the manner in which this art is practised. — 2. Geognosy or Geology: an account of the manner in which the matter composing the substance of the earth is distributed. Geognosy is among the new fruits of chemistry: it is useful as affording presumptive indications of the presence or absence of the valuable substances for the extraction of which the art of mining is employed: it also includes archæology as applied to the structure of the globe. — 3. Land-surveying and measuring. In an application made of it at Stage II. to mechanics, geometry found one of its principal uses: in its application to land-surveying it will find another. — 4. Architecture. — 5. Husbandry, including the theory of vegetation and gardening. The application will be made of the instruction obtained in relation to the mineral as well as the vegetable system in Stage I.; to vegetable chemistry in Stage II.; to architecture, as far as concerns barns, drains, and other constructions; and to husbandry itself, as far as concerns implements employed, or with advantage employable in husbandry. — 6. Physical economics: that is, mechanics and chemistry applied to domestic management and other common purposes of life. From mechanics, and more especially from chemistry, will be deduced an all-comprehensive stock of practically useful information. The ends which this art has in view are the maximization of bodily comfort in all its shapes; the minimization of bodily discomfort in all its shapes; the minimization of labour and expense applied to both these purposes. Articles of household furniture, apparel, food, drink and fuel; these it will have among its principal sub-

ject matters: warming, cooling, moistening, washing, drying, ventilating, lighting, clothing, cooking, preserving, repairing, restoring; these it will have among its principal operations. Air, heat, cold, light, substances, some in a solid, some in a liquid, some even in a gaseous form, substances infinitely diversified in form and texture; substances from all three kingdoms, mineral, animal, and vegetable, some natural, some factitious, some simple, some compound; these it will have for its materials and instruments. — 7. Geography. — 8. Geometry. — 9. History. — 10. Biography. — 11. Appropriate drawing. — 12. Grammatical exercises applied as above, continued.

Stage IV. Hygiantics or Hygiastics; that is, the art of preserving as well as restoring health, including the arts and sciences thereunto belonging: in this school to be taught only so far as to enable the scholar to guard against disease and death, considered as liable to be produced by suddenness or excess of heat, cold, or moisture, by want of respirable air, by excess of toil or bodily labour: how to apply one's self so as to obtain from friendly ignorance the speediest as well as most effectual relief in case of those accidents from which the most common disorders take their rise, a burn, a scald, a flesh wound, &c.; how to operate towards the recovery of persons apparently drowned, &c. In this stage will also be contained — 12. Geography. — 13. Geometry. — 14. History. — 15. Biography. — 16. Appropriate drawing. — 17. Grammatical exercises.

Stage V. The fifth stage comprehends Mathematics. — 1. Geometry, with demonstrations. — 2. Arithmetic, the higher branches. — 3. Algebra. — 4. Uranological or astronomical geography. To this head belongs the division made of space on the earth's surface; namely, the divisions into climates, and degrees of latitude and longitude, the influence exercised by the moon on the tides, &c. — 5. Uranological or astronomical chronology. To this head belong the divisions made of time; namely, the natural divisions into periods, cycles, solar years, months, lunar years, and days; of the artificial divisions into hours, minutes, and seconds. In this stage will also be contained — 6. History. — 7. Biography. — 8. Appropriate drawing. — 9. Grammatical exercises. — 10. Technology; or arts and manufactures in general. On this occasion it is proposed to give a connected view of the operations by which arts and manufactures are carried on. The more general information obtained in the second and third stages in relation to mechanics and chemistry, and some of their dependencies, will be extended farther to particulars. Here will be shown and exemplified the advantages in regard to the dispatch and perfection of which the principle of the division of labour is

productive. To reduce the apparent infinitude of the subject within a comprehensible compass, it will be necessary to apply the art of arrangement of the naturalist to the contents of the field of the technologist: to bring together and class the several sorts of tools and other implements, and that in such a manner as to show how they agree with and differ from each other. Thus the Chrestomathic School would become a source of general communication, a channel through which the several sorts of artists might receive from one another instruction in relation to points of practice, at present peculiar to each. The carpenter, the joiner, the cabinet-maker, the turner in wood, the ship-builder, the white-smith, the black-smith, the metal-founder, the printer, the engraver, the mathematical instrument maker, the taylor, the shoe-maker, the collar-maker, the saddler, the distiller, the brewer, the sugar-baker, the bread-baker, &c.; the respective tools and other implements of all these several artists, together with the operations performed by many of them, would thus be compared together, and a comparative and comprehensive view be given of the points of resemblance and difference. Independently of the mutual information capable of being by this means derived from one another by the artists themselves, to the scholars the effect will be that enlivening consciousness of mental vigour and independent power which is the fruit of learning in general, reaped from the soil of a highly cultivated mind. It is proposed to terminate this course by instruction in — 11. Book-keeping in general: that is, the art of registration. — 12. Commercial book-keeping. — 13. Note-taking, applied to recapitulating lectures on such of the above branches as admit and require it.

Such is the course of instruction proposed to be pursued in the New School, and without doubt the extent and variety of the subjects must appear sufficiently appalling to those who have been accustomed only to the old method of teaching; but that they are all capable of being taught on the principle of the new system, will appear evident from the following considerations: — There is nothing in the nature of these subjects which renders the principles of the new system inapplicable to them, but the contrary. The knowledge we possess of them, as far as it extends, is real and precise; and such knowledge it is always easy to communicate. — The subjects themselves are naturally interesting to the human mind. Most of the objects treated of, especially in the early stages, are not only sensible objects, but objects the most familiar to the senses: many of the phenomena to be explained, are the most common occurrences in nature, are the first to awaken the curiosity of the youthful mind, and respecting which it is always easy to excite great interest. — Most of these sub-

jects are capable of that simple and natural arrangement which is of such essential importance to the communication of knowledge. In all of them it is easy to begin with simple principles; to advance, step by step, to those that are more complicated; to prevent the anticipation of any idea; in fact, to make every lesson perfect in itself, or, at least, in conjunction with the instruction that has preceded, and a preparation for the lesson which is to follow. With natural philosophy, in all its extent, with mechanics, with chemistry, with their associated branches, and with mathematics, this is eminently the case, and it is really so with language itself. — There is not one of these subjects, all the parts of which might not be subdivided and arranged in lessons as short as can be desired, recognizing, to the fullest extent, the principle never to be lost sight of in education, that the human mind can attend to but one idea at a time. All these facts are capable of being learned in a class; all are capable of being said in a class: many of the objects to which they relate are admirably adapted for instruction in a class, because they are capable of being exhibited in specimens or illustrated by drawings or diagrams. The short lessons containing an account of these objects and of the facts relating to them, may be repeated over and over again until they are learned perfectly; and it must at all times be easy to ascertain whether or not any individual in the class understands them thoroughly. Hence, then, it is clear, that there is not a single principle of this admirable system which is not as applicable to instruction in the highest branches of learning, as experience has proved it to be favourable to the acquisition of its elementary arts.

If, before the experiment had been made, it might have been reasonable to doubt of the correctness of this statement, at least in its full extent, and if any of the branches included in the above table had been pointed out as affording a probable exception, it would certainly have been the study of language. It is singular, that in the only attempt hitherto made to communicate any of the higher branches of learning on the principles of the new system, that very branch should have been selected for the trial respecting which there would have been *a priori* the most reasonable ground to doubt whether the experiment would succeed. The experiment has been made, and with complete success. The event is triumphant; it is declared to be so by authority that must be deemed decisive. It is stated by Dr. Bell, that Dr. Russel, now the master of the Charter House School, having prepared three elementary books on the simple principle of the Madras system, " introduced it into his school; that no boy has ever since passed a sentence of which he has

been ignorant, or been flogged on the ground of his learning." In a subsequent volume he adds, "that he had just attended the annual examination of the Charter House School, in the presence of Dr. Fisher, then master of the Charter House, by the chaplains of his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury; that the three upper forms, taught, as well as the rest of the school, by monitors, were examined in the higher Greek and Roman classics, and that every member of these classes proved himself fully master of every book which he had read; that the examination altogether was in the highest degree satisfactory to the examiners, and most gratifying to his own feelings; that the school has grown in number thirty scholars since last year, and is in a most flourishing state." *

The account of the application of the new system, to the acquisition of language in the High School of Edinburgh, given by Mr. Pillans, and by Mr. Gray, is still more full and decisive. In this school the number of scholars is usually from five to six hundred: the whole is divided into four classes: each class occupies a separate room. The head class, which is the most numerous, is under the immediate charge of the head master, styled Rector. From the statement of Mr. Pillans, the present rector, it appears that his class consists of nearly two hundred boys; that the branches of knowledge taught by him are the Latin and Greek languages, together with ancient, and a small portion of modern geography; that the ordinary business of the class is to translate and parse a portion of a Latin poet, — for example, from thirty-five to forty-five lines of Virgil or Horace, — and an equal portion of Livy, Cicero, and Sallust, and to repeat some part of Dr. Adam's Grammar, and of his Antiquities. The whole class is formed into twenty divisions, under their respective monitors. The duty of the monitor is to take care that every boy construes a portion of the lesson; to see that his division understands the syntax and construction of the passage; to take care that the right meaning is always given to the passage in all its parts; and to mark on a slip of paper the names of the boys who fail in saying. The boys, on the other hand, are instructed to notice any false interpretation which the monitor may allow to pass, and reserve it for an appeal. If a boy proves that any such error was allowed to pass uncorrected, he takes his place above all the boys in the division who did not observe the blunder, and the monitor himself loses a place. This regulation binds both monitor and pupil to a careful preparation at home, and it has also the advantage of bringing into discussion the difficult passages. After the

* Elements of Tuition, Part III. p. 249.

appeals are concluded, the lessons are construed to the master, generally by some of the boys who are reported by the monitors to have failed in saying their lessons correctly; and questions are asked relating to geography, history, antiquities, derivations of words, and niceties of construction and expression. Of the written exercises, which consist of translations from Latin into English, and from English into Latin, and which are also examined and corrected by the monitor, the best and the worst are exhibited to the class, and places are determined according to their merit. In like manner in the Greek class, which consists of about one hundred and fifty-five, the lessons are also said in divisions. In the geography class, in which ancient and modern geography are united, a sketch of each country is drawn by the master on a black board, with white chalk. The physical features of the country, the principal ranges of mountains, the rivers which fall from them, are pointed out; then the length, breadth, longitude, latitude, and boundaries are fixed, and next the towns, the situations of great battles, and so on, are added; and when the sketch is thus completed, the pupils are required to construct maps from it. The maps which are best executed are exhibited to the class: the boys who constructed them are employed as monitors to those who have drawn inferior maps, or none at all; and thus the information they have obtained is fixed in their memory.

The testimony of Mr. Gray to the efficacy of this system is most decisive. His class consists of upwards of a hundred boys. He declares, that

"On the new system I have been enabled so to arrange my class, that every boy is employed every minute of the time he is in school, either in the acquisition or communication of knowledge. The fifteen highest boys are monitors. The first thing to be done after the meeting of the class, is to see that they have their lessons distinctly. When this is ascertained, the whole class goes into divisions. In this way fifteen times as much work can be done in the same space, and I can say with confidence, fifteen times better. From this contrivance, instead of the languor and restlessness that too frequently prevails, all is activity and energy. More noise indeed is heard; but the sounds are sweet, for they are the sounds of labour. Every one studies, because by the exertion of his talents he finds himself equal to every task; and ignorance is more shameful when the account is to be rendered to one of his own years, than to a man. It seems, indeed, that boys are better qualified to teach boys than men. They enter more readily into their feelings: they are more sensible of the difficulties which they themselves have just mastered; and

will adopt more simple and familiar modes of illustration. Nor have I ever had cause to suspect the diligence or fidelity of a monitor. To attain this station, is an object of ambition to the whole class: and where any one has risen to it, he is too much afraid of losing it, to risk the disgrace by his own misconduct. I have never once found it necessary to degrade a monitor for inattention to his division. To this there is a double check. An appeal is open to the division against the monitor, as well as to him against the division; and when every boy has gone over the whole, not a portion of the lesson, I examine a number of them promiscuously, and the lessons are said with so much more promptitude and accuracy than in the old way, that I am frequently enabled to examine as many as if no time had been spent in divisions at all. Then I have united the advantages of both methods. By this means, every boy in the class, besides the benefit accruing from saying over the whole of every lesson till he has satisfied his monitor, is separately examined by me two or three times a day. The superiority of this mode over the other is incalculable, as it tends to store the mind with useful knowledge, to infuse a love of learning, to form habits of industry, and to render the whole economy of a school delightful both to scholar and master. Of my present class that has been conducted on this plan, all have gained a more extensive knowledge of the Latin language than I have known on any former occasion; *and not a single boy has failed.* This till now I did not think possible. For many years it had been a subject of melancholy reflection to me, why so many boys *failed* in acquiring a competent knowledge of *classical learning*, while they succeeded in every thing else. This objection to our classical schools may now be easily obviated. I do not say that every boy will be *equally* successful. Nature has made strong and marked distinctions in the extent of capacity; but I will venture to assert, that every one may be made to turn his talents to the best account. One of the most important of the objects of a good education is to inspire a literary taste; and I know no way in which this can be done so effectually. What deters many boys from the prosecution of ancient learning is its difficulty. By aid of the Lancasterian system, asperities may be smoothed, the boy may be gently led over the threshold of the temple; and when he is once introduced, he cannot fail to be charmed by its beauties. I have never, indeed, known a young man who pursued learning that did not love it. This bias to literature is of more value than all the knowledge he earns from school. It is the shield of the young mind against the ruinous inroads of vice. In a school so regulated, it is impossible for any boy to spend his time idly. He must exert

himself. He readily does what he finds he cannot escape; and what may have been irksome at first, soon becomes pleasant. He is happy, from a consciousness of doing his duty; and habits are formed that will be useful through life. To the master, the task of superintending such a school is delightful. He is merely the helmsman that steers the bark, under perpetual sunshine, while every man on board is at his duty. *Corporeal punishments are abolished.* This practice is equally degrading to the scholar who suffers, and to the master who inflicts punishment, and I firmly believe has done more mischief to our classical schools than all other causes whatever. The boy soon considers the man whom he sees in the daily use of the torture as a tyrant and his greatest enemy; and all his ingenuity will be exerted in inventing the means of retaliation. A great objection to this mode of discipline is, that from its very nature the master applies to it with reluctance; and for one fault that is punished, twenty escape. Thus the hope of impunity begets disorder, which, when it comes to a certain height, in its turn brings punishment. On the new method, the boys are kept in constant good humour, and no irritation is ever excited in the mind of the master. There exists between them only a reciprocity of kindness and docility. To animate a whole school with one spirit, to make them advance in the intellectual career with the same march of mind, to stimulate them to exertion by the enlivening power of emulation, to exalt them in their own opinion, has always been my object in the discharge of my public duties: and Mr. Lancaster has put into my hands an instrument by which I have been enabled to realize my fondest visions in my most sanguine mood. This is a testimony that I think due, and I cannot withhold it."

The practicability of the application of the new system to the higher branches of learning is therefore no longer a question: no experiment could have been devised better calculated to put it to the test; no report of that experiment could have been invented better adapted to prove that its success is perfect. Here then is a machine of immense power capable of producing the most extraordinary effects. Let us suppose it in full operation: let us suppose this admirable method of communicating knowledge applied in all the extent, and with all the efficiency of which experience proves it to be capable, to the instruction of one important division of the community, that of the middle class. Of the political and moral importance of this class, there can be but one opinion. It is the strength of the community. It contains, beyond all comparison, the greatest proportion of the intelligence, industry, and wealth of the state. In it are the heads that invent, and the hands that execute; the enterprise that pro-

jects, and the capital by which these projects are carried into operation. The merchant, the manufacturer, the mechanist, the chemist, the artist, those who discover new arts, those who perfect old arts, those who extend science; the men in fact who think for the rest of the world, and who really do the business of the world, are the men of this class. The people of the class below are the instruments with which they work; and those of the class above, though they may be called their governors, and may really sometimes seem to rule them, are much more often, more truly, and more completely under their control. In this country at least, it is this class which gives to the nation its character. The proper education of this portion of the people is therefore of the greatest possible importance to the wellbeing of the state. Considering then their station, and the necessary nature of their pursuits, what is the kind of knowledge which it is most desirable to communicate to them; what are the subjects an acquaintance with which will afford them the most assistance in their occupations, and the greatest enjoyment in their hours of leisure?

We answer decidedly, not an acquaintance with the languages of antiquity. For the lawyer, the physician, the divine, the scholar, the senator, and the statesman, Latin and Greek are indispensable. To men who are to be occupied in the ordinary business of life, whose main object is to become acquainted with things, and who are to think only in order to act, Latin and Greek are comparatively useless. There was a time when these languages contained all the knowledge possessed by mankind; now other languages contain all that was ever to be communicated by them, together with that vast stock which has been accumulated since they ceased to be the language of living beings. They have nothing in common with the business of the world as it is transacted now: they do not enter into men's thoughts: they do not form the topic of conversation in society: they are obsolete: they have no longer an habitation or a name, except in some degree in literature; and they possess no power of developing the human faculties which is not at least equalled by other branches of learning. As we have already said, there can be no reason why there should not be profound scholars, as well as subtle special pleaders, and learned theologians; but nothing can equal the absurdity of consuming more than three-fourths of the invaluable time appropriated to education "in scraping together," as Milton expresses it, "so much miserable Greek and Latin," by persons to whom it is of no manner of use, to whose pursuits it bears no kind of relation, who after all acquire it so imperfectly as to derive no pleasure from the future

cultivation of it, who invariably neglect it as soon as they are released from the authority of school, and in the lapse of a few years allow every trace of it to be obliterated from the memory.

The cultivation of language, however, ought by no means to be neglected by persons of this class. They ought to be thoroughly instructed in the principles of language in general, and to be made correctly acquainted with the elegances of the English language in particular. Perhaps also in the present state of literature, and of national intercourse, it is desirable that they should be taught the French language. Mineralogy, botany, zoology, geography, geometry, history, chronology, mechanics in general; with the kindred subjects of magnetism, electricity, galvanism, balistics, mining, geology, land-surveying, architecture, husbandry, physical economics, hydraulics; then the higher branches of mathematics, the higher branches of arithmetic, algebra, astronomy, &c.; in a word, all the branches of learning included in the table of the proposed Chrestomathic School ought to be taught them as fully, that is, with as great a regard to particulars, as experience may prove to be possible. These subjects are intimately connected with what is to become the business of their life: many of them constitute the very objects to which the whole attention of their minds is to be devoted. Not to dwell on their tendency to develope the intellectual faculties, to awaken curiosity, to interest attention, to form the habit of observation — the observation, for example, of analogies and discrepancies, — to secure the exercise of reason in tracing these analogies and discrepancies, in deducing inferences from them, in leading to the notice of new phenomena, and consequently to the discovery of new facts; not to dwell on these circumstances, though they are of vast importance, the capital advantage of the early study of these subjects is, that they must necessarily be better understood, and therefore excite a deeper interest on account of the clear, precise, comprehensive, and scientific elementary knowledge which will thus be communicated respecting them. These advantages are more certainly secured for the reason, that each of these subjects is taught in connection with all the others included in this comprehensive course; for this extension of the field of learning not only expands the mind, not only teaches more things, but teaches those that are communicated better than they could otherwise have been understood.

The course of instruction which is here proposed would certainly afford to this class of the community sufficient intellectual cultivation; but in order to secure the ultimate object of all education, that is, in order to form enlightened men and virtuous

citizens, it would be highly desirable, towards the termination of the course, to direct their attention to some other subjects, the study of which is usually postponed to a later period of life, and the teaching of which is assigned to a higher school. The subjects to which we allude are, history, considered in relation to its more important uses, particularly the history of England, government, commerce, political economy, and the philosophy of the human mind. We can easily imagine the astonishment and the scorn which will be felt by some persons at the bare mention of such topics as fitted for the study of a school-boy; and assuredly they are above the comprehension of school-boys of fifteen or sixteen years of age, educated in the ancient method. But it must be borne in mind, that the boys whom it is here proposed to initiate into these studies, and who in general will have no opportunity of going to a university, have not spent three-fourths of their time in learning jargon by rote; that every moment which they have passed in school has been actively and efficiently occupied; that the subjects to which their attention has been directed, have been adapted to their capacity and congenial to their taste; that nothing has been taught them obscurely and imperfectly, but that their knowledge, so far as it has extended, has always been clear, exact, and complete: whence they must have gained a vast accession of time, and have experienced both a more early and a more perfect development of the mental faculties. A boy educated in this manner, will be as competent to study the elements of the subjects mentioned above, at the age of fifteen as at the age of thirty.

In the first place, then, we would have every boy taken from the middle rank of life instructed in the true uses of history. We would have it demonstrated to him, that while it improves the understanding, it prepares for the proper discharge of the duties of life; that it frees the mind from prejudice; that it is the foundation of all real improvement in the science of government; that it strengthens the sentiments of virtue; that it produces an enlightened patriotism; that it forms a taste for solid glory and true greatness; and that it teaches just conceptions both of the strength and weakness of human nature. We would have his attention directed to the sources of history, and the methods which have been used for transmitting to posterity the knowledge of past events; the application of other kinds of knowledge to the study of history ought to be pointed out; an account of the most important objects of attention to a reader of history should be presented to him, as well as an explanation of the circumstances which contribute to the real wealth, prosperity, and glory of a country. Then the attention should be directed, with all the

detail that may be found practicable, to the history of England in particular. Its memorable eras should be pointed out; the origin of its institutions should be shown, and their progress traced; its struggles for liberty, civil and religious, should be dwelt on; the most probable means of securing its freedom and promoting its prosperity should be explained; and its illustrious men who have rendered their country, and the very age in which they flourished, glorious, should be exhibited to the admiration of the youthful mind. Here are abundant materials for reflection; here are admirable lessons of morality; here are means of kindling the purest love of liberty, of exciting the noblest emulation, and of producing the most enlightened and most fervent patriotism.

In like manner, in the higher classes of these schools, ought to be explained the true nature and object of government; the advantages and disadvantages of its different forms, that is, the greater or less facility afforded by them for accomplishing its great purpose; the rights and duties of the governed; the rights and duties of governors, and so on. It ought never to be forgotten, that the minds which are forming in these schools are soon to take an active part in the service of their country; that they must have, and will have, a great and commanding influence on the measures pursued, on the laws enacted, on the justice administered.

The commerce of the country is carried on almost exclusively by persons of this class: it is therefore important that the means should be afforded them of forming enlightened and comprehensive conceptions of the subject. The capital advantages of commerce, the manner in which it produces those advantages, the circumstances on which its power of increasing the wealth and prosperity of a country depends, its influence on landed and other species of property, expedients which may or which may not be adopted with safety for its encouragement; these and similar subjects ought to be illustrated. There is no subject in which this class of the community is more deeply interested; none in which the views they take and the conduct they pursue will be attended with more important results; none, an acquaintance with which is more necessary to guide their exertions, to prevent the misdirection of their labour, and to secure even to their benevolence itself beneficent effects, than that of political economy.

Some knowledge of the laws which govern the operations of the human mind is necessary to conduct any mental process with success, in order to save much valuable time, and to prevent much waste of labour in the investigation of subjects which there is no hope of ever comprehending. To understand how

habits are formed, how prejudices are engendered, how the judgment is influenced, how the will is determined, how the character is superinduced, and consequently how habits, prejudices, judgment, will, and character, may be modified, or changed, or fixed; to entertain just conceptions of the merit and demerit of actions and characters, of virtue and vice, of reward and punishment, — all these subjects are of vital importance; they involve the most deep and permanent interests of individuals, and communities: to persons of this class especially, just conceptions of them are essential to the proper discharge of the most momentous duties which devolve upon them. From our own actual observation and experience of the capacity of the youthful mind, when properly trained, we pronounce that these subjects are perfectly within its comprehension, and we know that it is possible to make it intensely interested in their study. This study would perhaps be best conducted by delivering, at stated periods, to the elder and more advanced boys, whose admission into this class might be made a reward for their past diligence, for their actual attainments, and for general good conduct, short and familiar lectures on these subjects, in the manner of Dr. Priestley's Lectures on History: at the commencement of every new lecture to examine the students minutely on the preceding; to require them to give an account of it, not in the words of the lecture, but in their own; to go over the same ground again and again, until it appear certain that it is perfectly understood, and then, and not till then, to encourage the pupils to write essays or themes on the topics that have been discussed. For perfect instruction in these subjects, and every other which it is proposed to include in the New School, nothing is requisite but elementary books, adapted to the principles of the new system: these, indeed, are wanted; but surely it is not too much to hope, that there are men of science, whose benevolence will induce them to undertake a labour, which, however humble it may appear, can be properly performed only by a truly philosophical mind. Can any scholar be more nobly employed than in writing such a book on language; or any natural, moral, or political philosopher, than in disclosing to the youthful understanding, in the most lucid order, and in the plainest terms, the profound yet simple principles of these respective sciences?

We have dwelt so long on the intellectual part of education, that we have left room to say but little of moral instruction; and but little need be said of it. It does not require discussion. It is impossible to teach morality to children by precepts. The correctness of their moral feeling and the integrity of their moral conduct must be secured, if secured, by the discipline to which

they are subjected. Boys do not listen to sermons: the eloquence of the moralist and divine, though the most perfect imaginable, is lost upon them. They must be made honourable by exhibiting to their view honourable conduct: they must be made virtuous, by being led to the practice of virtue from habits superinduced by the silent operation of the circumstances under which they are placed. They need not be told what is right: like men they all know their duty sufficiently; the grand difficulty is to practise it: the only means of securing its practice is the formation of the habit of practising it; and in the formation of that habit, the discipline peculiar to the new system of education afford aids so admirable and so powerful, that it will be found, on examination, as conducive to the cultivation of virtue, as it is favourable to the acquisition of learning.

The grand moral advantage of this system is, that it places and keeps boys in a condition in which there is little opportunity of doing wrong. Their time is completely occupied: their attention is constantly fixed: they are never idle: they never deviate from a regular and steady course: whence the habit is formed of doing every thing in its proper time and place. If the temptation to yield to bodily listlessness and mental dissipation occur, they are immediately roused to exertion by the active spirits around them, and compelled to put forth their strength, in order to keep pace with companions, by whom they feel it would be an intolerable disgrace to be outstripped. This practical moral lesson is repeated every day and every hour. The mind is induced to postpone its gratification as often as its temptation to yield to it recurs, and is stimulated to the steady performance of its duty. Thus the power of self-contest, that virtue upon which all moral excellence depends, is acquired, and is formed into a habit. Those who are acquainted with the mechanism of the human mind, and know how the law of nature and the power of practising it with steadiness are generated, will admit that this, though not perhaps one of the most obvious, is one of the most real and important excellences of this admirable system.

Another lesson of great value afforded by this system arises from the plan of confiding all punishment to the boys themselves. By this expedient their attention is directed in the best, because in the most practical manner, to the circumstances on which good and bad conduct depend; to the feelings and actions which render a human being an object of praise or blame, of reward or punishment. They form their own code of morals, and that code is sure to be better adapted to their condition than older heads can make it. The laws they impose are enacted, because experience has taught them that they are necessary; whence they

are respected, and a rigid adherence to them is exacted. The same experience makes them acquainted with the exact degree of guilt incurred by any particular violation of the laws; for they are excellent judges of the motives which have led to such violation, and can estimate with astonishing accuracy the circumstances of aggravation or of palliation on which the measure of guilt essentially depends. Whatever punishment is imposed, therefore, is almost uniformly just in a degree which is equalled in no other case in which punishment is inflicted by human agency; and it is this feeling which pervades the mind of every member of the little community,—that his sentence, whatever it be, will be rigidly just,—that renders punishment under this system so exceedingly efficacious, at the same time that it operates to such a remarkable extent in the prevention of offences.

These principles have received an excellent illustration, and a most complete confirmation, in the details presented by the author of Public Education. To this work we would particularly direct the attention of the reader. It details the result of an original and independent attempt to apply several of the most important principles of the new system of education to instruction in the higher branches of learning, and especially to the cultivation of a more manly spirit and a more just and sound morality. The great principle on which this is attempted is, "to leave as much as possible all power in the hands of the boys themselves." To this end they are permitted to elect a committee, which enacts the laws of the school, subject, however, to the veto of the head master. There are also courts of justice for the trial of both civil and criminal cases, and a vigorous police for the preservation of order. This system has been in operation several years in a school consisting of about seventy boys. The results are detailed with great candour, and many of the facts are highly curious and interesting.

But of all the moral advantages of the new system, perhaps the greatest arises from the mildness of the punishments which it imposes. Its punishments appeal to the rational, not to the animal nature of man; and are calculated to influence the principles of his mind, rather than to impose torture on his body. Every blow inflicted for the correction of a bad action, excites ten bad feelings; and it is somewhat absurd to attempt to purify the stream by corrupting the source. A boy may be flogged for a fault, and the fault may be corrected; but it is corrected not in consequence of the flogging, but in spite of it. No virtuous principle was ever instilled into the human mind by stripes: their only effect is to irritate and harden, to make slaves and to train up tyrants.

We cannot dismiss the subject of education without adverting to one topic, which, though of paramount importance, is entirely neglected in this country; we refer to that of health. The connection is intimate between the soundness of the bodily organs, and intellectual vigour and moral sanity. Such is the sympathy of the mind with the body that the infirmity of the one is the feebleness of the other: mental strength, clear moral discrimination, noble feeling, never did and never can long exist in a crazy constitution,—in a frame feeble and tottering, tormented with "cramps and side-stitches that pen the breath up." To think clearly, to feel generously, and to act vigorously, man must be in health. Persons take the most judicious care of their horses; they observe what conduces to their strength as animals; they neither neglect them on the one hand, nor pamper them on the other: they diet them, they groom them, they exercise them, in the manner which experience shows to be best adapted to put them and keep them in good condition; that is, to give them the greatest firmness of muscle combined with the greatest animal courage and vigour. The health of man as an animal is entirely neglected. He is neither lodged, nor clothed, nor dieted, nor exercised, with a view to give to his bodily frame the greatest strength, and to maintain it in the utmost perfection. The ancients were wiser. Their baths, their unguents, their exercises, their games, were obviously designed to nerve the body, to arm it against the vicissitudes of the seasons, and to render it capable of sustaining every kind of fatigue and every degree of privation. The men of the present age are a puny race: their stature is smaller, their muscles are feebler, their joints are less firmly knit, their step is less elastic, their countenance is more pallid, their whole appearance is that of a physically weak and degenerated people, compared even with their forefathers. By the proper regulation of diet, by vigorous exercise, by the encouragement of athletic games in the intervals of school hours, an astonishing change might be produced on the health and strength of our youth. And here we protest against the number of hours which boys are confined in school. It is alike injurious to the health of the body and the vigour of the mind. It is utterly impossible that the attention can be kept up during a tenth part of the time in which they must have at least the appearance of learning their lessons; and nothing can be conceived more pernicious than this pretended occupation and real idleness, this conjunction of the most painful bodily weariness with the most complete mental dissipation.

We have stated our opinion of the course of instruction proper for persons of the middle class of life. Suppose that this class

were actually thus instructed, — what would be the consequence? At once the great object for which philosophers have meditated, and philanthropists have laboured, would be accomplished. The body of the people, the mass of mind, would be enlightened. Their conceptions would be clear, their opinions would be just. Over the whole field of knowledge there would be to them, no "dark spots." Of the true nature and scope of every art and science, they would have an exact conception; and their information, as far as it extended, would be real. Their minds would be stored with ideas of which their language would be the clear expression: there would be no example amongst them of a memory loaded with words which did not stand in their minds for the signs of things. The effect on art, on science, on the conduct of affairs, of the communication of this single power to this immense mass of minds, would itself in a short period entirely change the condition of the human race, and advance it to a point in the scale of improvement which few have dared to believe to be of possible attainment.

These men would have acquired also habits of industry, mental as well as corporeal, and, above all, their minds would be independent. Understanding every thing taught them, — they would have taken nothing upon trust, they would have believed nothing upon authority. Of the dogmatism of the master they would have known nothing. Knowledge would be communicated to them, the materials for thinking would be afforded them, and their minds would be left to their own operations.

These men would also be taught the principles of justice, by being made to act upon them; they would acquire the habit of performing their duty before they understood its abstract nature; they would be virtuous before they knew even the name of virtue. Out of the circumstances in which they are placed would arise the necessity of performing, with invariable regularity, certain acts; some affecting the condition of others, some regarding only their own. The undeviating performance of these acts they would perceive to be essential to their own happiness, and to that of their companions: the violation of them they would find uniformly attended with sufferings. Thus their code of morals, and the true foundation of the obligation to respect it, would be the deduction of their own reason from their own experience. They would know nothing of names; they would be acquainted with no nice distinctions; they might even be unable to give a logical definition of virtue, but their feeling would be the theory itself, and their conduct the exemplification of it. Thus morality would be associated in their minds, not with words, but with deeds; they would have no conception of a

virtue to be talked of and admired, but not to be practised. The very notion of virtue would arise in an inverse manner from that in which it is commonly formed: it would be an abstraction made by themselves of the actions performed or witnessed by themselves, which they observe to be conducive to happiness; not an abstract proposition which they are taught to repeat by rote, for the understanding of which they must wait till observation and experience shall have instructed them in its meaning. The effect of thus *making* the great body of the people virtuous, without giving them a single moral precept,—what would any physical or moral revolution hitherto witnessed be compared to this? What changes would it produce in the counting-house, in the cabinet, nay, even in the church itself! What films would at once fall from the mental eye! what light would beam upon the moral understanding! When examined with this new kind of moral sense, with what astonishing clearness would some subjects appear, which at present perplex beyond measure the merchant, the legislator, and the divine! The justice, for example, of tearing from their native country a people who have had the direful misfortune to receive from nature a dark-coloured skin,—of conveying them across the ocean in a slave-ship, that most horrible of all human constructions, to a burning climate, where they are made to labour like brute animals, where they are treated worse than brute animals, where the whole ingenuity of man is exerted to keep them down to the condition of brute animals, exterminating in them systematically, and to a most fearful extent, every thought, every feeling, every trace of humanity; the justice of desolating the territory, sacking the cities, and butchering the inhabitants of one country, because the prince or the minister of another may be ambitious, or the mistress or the minion of one or both may have an intriguing head and wicked heart; the justice of placing the value of human property above that of human life, of putting to violent death a man who has driven from his neighbour's field his ox or his sheep,—of thus cutting off, by the wretched expedient of the gibbet, all hope of the criminal's reformation, all probability of his making reparation; the justice of dooming to the same loss of life the youthful offender for his first breach of the law, and the practised plunderer, who has taught him the art, and initiated him to the commission of guilt,—the man who imitates the handwriting of a stranger, and he who plunges his dagger into the bosom of his friend or father; the justice of shedding on the scaffold the blood of her who, in the moment of intense bodily pain and bitter mental anguish, urged to desperation by the consciousness that she has yielded to a guilty passion, and that ruin

and destruction must attend her to the grave, forgets that she is a mother, while the villain who by the basest treachery seduced her to a compliance with his lust, is allowed to maintain his place in society, is admitted to the presence of the beautiful and the innocent with equal welcome, and is still the hero whose laurels wither not, or the gentleman whose honour is stainless; the justice of excluding from the offices of the state the man who adopts a particular theory of religion, or who avows his disbelief in any theory;—these difficult and mysterious subjects, which perplex, in so extraordinary a degree, the statesmen and moralists of the present day, how surprisingly easy would their solution then appear! Men endued with this clear-sighted sense, men possessing this single-minded honesty, occupying the various stations of life,—what havoc would they make with certain opinions, customs, habits, and institutions, which prejudice and interest now combine their efforts to uphold! Men into whose minds the light of truth could thus enter, and with whom to perceive and to act were the same, what good burgesses, what pure voters, what excellent jurors, what capital special-jurymen, what admirable judges of libel, what cautious hearers of the best charges of the best judges! Honesty is to the judgment what the eye is to the body: honesty would be interwoven into the very constitution of these men's natures, and therefore the whole science of morals would be to them unclouded light. And they would carry the same clear discernment, and the same unbending integrity, into the science of politics; for the science of politics is but a particular application of that of morals. With the true object of government, with the expedients which experience has proved to be best adapted to secure its great purpose, with the genuine nature and transcendent work of liberty, with the names and deeds of heroes and patriots, and martyrs, their minds would be familiar. Never would such men submit to be slaves, never would they crouch to the tyrant, never would they assume his scourge. Their voice in the state must be heard; their influence must be felt. Such an exaltation of the character of the middle class would necessarily, and at once, elevate the condition of the class below, and raise the standard of knowledge and virtue in the class above. The improvement which would immediately take place would be universal, and without any bound which it is possible to fix. On this admirable system of education the brightest hopes of the human race may anchor. This system has commenced its career; it must go on; it will become universal: we may share its triumphs; we cannot prevent them.

ART. V. *Parallèle de la Puissance Anglaise et Russe relativement à l'Europe, &c.* Par M. de Pradt. Paris. 1823.

*Poliarnaia Svœsda.* Karmannaia Knijka dlia liubnel'nitz i liubitelei Ruskoi slovesnosti na 1823 god, islannaia A. Bestujevïm i K. Rïlevïm. St. Petersburg. Gretsch. 1823. *i. e. The Polar Star.* A Glance at the Ancient and Modern Literature of Russia, down to 1823. By A. Bestujev and C. Rilevim.

THERE was a country a century ago which excited neither interest, nor jealousy, nor anxiety; it was known and thought of only as the land of strange and distant barbarians, of whom some vague notions might indeed be gathered together by the curious, from the travels of a few adventurous wanderers, though Muscovy appeared in truth to have no more concern with European politics than has Tartary or Japan. If sometimes its ambassadors and boyars reached the southern kingdoms of Europe, they were regarded only as uncivilised monsters with unutterable names, who had strayed from a remote and heathen territory, with which we had no other concern than to receive its raw productions, and to send back in return the works of civilisation and of art to decorate the rude magnificence of its wealthy nobles. He who should now prophesy that the Laplander or the Esquimaux will in the lapse of another hundred years domineer over the world, would be scarcely less adventurous than the man who formerly foretold the preponderance of the Muscovite power.— Mastered by every invader,— humiliated by the Scandinavians,— kept in long subjection by the Tartars,— and utterly vanquished by the Poles,— there seemed in this branch of the great Sclavonian family no element of virtue or valour,— no disposition to resist aggression, far less to encourage enterprise. It was a monstrous piece of presumption for a tzar of Muscovy to become the candidate for the hand of an English princess; for what was *Muscovy* but a remote, and frozen, and barren region,— the chosen abode of inertness and ignorance?

But things are altered now; and Russia, barbarous still, has aspired to, and has obtained, a dictatorship over the states of Europe. She sits like a huge *incubus* upon the rest, disposing of kingdoms at her will, directing and controlling the fate of nations from the Manzanares to the northern Torneo. The other members of the Holy Alliance, cajoled into a belief that they possess an equally influencing power, are in fact only in a state of subservient vassalage. Russia, in the great struggle which is going on between improvement and barbarism, is the

commanding champion as well as the efficient representative of the latter. And surely her governors are in the right, if they mean to preserve, if they hope to consolidate, the gigantic power they wield. It is impossible they can hold it long, if they consent to open the floodgates of knowledge upon the Russians, — for knowledge brings with it the want and the necessity of political amelioration, a necessity which must be satisfied. The art of good government is to foresee and to provide for this necessity. In a well-constituted state, the government takes the lead in improvement, and elevates and advances the people under its influence, though too frequently the ruling power is greatly behind the general and pervading will. The cabinets and the councils of monarchs are seldom, if ever, honestly labouring with and for the public interests; and even when reform becomes imperative, and its representatives irresistible, — the struggle is as tenacious as it is vain on the part of rulers, and it ends in violent convulsion and irreconcilable hate. Here then is the difficulty and the danger. Truly such a crisis is far remote in Russia, and it is the knowledge of this which has enabled her governors, whether by the daring violence of open force, or by the crafty and perfidious intrigues of veiled rapacity, to add province to province, and kingdom to kingdom, controlled by no public opinion at home, checked by no sufficient interference abroad.

Let any one take up a map of this eastern hemisphere, and trace the slow, the sure, the steady progress of Russian power. In all the vicissitudes of states and empires, she has made sure of her spoil. Her aggrandisements have not been like those of England, spots far removed from each other, and far from the centre of government, laid hold of, as it were, by fortunate accidents, and often entailing an expense ten times greater than their value; Russia has gone on widening her influence, consolidating her strength, enlarging her frontiers, fortifying her outworks, by new possessions. She overhangs Europe and Asia like an inverted pyramid, which threatens to fall and crush them at its will. In the flagitious partition of Poland she stole the largest share, while Courland and Livonia have given her the eastern shores of the Baltic. On the north-west she has added Finland to her dominions, by the most daring exercise of force and fraud. From the south she has torn almost all the country on the northern borders of the Euxine, — Georgia is hers, and the hundred tribes of Caucasus have laid their submission at her feet. In Persia her influence is notoriously predominant, and it is to be feared that she has obtained a

baneful sway in the councils of Greece. Her ambition has crossed the Pacific, and her standards are planted upon the north-western coasts of America. Add to all this, that the Russian system of government in the conquered provinces has generally been one of mildness; — to the Poles, she gave a constitution which was flattering to the national pride, and seemed a security against gross misgovernment. The Finlanders have been cajoled by personal acts of kindness and condescension on the part of the autocrat himself.* The Georgians and the Circassians were tampered with by splendid presents, and yet more splendid promises. To the Greek Christians of the south, Russia presents herself as their protector against the persecutions of the Mussulman. Every where the trains are laid, so that Russia may profit by the explosion, — while with *magnanimity* and *social order* on her tongue she carries on her schemes of ambitious plunder. It is indeed time that Europe, and that England especially, should awake to the dangers with which the Russian empire threatens her independence and repose. England, by the short-sighted and narrow-minded policy of former ministers, has been the main cause of the existence of that excessive power which now stares her in the face on every side. The ambitious schemes of Napoleon were at least open and palpable. He went boldly forward to his purpose — and wicked it often was, — proclaiming to the wide world, that he meant to reunite the broken sceptre of Charlemagne. But the march of Russia is that of a thief in the night — a thief clad in the garments of honesty; who calls you by endearing names — seems to be your grateful and contented guest, and marches away after having despoiled you of your heritage.

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* We once witnessed a remarkable instance of this. The Finlanders being exceedingly irritated by the transfer of their country to Russia, Alexander determined to pay them a visit. He did so, but was received with the utmost coldness. He was one day crossing a lake in the interior, accompanied by his suite, when he observed a decoration hanging from the button of one of the peasants in the boat. — "Where did you get that, my friend?" said the Emperor. The man was silent; and one of his companions answered, — that he had been in the service of Napoleon, and had won the distinction in battle, — that he was greatly venerated by his countrymen, and was called "The King of the Finns." Alexander turned to one of his ministers and said, — "Take you the oar, and row the King of the Finns to the land." — What no proclamation, what no persuasion could do, was done by this solitary act, which obtained for Alexander more popularity than he could have won at the price of millions.

There is another awful consideration. Russia is inaccessible—unattackable from without. Frosts, and snows, and the terrible hosts of winter, make her unconquerable. Her frontiers are mountains and seas; and, as De Pradt has remarked, she has a territory beyond her own to secure and protect her; while "the occupation of Poland has opened an entrance for Russia into the body of Europe. Her arsenals may be brought forward to the German frontiers; the Vistula will become her boundary." (P.142,143.) From her neighbours Russia has nought to fear. Bernadotte has not the privilege of *legitimacy*, and dares not offend the monarch who holds the young pretender, the heir of Gustavus, in his hand; and if he dared, it would be vain. Finland and the Oland Isles belong to Sweden no more. Prussia and Austria cannot detach themselves from Russia, nor oppose her projects. She holds her military posts, as it were, in the centre of the states of the former; and the latter has neither forces nor frontiers to oppose an incursion of the autocratic hordes. Turkey is in the dust; and it remains to be seen whether Greece, favoured by and allied to England, will, under a popular and effective government, present a barrier to the ambitious march of Russia.

Meanwhile a power has been growing up in Russia, which becomes every day more formidable. The Russian army, said to consist of a million of men*, has been a great drawback on the finances; and a plan of military colonisation was lately organised for the creation of an army without any considerable charge to the state, by registering the peasants belonging to the crown, and disciplining them to active service. In a country farther advanced in civilisation than Russia, this scheme for

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* The official reports say 950,000; but this probably exceeds the number by one-third. We believe the following statement is not far from correct:—

| | | | Men. |
|---|---|---|---|
| First army, | Gen. Saexen,—head quarters, | Mohilov | 320,000 |
| Second army, | Gen. Wittgenstein, —— | the Pruth | 100,000 |
| Imperial Guard, | Gen. Ouvarov, —— | Petersburg | 80,000 |
| Georgian army, | Gen. Yermolov, —— | Tiflis | 60,000 |
| Lithuanian army, | —— | Wilna | 80,000 |
| Polish army, | —— | Warsaw | 30,000 |
| Disciplined Cossacks. | | | 7,500 |
| | | | 677,500 |

This calculation is made after a reduction of about 30,000 men, which took place a few months ago, the whole of which have been incorporated into the military colonies.

arming the population could not but be attended with considerable danger to despotism; but we fear those who have introduced it know too well the ground on which they stand, and that the soldier-citizen would rather lose than gain by any change he could immediately produce. Here, in truth, is the great security for misrule. The soldier, whose profession would be degraded, perhaps destroyed, under a system of government friendly to human happiness, will hardly lend himself to its establishment; and, after all, spite of the pleasing reveries of poetry and philosophy, there is nothing so mighty in this world as iron and gold.

The military colonies of Russia are already spread over the governments of Novgorod, Cherson, and Charkov; and more than fifty thousand soldiers have been thus silently disciplined: their numbers are daily and rapidly increasing, and new villages are constantly enrolled. The organisation of these establishments is simple and effective. The villages whose peasants are the property of the crown are first registered, and subjected to the discipline of military chiefs. All the labouring men are trained to the use of arms, but are required at the same time to cultivate the land for their support, under the control of the chief of the colony, to whom a certain extent of soil is granted for the use of the colonists. Besides the effective and regular troops, a large body of reserve is maintained, from whence recruits are draughted into any vacancies; and the system of training begins from the earliest period of infancy. There are three divisions of the rising generation. Till the age of eight, they remain under the care and guidance of their parents. They are then transferred to the military schools, and a severe education of discipline and duty is entered on. At the age of thirteen, they obtain the distinction of *cantonists;* and are taught at the same time the profession of the agriculturist and the soldier. When seventeen years old, they form a part of the colony; for the whole of which a special code of justice is provided. The commander-in-chief of the cavalry, which form about half the whole number of colonists, is the supreme judge; but every colony has its own tribunal, of which the highest military officer is the president, and the rest follow according to rank. No female colonist can marry any individual who is not enrolled. By this system it will be seen that Russia is gradually creating a tremendous military force almost without effort and without expense. Being once put in motion, such a machine rolls on gathering strength and confidence; and should it become a willing agent of aggression, we do not see what is to oppose its conquering march. But though, for the moment, little risk is run by thus giving to

the peasantry of Russia the means of establishing and consolidating their freedom, it is a hazardous experiment for futurity. In any and in every case the system must introduce great changes; for these armed bands, who have now an attachment to, and a property in the soil of their country, must, as they go on increasing, necessarily become a subject of great embarrassment to the Russian government. If they settle tranquilly down, and continue to occupy the same abode, the social affections will bind them to their homes and their families, and the very object of their establishment will be frustrated by their change of position; while, on the other hand, should a busy and a restless spirit make head among them, still less easy will it be to control them. In a moment of change, or tumult, how could they be relied on? They seem to us like the ice which fills in the winter months the holes in a Russian edifice, and appears to give it strength and solidity; the thaw comes on, the frozen mass expands, the building totters and falls.

The details of the military strength of Russia, when concentrated in a tabular form, appear tremendous, and give a very exaggerated notion of her means of interference; for it is certain that Russia never has been able to assemble in one point a force at all commensurate to her population, or her nominal army. Large masses of men cannot be gathered together without large masses of money; and the very extent of Russian territory, thinly peopled as it is, is an effective security against their being brought together in numbers at all equal to the imposing representations upon paper. No doubt Russia has obtained more influence from the weakness and the ignorance of other states than from any real power of her own. She has availed herself with remarkable dexterity of all those delusions which have served to blind her neighbours with respect to her real situation. Her resources have been exaggerated with the most busy zeal, though it may be demonstrated that scarcely any country exists having the least pretensions to civilisation, which is so unproductive, either with a reference to its extent, or its population, or its climate — a climate, notwithstanding, which would lend itself to an infinite variety of cultivation. But with what address has Russia made events subserve to her ambitious will! Of all the elements likely to produce important changes in society, the spirit of association, which more and more pervades it, is most prominent. That very spirit, which seemed to be a security against the excesses of despotic power, has despotism made an engine of its own. The Holy Alliance is the standing coalition of Pillnitz — the consolidation of a principle so flagitious, so insulting, that it might well have been supposed, when the deed of darkness was perpetrated,

the conspirators would each retreat to his strong hold. But, no! encouraged by the success of the first crime, and by the weakness of other victims, the sainted brotherhood have permanently banded themselves together. Ever since Russia took her station among European powers, and interested herself in European policy, she seems to have been guided by one individual will. Elsewhere the death of a monarch, the fall of a minister, changes immediately the whole character of the government; but Russia moves onwards, always onwards to the goal she has in view. The character of Alexander, courteous and seemingly benevolent, lulls suspicion. He appears as the guardian of social order, the advocate of toleration, the patron of all that is philanthropic,—but his eye and the eyes of those around are as steadily fixed on the south as were ever those of his ambitious grandmother. And in the details of Russian policy, how much is there that is unique and admirable!

From the time of Peter the Great her sovereigns have always made it a part of their system to attract to their presence, and to conciliate by their patronage, men distinguished by their talents, whatever may be their country, their language, or their opinions. From the latter she has nought to fear; for they can have little influence on forty or fifty millions of inhabitants, thinly spread over thousands of square leagues, without knowledge, or a desire of knowledge, and as indifferent, for the most part, to passing events, as the cattle that browse around them; while the excessive and busy jealousy of the censorship of the press makes it almost impossible that any dangerous seed of discontent, or even of enquiry, should be scattered. Catherine the Second flirted with the poets, the historians, and the politicians of the south; nor was she divested of literary acquirements, and literary ambition. We have seen productions of her pen manifesting a degree of application harmonising little with that round of gross and sensual pleasures, that restless and reckless spirit so predominant in all she did or planned to do. Of the names which now direct the cabinet of Russia, of the generals who command her armies, of the writers employed in her service, the proportion of foreigners is singularly great. Her guiding statesmen have been Greeks and Corsicans, her most eminent military leaders Germans and Poles, her public works are in the hands of Spaniards and Englishmen, the education of her princes and of her nobles has been committed to the charge of Swiss and Italian strangers. In all this despotism has found its account. This amalgamation of various interests and various sympathies, this constant importation from other countries to create and to control opinion in its most civilised sphere, has prevented the formation of a *Russian mind*,

— of a tribunal which might weigh and decide on the great questions of national or general weal. Thus it is that the cabinet can proceed forwards in all its ambitious designs, unmolested by the obstacles which in all other countries, even the most despotic, the fear of public reprobation raises in the path of misrule.

The preponderance which Russia has obtained in European politics is derived, we have said, rather from the ignorance of other governments, than from the real strength of her own. Omnipotent in her means of defence, she is feebleness itself beyond her own borders. The war in the Morea demonstrates her weakness; for if a mere handful of revolted Greeks, almost unarmed and wholly unassisted, have been able to establish their independence against the Porte, the successful stand against Russia made by the Mussulman power, exhausted as it is, proves how much fear and delusion have exaggerated the Russian influence. Her power neither results from the number of her inhabitants, nor from her pecuniary resources, nor from the talents of her rulers, nor from the extent of her territory; but from her snowy and icy region, which, though it is a wall of adamant against attack, she cannot drag with her to the south for the purpose of attacking others. She appears indeed a giant; but is only a giant of the mist, which passes away before a penetrating vision, or a rising sun. The closer her pretensions are examined, the vainer and the more presumptuous they will be found. Her finances are in a state of notorious dilapidation. Abroad (*i. e.* in the distance) her security ranks on the level with that of most of the continental nations; and she obtains on the English exchange from eighty to ninety pounds sterling of solid cash for one hundred pounds' worth of her paper promises, while in Russia (and where is the difference in the security?) the great mass of her circulating medium, issued indeed without control, is at a discount of about seventy-five *per cent*. With this disgraceful and depreciated paper currency her provinces are deluged; it passes for about one-fourth of the value which it represents: yet so inefficient is the government to carry its decrees into general effect, that the introduction of this rag-money has been successfully resisted in many of the eastern governments, in which nothing but metals will be received. The whole character of the commerce of Russia affords the most striking exemplification of her poverty. All her foreign trade is carried on by the capital of strangers. The shopkeeper purchases at a very long credit, while the cultivator of produce is accustomed to be paid for it months before it is delivered to the exporting merchant; on every side there is sacrifice to be made by the Russian. Meanwhile exorbitant and ill-adjusted duties

have covered the country with adventurous smugglers and defrauders of the revenue. What system can be conceived more ridiculous and more oppressive than that which is now established in Russia, of making the *weight* of the taxed article the grade of taxation? so that the more coarse or the less costly the manufacture, the higher is the duty enforced. The whole fiscal administration presents such a mass of corruption and abuse as can scarcely be conceived; it might be described in a few words, as a system which gives to every individual an interest in fraud, and destroys every motive to honesty. Every custom-house officer, stinted beyond measure in his salary, manages to spend twenty or thirty times the amount of his wages; a fee is the passport to every facility, and there is no amount of dishonesty which may not be purchased for a proportionate bribe.

In the civil and criminal tribunals — which are in fact little better than records of the decisions of individual, irresponsible, corrupt, and military judges — injustice is dealt out in the most profligate contempt of evidence, and perfect disregard to shame. Paul — who every now and then had a fit of benevolence upon him — made an attempt to reform these abuses, by inviting the communication of any instance of wrong inflicted by the courts. The immensity of applications overwhelmed him with despair. He was not the Hercules to clean the Augean stable, and his successor still less so; for it may safely be affirmed that there never was a period in which justice was more openly, more habitually prostituted, than during the reign of the magnanimous Alexander. And are not these causes, and proofs of weakness? Heaven be thanked, they are. But let it not be forgotten — and this is the consideration which we would press on our readers — that the influence and the power which are only a vain usurpation and a delusion to-day, may by criminal neglect and indifference become a reality and a fact to-morrow.

One of the first elements of strength, population, increases every day, and with tremendous accession, in Russia; Petersburg, whose creation is almost in the memory of the present generation, contains the third of a million of inhabitants. Odessa, which has only lately been introduced into our map, is already become a very populous city. The provinces through which the Don and the Volga roll their gigantic streams are being rapidly covered with settlers. The wandering tribes of Caucasus and the Crimea are becoming stationary; and were not the busy meddling of the Russian cabinet obvious in every thing that passes in the west of Europe, it would seem, from the changes that are now going on, as if all its cares were directed to the east. To the increase of the population of Russia it would be as difficult

to place a limit as to that of America, each equally possessing an unbounded and a fertile territory, which can hardly be disturbed by invasion, and capable of producing sustenance for ten times as many inhabitants as now occupy it.

But as population increases, and as civilisation advances, it is scarcely possible that the great mass of power which Russia will have to wield can be preserved in all its compactness, and be used, as it is now used, for the purpose of annoyance. While completely sunk in ignorance and barbarism, her government took no interest, no share in the general politics of the world. Events of which she has most dexterously availed herself, have dragged her forth, and made her the sovereign as it were of the European confederacy. This calamity we owe to the mad ambition of Napoleon. It was he who created the power by which he himself was first crushed; and which has since broken the elasticity, and almost destroyed the name, of liberty. While the people of Russia remain in that state of inertness which makes them the ready instruments of despotic will, the plans of the cabinet of Petersburg may be carried on undisturbed, — but society cannot continue long in the state in which it now exists in Russia. There is enough of knowledge at work even among the peasants to produce great changes: the surface of society is frozen by seeming indifference; but there are waves and torrents rolling and flowing beneath, and those who direct affairs may not be, and are not, acquainted with what is passing in the minds of the people, from which their pride and aristocratic spirit have so far removed them.

To a certain extent they may calculate wisely; for long-existing slavery and its degrading influences give great security to despotic power. When liberty becomes a habit it is a necessity, and it is only then that it towers securely above the vicissitudes of time. It is seldom the want of freedom which convulses and revolutionises a people; — it is the intolerable weight of oppression. The miscalculation of tyranny more frequently than the well-organised plans of reformers, leads to beneficial change. It is the self-destroying principles of evil, rather than the active influences of good, that ameliorate the world.

The country to which the hopes and the affections turn, as offering from its position a future probable check upon Russia, is Poland: but Poland is bound in a triple chain. She is not only possessed, she is surrounded by her omnipotent despoilers. Among the wrongs committed on humanity by Bonaparte, none was more cruel than the disappointment he inflicted upon the Poles: eighty thousand of them gathered round his standard, because they believed it was for them and their

country the standard of redemption. He used them, not for the deliverance of Poland, but for the subjugation of other nations. Their remains have been scattered over Europe: for still with a fond and faithful devotion they clung to the vain thought that *he* might yet save their native land. While he lived, however, there was some check upon the despotism that held them in bondage, — a bondage now becoming more intolerable every day. A few facts will serve to illustrate the character and temper of the government of Warsaw, and to show with what fear and trembling the slightest expression of public opinion is regarded. Not long since a Polish lad of fifteen, a student at the university of Wilna, wrote on one of the walls of the college, "Long live the Constitution of the 3d May." The awful fact was reported by the governor of the city, by a special messenger, to the Grand Duke Constantine, who immediately dispatched his aide-de-camp, M. Nesselrode, with instructions to sift the matter thoroughly, and to act with becoming severity. He found the fact was but too true. The rector (a gentleman equally distinguished for his talents and his virtues), and all the professors of the college where the fearful words had been inscribed, were put under immediate arrest: a number of the students were conducted by *gendarmes* to Warsaw; while the chief criminal, the boy-conspirator, was conveyed in fetters by M. Nesselrode himself, in his own carriage, to the seat of government, where he and his companions were thrown into dungeons under the especial *surveillance* of the great duke himself. The fierce brutality of Constantine Pavlovich has been often recorded. The character of his intellect may be judged of from the following circumstance: —A short time ago he observed a Russian officer reading a book; he commanded the officer to approach, and took the book from his hand. Finding the name of *Helvetius* on the title-page, he deprived the officer of his commission on the spot, violently exclaiming, "I know Helvetius was a *Carbonaro:* La Harpe wanted me to read him, — I was no such fool. He who reads Helvetius cannot be faithful to his sovereign." So watchful is his despotism, that the baggage of foreign travellers is now frequently conveyed to the vice-regal palace, in order that his High Mightiness may personally examine the documents it contains; and individuals are led into his presence for the sole purpose of allowing him to judge by their countenance whether there be any treason concealed in their bosoms. Nothing can be more characteristic of the man, and of his government. These are "they to whom God has committed," to use the words of the declarations

of the Holy Alliance, "to whom God has committed the welfare of nations."

In connection with the situation which Russia professes to occupy among the nations of Europe, we shall take a hasty glance over the rise and progress of the literature of this extraordinary power; and especially as very little attention has been directed to the subject, and as the little volume which heads these observations has enabled us to supply the deficiencies in our previous information. It can scarcely be uninteresting or out of place to enquire whether the course of Russian ambition has been escorted by the advancing steps of civilisation, in as far as civilisation is indicated by the national literature. In Russia, where the chasm which separates the many from the few is deep, wide, and impassable, —where all who are not comprised under one of the castes, *lord* or *slave*, are as nothing, the dust upon the balance, — literature must be considered as the representative of the privileged class alone; for though among the millions of slaves now and then an extraordinary genius has appeared, and has burst the fetters which bind both mind and body in vassalage, such instances of strength and elasticity are remote and rare. The brow of the boor is branded, — and who shall remove the stigma? The intellect of the slave is flung into the dust, — and who shall raise it from its degradation?

The workings of improvement in Russia, emanate from whence they may, must be slow and gradual. The race of man deteriorates under the influence of misgovernment — the aptitude for the reception of knowledge dies away; and though the ordinary and imitative faculties of the mind, which are the only ones called into habitual action in an oppressed and vitiated state, are singularly alert and vigorous in Russia, we have always observed that it is impossible to elevate the conceptions beyond a certain height: that height they reach with great celerity—but no effort, no explanation, will take them much beyond it. Thus the easiest and simplest principles of mathematics are rapidly received, and become permanently impressed on the minds of the common Russians; but when a proposition is offered to them which requires a greater stretch of intellect for its comprehension, it is in vain that its difficulties are cleared away and its obvious truth presented in the most luminous form — the task is too great — the burthen is too heavy — the mind sinks by its own weight to that position above which it cannot be raised, except by the influence of time and improvement acting upon the great mass of men.

In a country like Russia, just bursting the bonds of darkness, only two classes of writers can excite much interest, or possess

much nationality; that is to say, the historians and the poets. So few of the former are entitled to any special distinction, that we shall but slightly introduce them, while recording the works of the latter. One interesting subject of enquiry has been long the object of attention in Russia — the philosophy and origin of languages; and the contributions of Russia to this valuable branch of knowledge, sometimes the only guide to the early history of nations, have been most extensive and most honourable to those engaged. *

The earliest recollections of nations are almost universally poetical. In the mystery and darkness which hang over long-since departed time, the restless spirit of man loves to wander. It seeks a scene above or beyond the sphere of his daily cares, and is best pleased to stroll where the flight of the imagination cannot be checked by the sober realities of experience. It cannot easily create fables for the present, for observation and reflection would dissipate them, so it builds them out of the past; and as they flatter the pride and the vanity of nations, they easily get blended with their histories, and are as much reverenced and cherished, as if they had been revealed by inspiration. Some of the northern nations, the Finlanders especially, have preserved a great mass of the poetry of a period long anterior to the introduction of Christianity, through which their old mythology can be distinctly traced, and on which the influence of the new religion may be followed, introducing merely a few new names. In fact it did but transplant the saints of the Christian calendar to the niches filled by the minor deities of the old Finlanders; while the persons of the Trinity, and of the Holy Family, were made to suit the attributes of the higher deities.

The Scandinavian tribes generally preserved the songs and traditions of their ancestors with reverential care; they are frequently the sole fragments on which the historian can build his theories. In the sunny regions of the south, the recollections are more imaginative; but where the inhospitable climate gathers tribes and families together, their tales, oft repeated, become deeply impressed, and scarcely vary in their descent through many ages.

Poetry has been called a universal element. It is co-existent with human passion and human society; and its condensed and emphatic forms peculiarly fit it for the communication of thoughts and feelings from one generation to another. The deeds and the memories of the great and the proud are preserved in their mausoleums and their temples, their pillars and their palaces; they

* Consult F. Adelung's Catherinen der Grossen Verdienste um die Vergleichende Sprachenkunde. Petersburg, 1815.

are molten in brass and sculptured in marble;—the traditions of song are the ancestral history of the people. Their forefathers leave them no inheritance of recorded deeds and titles of fame; but they bequeath the memory of their love and hate, of their passions and affections. All that constitutes nationality, all that distinguishes one race of men from another, is thus preserved in a continuous, unbroken stream, which cannot easily be turned from its onward course. But the Russian people have no popular antiquity; no poetry exists of an earlier date than the 16th century, and the few fragments that we possess in the vernacular tongue of that period are mean and worthless. The origin and early progress of the Russian language is wholly lost, but it was greatly influenced no doubt by the translations from the Bible, and by the works of the ecclesiastical annalists, who deluged every idiom of the Sclavonic with Greek and Latin words. The residence of the Tartars produced no considerable change; but in the 16th and 17th centuries, the Sarmatian branch obtained considerable ascendency from the residence of a number of Russian writers in the universities of Poland, then, as now, the most intelligent and cultivated of all the Sclavonian nations. Under Peter the Great, the German and Latin tongues introduced a great number of new terms; during the reign of Elizabeth the Russian was completely *gallicised*. Catherine restored its characteristic nationality, and its daily progress has been most obvious from the period of her reign.

In the first ardour and fury of conversion, the pagan records probably perished. Zeal without knowledge is a destroying barbarian. The personal characters of Vladimir, Jaroslav, and Monomach, were certainly friendly to literature; but Russia was an arena of internal discord, of which at last the Tartar availed himself, and made the divided and distracted nation an easy prey. Some faint memorials of these struggles are yet preserved in the memory of the Russian peasant; and to the name of *Black Caps* (*Chernie Klobuki*), by which the Turks and oriental tribes are yet distinguished, recollections of deep-seated enmity attach. The only depositaries of history and literature were the monasteries, and the free town of Novgorod, whose foreign commerce introduced civilisation from the south. Ivan Danilovich, who obtained from his generous spirit the name *Kalita*, or Purse, by which he is generally known, and Vassily, who followed him after the lapse of a century, did much to elevate and improve the people. John the Terrible invited Swiss artists to his court; and Alexir stretched out his hand to distant alliances, and laid the foundation of the international relations of Russia with other powers.

The annals of Nestor are the earliest historical records which

exist. They are very valuable, and obviously the production of an ingenuous and vigorous mind. Their style is unaffected, but full of old Sclavonic expressions. In the records of Pskov and Novgorod, much of interesting episode, and many pathetic passages are blended with the dry details of passing events. These, and the code of laws by which the Scandinavian princes professed to regulate their conduct, are almost all that has been left to illustrate historical antiquity.

Among the poetic names which have been preserved out of the ruins of old times, there is one which, though but a name, is religiously venerated in Russia. *Boyan*, the nightingale (*Solovei*), whom tradition has cherished as the bard who led the old Russian warriors to battle, and enabled them to work miracles of valour by the magic excitement of his strains, still lives in the universal mind, though not a single breath of his lyre has found its way to the existing generation. In a warlike and anonymous fragment, the hymn used in the campaign of Igor in the 12th century, written in the dialect of southern Russia, in measured prose, a fine spirit of heroism is mingled with the obscurity of a forgotten mythology. For three centuries there is a perfect chasm; after which the song of the Battle of the Don, a pictorial, unornamented narrative, is the only production worth even a mention, till the epoch of Peter the Great.

And truly marvellous was the influence of that extraordinary man. Every species of knowledge and of cultivation was planted in Russia under his protecting and active auspices. Even popular eloquence found a representative; and Theophanes taught the Russians to give expression to thought. His writings are argumentative and passionate, though his diction is full of barbarism. Kantemir introduced into Russia the artificial and insipid versification of the French; his style is harsh and broken — yet he opened the floodgates of European knowledge, and prepared the way for one of the most extraordinary phenomena that ever instructed or reformed mankind. Lomonossov was the son of a poor mariner. His mind received its deepest impressions from the poetry of the Old Testament, whose sublimity he transferred to his own language, creating all those elements of strength and harmony which he wielded with a sovereign hand. He enriched the literature of his country by purifying and fixing the standard of language; he dragged from obscurity its historical annals; he introduced the study and the love of experimental philosophy; he advanced the art of navigation; established the rules of poetry; and decorated every subject with eloquence and correctness. His contemporary, Tredyakovsky, did something to improve the structure of Russian verse: but he had neither taste nor genius; and

his laborious industry, his sole merit, has been eclipsed and long since forgoten. At this period Sumarokov founded the Russian theatre. Time, which does justice at last, has placed Sumarokov in the situation he ought to occupy; but in his lifetime he was the idol of the court, and was allowed, by the common suffrages of the nobility, to treat the father of Russian literature with scorn and contempt. He left the language of Russia nearly as barbarous as he found it. His dramatic pieces have neither originality nor nationality of character. The language is either inelegant or bombastic, the plots intricate, and the vanity of the author only exceeded by the weakness of his pen. Popovsky, treading in the steps of Lomonosov, wrote in a pure and graceful style, and translated into Russian, Pope's Essay on Man.

Meanwhile, many seminaries had been founded in Russia, and the university of Moscow was established in 1755. A number of distinguished foreigners were invited to settle in Russia; but no considerable progress was made in civilisation, and no extraordinary genius appeared till the time of Catherine the Second. She, in the midst of her follies and her crimes, had, as we before remarked, a most decided passion for literature, and no small literary ambition. She could abstract herself from sensual indulgences to write Russian verses, and forget her vast schemes of ambitious domination in plans of intellectual reform. While she sent forth her generals on most unrighteous missions, she founded academies and patronised schools; and to the present hour, in spite of the foul deeds and strange caprices of her reign, she is spoken of, and thought of, in Russia, with reverential affection. Petrov, a bold and fiery lyric poet, sung the triumphs of Orlov. Kheraskov sought inspiration from the epic muse: his style is flowing, but affected and diffused: in his Vladimir and Russiad are many passages which are strkingly pictorial, and some local descriptions drawn to the very life; but he wrote too much to write well. Every species of poetry he attempted,—but he perfectly succeeded in none. His Fortune-hunter (*Iskatelei Schastiya*) is the least defective of his productions. The gay and festive Bogdanovich produced the *Dushenka* (Psyche), one of the most graceful of poetical fictions; it immediately obtained, and still preserves, a high degree of popularity; and its desultory wanderings gave it a peculiar attraction in a country where the almost universal character of verse is too artifical and restrained. Khemnitzer's easy and instructive Fables do honour to a branch of poetical composition in which the Russians have had remarkable success. Von Visin gave an air of nationality to the Russian drama, and has seized with great success some of the peculiarities of his nation, and especially the frivolous pride and folly of the

lower nobility. They may be corrected, — as they will be corrected, — but the interesting picture will remain. Kapnist gave to comedy all the bitterness of satire, while his serious odes are grand and noble, and his shorter pieces graceful and delicately wrought. Kostrov's prose translation of Ossian is a fine specimen of the capabilities of the Russian language; and his version of the eight first books of the Iliad, though not equally sustained, is generally dignified and energetic. Kniajnin introduced tragedy upon the stage, where his Dido and Vadim preserve their place, as do one or two of his comedies and *vaudevilles.*

Derzhavin was born in 1743. There is no limit to the eulogiums with which his countrymen speak of this distinguished man. We will quote the language of Bestujev, for it is curious and characteristic: — " The glory of his nation and of his age; the inspired, the inimitable bard, — he soared to a height which none before had reached, and none shall ever reach again. A poet and a philosopher, his similes brought truth to the ear of princes. His mysterious influence could enliven the soul — enrapture the heart — excite the attention by rapid thoughts, and bold eloquence, and glorious pictures. His style is irresistible as the lightning-flash, and luxuriant as the lap of nature: — so when the sunbeam falls on the brilliant diamond which has been long buried in obscurity, its rays burst forth in magnificent brightness; so ere the eruption breaks from the triple-regioned Vesuvius, its smoke is veiled beneath the sheltering snows, while the traveller looks upon the dark mists, and foretels the coming storm." To such an extent has the spirit of oriental exaggeration pervaded the literature of Russia. Derzhavin is certainly a poet of a high order, and his Ode to God, his Waterfall, and his *Felitza,* are among the best, if not the best, productions of a Russian pen. The poetry of Derzhavin is of too lofty a tone ever to become extensively popular; but a playful and elegant writer, who first excited attention by the justice of his criticisms, and next became an example of prudence from the faults he had reproved, appeared nearly at the same time, and occupied, as he still occupies, a high place in public opinion. Dmitriev's poetry obtained currency in the circles of fashion and served to popularise the Russian language. His fables are shrewd and sarcastic, yet easy and flowery; his songs gay and picturesque. Meanwhile Karamsin assiduously corrected the redundancy of his early productions, and threw off much of the foolish sentimentality in which he had been fond of indulging. He has produced a work on the History of Russia, which will become an European authority. It were to be wished that he could have found more materials beyond the courtly and aristocratical circle, and

that he had written rather in the spirit of a philosopher than with the special pleading of a Russian advocate, — but he has on the whole given to the world an important contribution to the sum of knowledge, while the fact that many thousand copies of an expensive and voluminous work should have been readily sold augurs well for the progress of information in Russia. As a specimen of style, Karamsin's history is entitled to the highest praise. Muraviev and Podshivalov co-operated to improve the general tone of Russian composition. Bobrov's "Khersonida" is highly coloured with orientalism; but it is energetic, and its delineation of scenery appropriate and picturesque. Vosiokov introduced many new varieties into Sclavonic prosody; while Kaiserov, the translator of Sterne, and Martinov, published versions of the most renowned of the poets of Greece and Rome, and modern Europe. The satires of Gortshakov, and the parodies of Marin excited much attention; and a Siberian bard, the blind Eros, published a popular volume of jocose poetry. Ismailov, whom the Russians call their Teniers, has been very successful in his pictures of vulgar life. Benitzky wrote a few pieces which are characterised by strong and glowing thoughts. He died in 1809 (æt. 29), at a moment when he had excited strong admiration in his favour. Shishkov's writings for children have considerable merit. He has been a leading controversialist in the discussions which are still going on in Russia on the subject of language; and he has thrown much light on the history of the Russian dialect in his *O Starom i Novom Slogie*, On the Old and New Style. Sudovshchikov, Krinkovsky, and Oserov have written several successful plays; but the "Pozharsky" of the second is full of historical mistakes. Oserov is the most admired dramatist of Russia. He uses the hexameter verse with considerable effect. His "Œdipus" is good; but his "Donskoi" is most interesting to a stranger: — Russian character is generally well preserved, though the hero of the piece has little likeness to either truth or nature. The influence of Oserov will necessarily be baneful in Russia. He has fettered tragedy in rhyme, and it will be difficult to release her, — yet the Russian language requires no such support to make it poetical. It has variety of accents, richness of tones, flexibility and strength. Shakhovsky has done something to throw off the trammels of the drama, though without sufficient genius to introduce a better model. The French theatre is the parent of the Russian, which is solely imitative. Moliere's master-pieces have been translated by Kokoshkin; Racine's, by Lobanov. Kantenin has introduced Cornêille. Of Shakspeare, some fragments of the Julius Cæsar have been badly rendered by Boris Fedorov; and Hamlet has been brought

out on the Russian stage by Viskovatov. Krĭlov is a fabulist, who in any country would obtain the highest praise. Easy, pointed, forcible, original,—his laughing satire is one of the best examples of good-humoured philosophy with which we are acquainted. A volume of Russian fables would be an acceptable present to English literature.

Zhukovsky and Batinshkov have employed the language of poetry with great success, and have excited a more active and general enthusiasm than was ever before awakened;—they have popularised literature. The translations of the former are models of poetical version; and his mastery over language, and facility of reproduction in another form, are very remarkable. Sometimes he is obscured by a strange, unintelligible mysticism; but his "Warrior among the ruins of the Kremlin," and his patriotic poetry in general, have had a very decided influence on the general feeling. His ballads are remarkably pleasing and pointed. Batinshkov is a poet revelling in the joy of existence,—flinging his charms of song around as he proceeds on his flowery way. His "Dying Tasso" is a work of decided genius. Pushkin is very original. His "Ruslan and Lindmilla," and "The Prisoner of War on the Caucasus," are filled with exquisite images. Væsemsky has the force of proverbs in most of his compositions. He has had the boldness to create, and the success to introduce, many new words and new forms of language. Gnædich has been very felicitous in his translations from the Greek in the classical measures. His poem on the birth of Homer seems as if it had been written near the waters of Alpheus. He has published Idyls for the people. Glinka is fanciful and melodious; Davidov, rich and martial; Baratĭnsky, gay and graceful; Milov, abrupt and broken. Rĭlieiev has opened a new career of poetry; one in which Niemcewicz, one of the most distinguished of the poets of Poland, has had great success. He has written popular and historical hymns. He who would do good in Russia must work downward—he must act upon the mass of the nation. The nobles are too selfish and too depraved—too self-sufficient to learn, and too proud to teach: the few will not bend down towards the many, nor detach from their privileged aristocracy any who may form a link for blending the distant castes. If the rich will not descend, the poor must rise; and he who elevates them most is the greatest benefactor of both poor and rich. Ostolopov has published a series of shrewd allegories. Rodsianka is the painting poet of still life. Merslakov has written a masterly translation of Horace's Ars Poetica; and Virgil's Eclogues and the Georgics are finely rendered by Raïch. Two Russian ladies have also lately appeared in the field of poetry, Anna

Bunin and Anna Volkov. The "Fall of Phaeton," by the former, has very varied beauties. In the Russian periodicals, which lie before us, we have been much struck with the lively productions of some female pens. A good hope is built on the intellectual improvement and cultivation of the mind of woman in Russia, whose influence may gradually lower the tone of despotism.

Of the prose writers of Russia, Kachenovsky is one of the purest. He has discussed a variety of historical and critical subjects. Grech, whose volume on Russian literature is the safest guide to the study of its authors, has done abundant service to the language of his country. His Travels into France and Germany are petulant and ill-humoured. Bulgarin, though a Pole by birth, is the most powerful political writer in Russia; and such extracts from the Russian newspapers as have been deemed worthy of translation into the German, French, and English journals, have been generally from his pen. Golovin's Travels have found their way to England, through the German translation. Svinjin's Journey through America is worthy of the same honour. The Sclavonian Evenings of Naræjny are full of interest, for they are strewn with fragments of old national poetry. Menshenin has published several respectable chemical works. The descriptive essays of Jakovlev, the European letters of Kurkhelbecker, and the criticisms of Somov, ought not to be passed over unnamed.

Political economy has found an advocate in Russia. We do not speak of Storch, whose writings, though published at Petersburg, are in the language of his country (Germany); but of Turgenev, whose Theory of Taxation has obtained him great applause. The brothers Bestushev are interesting travellers, and excellent critics.

We have thus made out a catalogue,—it will perhaps seem a dry and uninteresting one,—of the most prominent among those authors who have been pouring forth their streams of knowledge upon the widest and most consolidated empire in the world. It will appear eulogistic; but we have only mentioned the authors who are entitled to praise. There are hundreds who are entitled to none. We are proud of our list. Is it not something to point to such a number of civilising elements in a country just escaped from absolute barbarism? The standing armies of the Holy Alliance scarcely give us concern and apprehension enough to counterbalance the consolation we derive from such a display as this. Why, in Russia itself, the tribunal of public opinion is beginning to erect itself, even in the midst of swords and spears. Hear the language of our

Russian author:—"Well, then, let us be consoled; for public taste (he would say *opinion* if he dared) public taste is mounting upwards, like the streams hidden in the bosom of the earth, which struggle to burst forth. The new generation begins to feel the charm of our native language, and to erect itself on its strength. Time is working silently in favour of the seed that is sown; the mists that cover the field of Russian literature may seem to hinder the growth of the young plant; but it springs up and will flourish, and promises an abundant harvest." (*Poliarnaia Svœsda*, pp. 43, 44.)

Indeed it is most obvious that, by the action of so busy a spirit of enquiry and literature, the preparation for important changes in favour of human happiness is silently going on. Even in Russia despotism appears to be providing for its own downfal. The day of freedom must yet, it is true, be distant; for the virtuous soil in which its roots can be planted remains to be discovered. Over the nobles, pride and profligacy have obtained an omnipotent sway: the peasants are bent beneath the degradation of ages; the streams of knowledge flow on, and seem to produce no fertility; yet there are some green spots, and seeds are springing up to be watched over and watered by those who are labouring for futurity. The great plague and pest of Russia,—its insolent and arbitrary feudal lords, the masters of its millions of slaves,—might be removed by the necessity of an autocrat seeking a security in popular opinion against the dictation of the nobles. Of such an event there have been symptoms more than once during the reign of Alexander. Some fatal genius has presided over his destinies. A miserable delusion that he is called on to be the guardian of *social order*,—social order being the silence of despondency and fear, the contentedness of ignorance and degradation,—this miserable delusion has crushed in their embryo, plans of consummate benevolence, defeated projects which might have blessed millions of human beings through untold generations, and have crowned the memory even of an autocrat with never-fading glory.

A monstrous despotism was, indeed, destroyed when Napoleon fell from the summit of his power; but he stood in his single strength, and the gigantic pile would of itself have crumbled into dust with the crumbling of the hand that reared it. Proud and terrible as it was, it made no mockery of the mind of man. It courted genius, it sought alliance with poetry and philosophy, it even professed to respect the name of freedom. If the despotism of triple tyrants have succeeded the despotism of the solitary warrior, let it be acknowledged that it does not seek to deceive by

words. Once and again, in its hour of weakness, nations lent an easy ear to its flattering promises; but being enthroned in its *legitimate* strength, it flatters no longer: it will not sheath its sword. Let no one be deluded into the idea that this monstrous confederacy is less terrible than it appears to be. Its eye is omnipresent, its arm is now omnipotent. It sits amidst clouds and mists, and throws the bolt of perdition at its will. Yes! these lords of nations have power enough, and well have they used it for the infliction of misery: they have that steady purpose, which can look with unwet eye and hardened heart upon the wide scene of desolation which it causes. Yet let them not be too confident; for though they have rooted out from their spheres of wonted influence the enlightened, and the virtuous, and the brave, who have been gradually improving society, and leading forward civilisation with no tardy step, these very reformers are as determined in their projects, as unwavering in their will, as their oppressors are. Out of the ruin of their hopes, they have saved their hate; and they treasure it up, and watch over it, till the day of retribution. They are scattered over the face of the earth; they are disciplined by every species of want and woe: but their very sufferings are the best and noblest pledge of their sincerity, and of their integrity. They have not plundered the people; nor have their depredations placed them beyond the reach of public opinion; nor are they protected except by those unarmed interests over which they honestly watched, and for which they have been cruelly sacrificed: but they are not, they cannot be destroyed.

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ART. VI. *Memorable Days in America;* being a Journal of a Tour to the United States, principally undertaken to ascertain, by positive Evidence, the Condition and propable Prospects of British Emigrants. By W. Faux, an English Farmer. Simpkin and Marshall. 1823. 8vo. pp. 488.

*Letters from America.* By James Flint. W. and C. Tait. Edinburgh. 1822. 8vo. pp. 300.

*Travels through Part of the United States and Canada.* By John M. Duncan, A.B. Glasgow. Hurst and Robinson. 1823. 2 vols. 8vo.

THERE are few topics of modern interest on which we have been furnished with so much and such varying information as the actual condition of the great republic of North America, and the prospects of such as may be desirous to emigrate to that land of promise. Scarcely a quarter of the year elapses without

a fresh publication, and still the last is read with undiminished curiosity. In the present melancholy state of Europe, when despotism and bigotry have succeeded in establishing at least a temporary dominion, when in England itself, by bishops and judges, by ministers and hireling writers, are daily advanced and maintained doctrines of passive obedience which would have disgraced even the reign of James the Second, — America possesses a stronger hold than ever on the hopes and affections of those who desire improvement in the general condition of man.

But it is not on this account solely, nor because the whole of America is, year by year, undergoing changes almost incredible to Europeans, that every new statement from candid and well-informed men is received with increasing avidity. With regard to European countries, the demand for information is of various kinds, and has been supplied by travellers of various qualifications, many of them fully competent to the task they have undertaken. The sentimentalist, the poet, the antiquarian, the geologist, and even the drawing-room beau, have each of them the tours performed with a view to the objects in which they respectively take interest. The greater number of men possess sufficient qualifications to furnish a decent volume in one or other of these departments; and the political institutions of the Continent scarcely deserve the trouble of investigation.

With respect to travelling in America the case is very different; — the demand for information, or at least by far the chief demand, is all of one kind; and the aptitude requisite for the supply of this demand, is such as few possess. America is the only country which has presented us with the spectacle of a people governed by a system of genuine representation; the spectacle, not of a nominal, but an actual republic, and of entire democratic ascendency. The object of paramount importance, the first object which every man has at heart with respect to such a country, is, to know in detail the effects of such a system on human happiness. Information of this kind can only be furnished by a traveller who, with a clear and unprejudiced intellect, possesses a knowledge of the leading principles of legislation and political economy. What we want is, to have the facts relating to these branches of knowledge presented to us in all their integrity. But how few, even among the educated, are capable of separating the essential from the accidental, or of conveying to us, with relation to any given subject, a fact undistorted by omission, arrangement, or colouring, or unincumbered with irrelevant details! Hence arises, notwithstanding all the volumes which have already appeared, the imperfect, and apparently conflicting testimony on the subject of the great American community.

Of all the writers of these volumes scarcely one has possessed the requisite qualifications to place clearly before us the facts essential towards forming an accurate judgment. Tradesmen have given us a list of prices, and merchants have explored the rate of profit; farmers have found fault with the soil and husbandry; and fine gentlemen have decided that good breeding cannot exist where bowing, scraping, and *cutting* have been superseded by plain speech and affability; all have admired the height of Niagara, and the length and breadth of Mississippi; — but few have directed their attention to the grand point, — whether, taking the whole population into account, a greater mass of happiness is or is not enjoyed by the Americans than by the same number of people in any part of Europe; and if it be enjoyed, how far this good effect is ascribable to the nature of the government, and how far to other causes.

Considering the character of the witnesses, we think it by no means difficult to reconcile the apparently conflicting testimony which has been adduced with reference to the expediency or inexpediency of emigration; nor, indeed, in the absence of all testimony, should we ever have despaired of coming to a safe practical conclusion on the subject.

In a newly settled and thinly peopled district, where towns have not been built, and the inhabitants for the most part have little to subsist on besides the immediate produce of their labour, it is obvious that men cannot procure those conveniences and comforts which are attainable by a large proportion of the members of a more advanced state of society; nor can they obtain even that degree of mutual assistance which in older countries the poorest individuals are able to extend to one another. In order to live, each man *must* be a farmer; and he will labour under considerable difficulty, if he be not also in some degree a carpenter, blacksmith, and tailor. With these qualifications he may, at a moderate amount of labour, insure subsistence; and if he be careful and industrious, may, after a few years, as the settlement advances and markets approach him, arrive at comparative opulence. In the meanwhile his enjoyment of security will not be of the highest order, and will consist rather in the absence of temptation, than in the presence of the magistrate and police, or the prevalence of a very rigid morality. Where all have the means of subsistence, and few possess superfluity, still fewer will resort to violence as a relief from want; but when occasionally violence *is* resorted to, there will be but slender means of redress. The whole produce of the country would not support a magistracy and efficient police; and the paramount sanction for good conduct in the bulk of a populous society, namely, the necessity of acquiring the good

opinion of others, in order to obtain subsistence, will not here exist. Where a man has no neighbours nearer than five or ten miles, he can derive little inconvenience from their bad opinion, and little advantage from their good. Such is the state of what are called the back settlements; — such is the state of every infant community. To complain that under these circumstances occasional outrages should remain unredressed, is to expect effects without a cause; but it can hardly be asserted that the degree of insecurity is very formidable, where capital and population are on all sides so rapidly increasing.

However, to thrive and be contented in such districts, a man must be resolute, industrious, and frugal; he must have been unaccustomed to the luxuries of city accommodation, must be able to turn his hand to any thing, and look for society in the circle of his own family. To the agricultural labourer, who, in England can earn but six shillings a-week by twelve hours' hard labour every day, — who, if he has a wife and children, obtains no better fare from year to year, than bad bread in insufficient quantities, — who goes to bed hungry every night, and sees his children half starved around him; and we know many districts of the state of which this is a mitigated representation, — to such a man, if he can find a friend to convey him thither, it must be the height of bliss to sit down in the back settlements of North America: he has never been accustomed to the luxuries and accommodations of city life, he has never moved in refined society; he therefore has no sacrifices to make, nor any very agreeable associations to snap asunder in leaving his native village; and if he live in a log-house with one room instead of a broken-windowed mud cottage with two, he is at least exempt from the constant pain of hunger, and has the satisfaction of being released from all anxiety with respect to the fate of his children.

So, the small farmer, — who, moving in a circle scarcely more elevated than that of his labourer, has spent his days in some remote village almost as little frequented as the American wilderness, — who, after pinching and struggling against poor's rates and taxes, finds his little capital hourly diminishing, and his family verging fast into the class of paupers, — may take courage while he has yet enough to pay for his passage: the industry and parsimony which here reward him with nothing but care and disappointment, will insure him competence in the western world, and his circle of society and enjoyment will not be more contracted than in his native country.

But with the town mechanic, who has generally obtained, even under great disadvantages, a certain portion of the conveniences of a more refined state of existence, and still more, with persons

who have been in the enjoyment of competence and of an enlightened class of society, the case is altogether different. If a choice *must* be made by such persons between European comfort and society on the one hand, (alloyed as they are by taxation and oppression,) and the solitude, silence, and want of accommodation in the western forest (mitigated as these evils are by the absence of insult and hunger) on the other hand, there can scarcely be a doubt that to the great mass of dispositions, the annoyances of Europe would on the whole be esteemed less in amount than the inconvenience to be endured by a total change of the habits, and disruption of the associations of former years.

To this alternative, however, no person already possessed of a competence removable at pleasure, or of mechanical skill, need be reduced. In or near the large towns of the eastern and northern states, he will find society and accommodations not materially differing from those of European cities. In consequence of the facility with which employment and subsistence may be obtained, his servants will be less obsequious and accurate in their duties, his house will be less neat and orderly than in Great Britain, the attendance of menials in minute matters he must dispense with altogether: but his suffering from the misgovernment and barbarous political institutions of Europe cannot be very intense, if he does not esteem an exemption from taxes and oppression an advantage which more than compensates for the absence of extreme neatness in domestic economy.

Whether the evils occasioned by despotism and aristocracy are so painful as to make it worth while for a man, who is otherwise tolerably well off, to forsake, on any terms, the scenes and connections to which he has been attached through any considerable period of his life, is a question, the solution of which must altogether depend upon the circumstances and disposition of each individual; but it may fairly be confessed that this is a step which no one should venture to make, unless he feels some enthusiasm for the progress of human improvement, and considerable annoyance at the mischievous political institutions of the Old World. As to capitalists and tradesmen, who, without any other motives for preference, seek a residence in America with the sole view of obtaining a larger rate of profit than Europe affords, all the information we can collect leads us to suppose that they must encounter disappointment.

With respect to the western settlements, the views we have taken are fully confirmed by the statements made by Mr. Faux, one of the latest and not least instructive of the various travellers through the Union. Mr. Faux, who states himself to be a farmer, does not indeed appear to have possessed in any great

degree the highest order of qualifications which we should wish to find in a traveller through America; but he seems to be a clear-headed, unprejudiced, honest man; and his work, in the shape of a journal,—a shape which, of all others, most entitles to credit the statements it contains,—bears every internal mark of truth, and of a veracious disposition in the writer.

The facts which fell within the author's observation are clearly and fearlessly stated; but the defect of his book is, that instead of its consisting altogether of a statement of such facts, or the author's own remarks upon them, a very large proportion of it is made up in detailing the foolish opinions of foolish persons with whom the author happened to fall in company: as, of a certain Captain Strode (p. 54.), who thinks "king, lords, and commons, to be the best system of government for old England, if the commons were but good and faithful." The problem is, how to make them so, or to act as if they were so. In page 71. we are told Judge King thinks a limited monarchy the best for all countries, and (like Mr. Justice Bayley) the national debt a national good.

In page 126. is given a long character of the Americans by one Perry, full of idle generalities, assumed probably from a very insufficient number of particulars; but, in the very next page, we are expressly told that Mr. Perry is not to be trusted.

Towards the close of the book a very large space is filled with the sentiments and sayings of Mr. Thomas Law, who seems, indeed, to be a kind-hearted amiable man; but of the value of whose opinions the reader may form some estimate, when he learns that Mr. Law esteems a paper circulation essential to the prosperity of America (p. 444.);—that he is an advocate for the exclusion of foreign manufacture, by high duties or prohibitions (p. 441.);—that he deems a philosophy false, of which utility is made the basis, believing that *impulse* and *feeling* furnish the best moral guide.

From the facts which Mr. Faux gives on his own authority, it clearly appears, that of the agricultural labourers who have emigrated to the back settlements (where Mr. Faux's time was chiefly spent) a large majority are doing well; and that by far the greater part of those persons who have failed, have failed through drunkenness and improvidence, or their own extreme unfitness for an employment newly adopted. At page 142. he says,—

'I visited and spent the night with Mr. Worsley, a first-rate practical farmer and grazier, late of Lincolnshire. He owns a fine farm, in a Maryland valley, of 350 acres, which 13 years ago he bought at 20 dollars an acre, but which is now worth 60 dollars. It has averaged yearly, exclusive of a good living, a net gain of 600 dollars, by cultivation only. He finds 40 miles from a market of no importance,

as the carrying is done when men and horses have nothing else to do. He is also paid for the carriage, and brings in return plaster, for which he must otherwise have gone empty; or if he preferred it, he might sell his grain to a neighbouring miller at a city price, only allowing the miller for the carriage to the city: — "My expenses," says he, "on an acre of wheat, amount to 12 dollars, and it has always averaged 22 dollars, or 23 dollars at market, so netting near 100 per cent. I have always 150 acres in grain and corn, 100 in clover, and 100 in wood; the latter of which is worth, to sell, 150 dollars an acre, but that must remain as indispensable to a farm without any green hedges. I consider green clover crops in value equal to grain, when fattening beasts and pigs pays well. This dry year, the four-years old beasts, which cost in, as stores, 35 dollars a-head, will sell out only for the same money; — a sad loss! All my time, keep, and labour are wasted on them."'

Again at page 149. —

'Supped and slept at New Town with Mr. M'Gill, a venerable and highly respectable merchant, who knows that farmers have made large fortunes quickly, where disposed to economy and industry. Still, many of the Virginians have spent all as fast as it came, indulging in all manner of luxury and excess; giving their children most expensive educations, which never turned to any account, as they afterwards all sat down on small plantations. Colonel Thomas (says he) has saved much and spent liberally too, although he talks to you of money being made slowly by farming. Bacon, potatoe, and bonny claber farmers (Germans), have become invariably rich by cultivating. On farms of 300 acres each, 100 is in wood, 100 in corn and rye, for the support of the farm and establishment; and 100 is in wheat, clear gain, which might be put into the pocket every year.'

At page 104. we read of two emigrants who had failed; but both these young men, "lived freely and imprudently: they dressed in style, and would have dinners which cost four dollars a week."

Near Zainsville in Ohio, our author passed through a fine rich country, "full of the natural means of living well by the sweat of the brow: — the poor complained of a want of money, and others of a scarcity of it; but none of want of common necessaries, such as bread, meat, and whiskey."

At Lexington, and in the neighbourhood, housekeeping is very cheap: 100 pounds of fine flour for two dollars; a fine fat sheep two dollars; beef, two-pence and three-pence a pound; a dozen fat fowls from three-quarters to one dollar; but (p. 228.) "our party were all agreed in this particular, that the western country is only fit for the little hardworking farmer with a small capital. He must live, and better than he could elsewhere, on the production of his own hands and lands." — "Wholesale farmers from England expecting to cultivate from 300 to 1000

acres, and sell the produce of the farm in lumps, will come here only to be disappointed."

Eighty miles to the westward of Vincennes, in the very depth of the Illinois wilderness, Mr. Faux arrives at the abode of John Ingle, an old acquaintance, lately settled in the district. Mr. Ingle, a hard-working man with a wife, a female servant, and six children, is evidently in a situation exempt from want or the apprehension of it; but subject, like all new settlers, to a scrambling kind of existence for the first two or three years after his sitting down. The description of his abode, which probably differs little from that of most new-comers, is as follows:—

'My friend's log-house, as a first, is one of the best I have seen, having one large room and a chamber over it, to which you climb by a ladder. It has, at present, no windows; but when the doors are shut, the crevices between the rough logs admit light and air enough, above and below. It is five yards square and twenty feet high. At a little distance stand a stable for two horses, a corn crib, a pig-stye, and a store; for store-keeping is his intention, and it is a good one. Two beds in the room below, and one above, lodge us in the following manner: — myself and Mr. Ingle in one bed; in the second, by our side, sleep six fine but dirty children; and in the chamber, Mrs. Ingle and a valuable English maid. Thus, on my account, husband and wife are divided. It is not unusual for a male and female to sleep in the same room uncurtained, holding conversation while in bed. In a yard adjoining the house are three sows and pigs half starved; and several cows, calves, and horses, very poor, having no grass, no pasture, but with bells about their necks, eternally ringing. Shame, or rather what is called false shame, or delicacy, does not exist here. Males dress and undress before the females, and nothing is thought of it. Here is no servant. The maid is equal to the master. No boy, or man-servant. No water, but at half a mile distant. Mr. Ingle does all the jobs, and more than half the hewing, splitting, and ploughing. He is all economy, all dirty-handed industry. No wood is cut in readiness for morning fires. He and the axe procure it, and provender for the poor hungry cattle, pigs, and horses. His time is continually occupied, and the young boys just breeched are made useful in every possible way.'

Of the bad faith but too common in such remote and thinly peopled districts, the following is an instance:—

'A preacher took a piece of land to clear for my friend, and received, before he began, forty dollars on account, but refused to perform his contract. To sue him was idle. My friend, in the presence of the fellow's son, called him a right reverend rascal and thief. "Call him so again," said the son, doubling his fist ready to strike. My friend repeated it and taking up an axe, said "Now strike; but if you do, as I was never yet afraid of a man, I'll chop you into rails."'

No medical man lives nearer than within twelve miles of Ingle's

settlement, (Sandeville,) nor is there any school for children; — but an ordinary schoolmaster might, it is said, earn from four to five hundred dollars a year. — Soap, candles, sugar, cotton, leather, and woollen clothes of a good quality, are all made in the district; but not without the most unremitting industry on the part of the females. Filth and rags, however, are often preferred. Imperious necessity alone commands extraordinary exertion: but the industrious speedily thrive, and even the improvident secure subsistence.

'Mr. Peck, late of Chatteris, introduced himself to me this day. Born and bred a labourer, he at length became a little farmer, on the dearest land in Chatteris, from which he brought a wife, four daughters, one son, a man, and 500*l.*; all the perfection of British industry. Feeling themselves likely to lose all, they came here to two quarter-sections, costing 145*l.* to be paid, in three years, by instalments; so leaving 355*l.* for stock, seed corn, and housekeeping, until they shall have cleared twenty acres, and raised produce. He begged I would come and dine with him, so that I might hear particulars of his former state, present condition, and prospects, and be able to tell his old neighbours of his comforts and satisfaction. "Now," says he, "I feel I can live, and live well, by working, and without fretting and working, seventeen, out of the twenty-four hours, all the year round, as I used to do at Chatteris. And what is sweeter than all, I feel I am now the owner of 300 acres of land, all paid for, and free from all poor-rates, parsons, and tax-gatherers; and that I shall be able to give and leave each of my children 100 acres of good land to work upon, instead of the highway, or Chatteris work-house. No fear of their committees now, nor of Ely gaol." (P. 242.)

'By a conversation with old Ferrel, I find he began, thirty years ago, with nothing but his own hands. Striking each hand, he said, "This is all I had to begin with;" and it seems, that excepting his children, he has little more now, — merely a quarter-section just entered, and a log raised on it. All seem very improvident and extravagant, the family sometimes eating four or five pounds of butter a-day, the produce of all their cows. Thus, with the corn-cake and bacon, a part of the year (for they are almost always destitute of fresh meat, tea and sugar), is their table supplied.' (P. 245.)

In November, 1819, Mr. Faux visited Birkbeck's settlement at English Prairie: at that time little of the lands purchased had been brought into cultivation, but Mr. Birkbeck had sold off various portions at a profit; and Mr. Flower had a flock of five hundred Merino sheep, and a large herd of cattle: — all the family of the latter said they had nothing to regret, and were well satisfied, but wished that more friends would follow. They acknowledged that they had much to do from want of servants. Their log-houses were well laid out, replete with every comfort, and many of the elegancies of European life; books, music, &c.

The little town of Albion close by, consisting of one house only, and ten or twelve log-cabins, contains a good market-house, and a public library, — the books, a donation from the Flower family, and their friends in England; but the town, according to our author, is full of degenerate English mechanics, too idle to work, and above every thing but eating, drinking, brawling, and fighting. The streets and paths are almost impassable with roots and stumps; and in front of every door is a stinking puddle, formed by throwing out wash and dirty water.

Wanborough, the village rising on Mr. Birkbeck's estate, seems in a better condition; and every log-house has a cleared enclosure of a few acres attached. However, the Hunters, or Illinois Rowdies, as they are called, appear to be rather troublesome neighbours. They come rudely with their hats on into the parlour, and when drunk, threaten violence; but a little resolution is in general a sufficient protection. The greatest obstacle to the prosperity of the rising settlement, is the unhappy and apparently irreconcilable quarrel between the two families of Flower and Birkbeck: this quarrel originated in conflicting claims for the hand of a fair lady, now the wife of one of the parties; but as the cause of dissension existed before the settlement at Albion was commenced, it is, for the sake of both parties, to be regretted, that the last comer did not fix himself in some other quarter. The prevailing opinion of the Americans was, that both must fail.

Of the native western labourers we have the most repulsive account. The greater part of them are small farmers, poor, dirty, and wretched, because idle and ignorant; they live chiefly on the deer they shoot, their children staying at home in rags and filth, because it is disgraceful to go to service. Though able workmen when they choose, they are a great annoyance to the English, by whom they are employed, haunting the fire-side at meals, where they stand in pairs with their backs towards the fire, to the exclusion of the family, at whom they gaze, expecting to be asked to dinner, breakfast, or supper. When they come for work, they often brush in with their hat on at meal times, expecting to be fed. If the female of the family is in bed, they stand and see her get out and dress, and it is often necessary to show or *threaten them with a pistol.*

The distance and consequent inefficiency of the magistrature, and the expense and inconvenience attached to a demand for redress, under the regular tribunals of the country, have occasioned the institution of a kind of self-appointed police, called *regulators*, who punish or destroy offenders, where the law cannot be enforced; and the inhabitants often exert themselves for mutual protection.

A stranger was waylaid and robbed of 3000 dollars: on making it known, colonels, majors, captains, and lieutenants, all as one man, instantly armed, without fee or reward, and scouring the country round for many miles, overtook and seized the robber, and recovered all the money. (P. 147.) The *regulators*, however, as might be expected, are sometimes guilty of great oppression; and we are told of one instance in which a person acquitted on a charge of theft was desired to leave the town, when having obeyed, and being in the act of quitting the country, he was overtaken in the woods, and severely whipped. The lonely road to the Missouri is still exposed to danger, by combinations of Rowdy robbers.

It ought also to be borne in mind by persons disposed to emigrate, that almost all the prairie lands have been found unhealthy. These lands consist of large tracts of rich soil near the sides of rivers: they are naturally clear of wood; and there is strong reason for supposing they have formerly served as a bed for lakes or extensive inundations. But as they are annually visited in the autumn with dangerous fevers, the advantage of having the soil ready cleared, is outweighed by the peril of sickness. There seems to have been less of this sickness in the prairie chosen by Mr. Birkbeck, than in other situations of the same sort; but the native Americans generally prefer a more elevated district.

In his journey through Carolina to the western settlements, Mr. Faux had ample opportunities of ascertaining the actual condition of the negro slaves, and the opinions prevalent on the subject of slavery. In the majority of instances it is clear the slaves are used well in point of diet and housing, and seldom overworked; but with this comparative mitigation, the horrible and degrading effects of the system, both on the oppressors and oppressed, are but too apparent. Under the influence of fear (the most cruel of all the passions), laws have been enacted which deprive the black man of the most ordinary security against injustice and violence. According to a provincial act of Carolina, made perpetual in 1783, a master who tortures or dismembers his slave in any way, is liable only to a fine of about 14*l.*; for killing him in cold blood, a fine of 100*l.*; for killing him in anger, a fine of 50*l.*; while a penalty of 100*l.* is imposed on any person who shall dare teach a negro to write. In these laws we believe some alteration has very recently been made, but the effects of them on the dispositions of the planters will long remain unchanged. Under such institutions instances of outrage cannot be unfrequent. Two slaves were whipped to death during our author's passage through the country; and he was so much affected by seeing the remains of one of them, whipped into a

shapeless mass of putrefaction by a drunken master and two assistants, who each relieved the other for a whole night, during which the execution lasted, that he had the courage to publish all the details, subscribed with his own name, in a Charleston newspaper, and to apply to the attorney-general of the state. We say the courage; for, as might have been anticipated, what he had done was ill received by all ranks, and his life may be considered to have been actually in danger. (See pp. 75. 79, 80.) His interview with the attorney-general is not a little curious.

'At ten o'clock this morning I went in due form with the governor's aid-de-camp to Colonel Haines, the young attorney-general, who, when I entered, after a polite reception, addressed me as follows:—"Now, sir, will you please to open to me your sources of information touching this alleged murder? But, sir, give me leave to say, that I think that you have acted imprudently in publishing it so hastily, inasmuch as it interferes with the province of a jury." I replied, "My motives are good, and they must shelter me. I fear not the consequences. Too little publicity, I think, is given to such cases: what I have done is calculated to prevent a recurrence of such enormities."—"But, sir, you have stained the character of South Carolina; and *what you have thus written will be greedily copied and extensively read to our injury, in the northern and eastern states, and all over Europe.* But, sir, let me tell you, further, that such offences rarely occur in this state, which is always prompt to punish the offenders. Will you or can you give personal evidence?" I answered, "I cannot. I can do no more than I have done. My publication and my conversation with you, sir, are sufficient. From what I have said to you now, the matter is tangible enough." "Well, sir," rejoined he, "if that is all you will do and say, we must leave it, and I will write immediately to the district attorney, and get Kelly indicted." This conversation or examination occupied about an hour, and was politely conducted. There is no evidence that the learned gentleman redeemed his promise here given." (P. 76.)

It is pretty evident the learned gentleman dared not proceed against the offender, or even countenance the exposure of the offence. But his apprehensions, with respect to the opinion which would be formed on the case by the northern and eastern states, sufficiently discover the cause of the comparatively mild treatment experienced in general by the slaves of the United States; the more so as the same apprehensions were openly expressed by other respectable persons. (See p. 77.) Outrages, which the law rather encourages than represses, seem, in some degree, to be checked by the powerful sanction of the tribunal of public opinion: in many respects the condition of the Carolina slaves approaches nearer to that of domestic servants than could reasonably be expected under such a state of things; and this seems to be

confirmed by the fact, that their numbers are continually on the increase by births. (See pp. 59. 63. 68.)

But the portions of the British dominions in which slavery is still established, being severed by the ocean from those in which the population is free, the opinions entertained in Great Britain on the subject of slave treatment are almost a matter of indifference to the Jamaica planter; and the obvious result is, that horrible as is the condition of the slave in Carolina, in the West Indies he is subjected to an extremity of misery and degradation a thousandfold more frightful. This is put out of all doubt by the testimony of Mr. Cooper, who was sent out three years ago by Mr. Hibbert, an eminent planter, with a view to enquire into, and if possible ameliorate, the condition of the slaves on the estate of that gentleman. From this fact alone, it is evident that Mr. Hibbert is a man generous and humane in no ordinary degree; it may therefore be presumed that the treatment experienced by slaves on his estate affords at least a fair specimen of their condition throughout the West Indies. Yet, what is the statement? —

During the sugar harvest, which lasts for about five months, the manufacture of sugar is continued without intermission either day or night, except for about eighteen hours from midnight on Saturday to Sunday evening. The slaves are for the most part divided into two gangs, which, besides being fully occupied in the labours of the plantation during the day, are engaged the whole of the night on alternate nights. In the exaction of this labour no difference is made between men and women.

The men employed in carrying the canes from the field to the mill have no regular time of rest, except half an hour for breakfast, and two hours' interval in the middle of the day; but it seldom happens that they get a whole night's rest at one time. The whole of Sunday they are obliged to employ in the cultivation of their provision ground, — in bringing thence the food requisite for their sustenance during the week, and in keeping market. The punishment of the whip is inflicted on all occasions at the discretion of the driver and overseer. The law which limits the number of strokes to thirty-nine is practically disregarded, and the wretched victims are frightfully mangled and excoriated by every execution. When the lacerations produced by one flogging are sufficiently healed, a second is frequently inflicted; and while the sores are unhealed, maggots often breed in the lacerated flesh. Their numbers, as might be expected, annually decrease; and suicide, by dirt-eating and otherwise, is not unfrequently resorted to as the only escape from misery; or

(as the perverted intellects of West Indian writers will have it) out of an ill-disposition to their masters!

After this, and a thousand corroborating statements, how childishly absurd is the tone of triumphant reproach with which British writers, Whig as well as Tory, assail the American republic for permitting the existence of slavery, as if no such evil existed in the British dominions, or as if the influence of property or the prejudices of education were to be overcome in an instant by the breath of the republican legislator!

Are the mischievous effects of the system less notorious in Great Britain than in America? do we less "know the value of liberty," less "understand its principles," than the Americans? If the existence of slavery in America is "an atrocious crime with which no measures can be kept" (see Edinb. Rev. No. LXI. pp. 146. 148.), is its existence in the British dominions less atrocious?

It must be remembered too that slavery was established and took firm root in America, under the British dominion; that the Americans themselves had no means of efficiently attacking the evil till it had been strengthened by an existence of near 200 years; and that, notwithstanding the obstacles opposed by property, prejudice, and not unreasonable apprehensions as to the effect of any sudden emancipation, these same Americans have already done much more towards the ultimate eradication of the evil than Great Britain has ever been able to accomplish. So early as the year 1703, the colony of Massachusetts imposed a tax to prevent further importations. The same settlement made atempts to prevent the import altogether in 1767 and 1774. Previous to the year 1772 no less than twenty-three acts were passed by the legislature of Virginia for applying taxes to the trade with a view to its restriction. In 1772, Virginia petitioned the throne on the same subject, but *obtained no redress.* Several other colonies made remonstrances at different times, but were repressed *by the opposition of British governors.* In 1780, the state of Pennsylvania, though then occupied in the struggle for independence, passed an act for gradual manumission. Since that time the whole country north of Virginia has nearly effected the extinction of slavery. In 1787 a law was passed prohibiting slave keeping in the large districts north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi. In about forty years the United States have effected the emancipation of negroes over half the territory subject to their jurisdiction. A progress much more rapid than Great Britain has been able to effect with regard to its dependencies; and, as Mr. Flint has well observed, a striking illustration of the power of democratic ascendency to

correct the abuses implanted and fostered by aristocratical sway.

There is another circumstance which imposes additional difficulties on the American legislatures. Mr. Flint says,

'The governments of new territories are allowing vast tracts of country to become markets; and the older slave-keeping states are converted into nurseries, from which multitudes of slaves are procured. If this course of policy is persisted in, the humane exertions of individuals, and the benevolent associations in Britain and elsewhere, cannot counteract the growing abuse. Emancipation can scarcely be contemplated, where its objects are multiplied with such rapidity. Amalgamation with the whites, extermination, or ultimate preponderance, present themselves to the penetrating mind.

'The baneful effects of slave-keeping are not confined to negroes, but are widely diffused amongst white people. The necessity of personal labour being removed from the master, he either indulges in idleness, or spends his time in amusements that are incompatible with industrious habits. His progeny, seeing that every sort of useful labour is performed by the slaves, whom they are taught to regard as an inferior class of beings, naturally conceive that the cultivation of the earth is a pursuit too degrading for white men. Where such early impressions are entertained, we need not be surprised with the multitudes of idlers, hunters, horse-racers, gamesters, and dissipated persons, that are here very prevalent.'

Mr. Faux and Mr. Flint spent the greater part of their sojournment in the western settlements. The travels of Mr. Duncan were chiefly through the large towns on the eastern coasts. He appears to be an eminently pious and loyal man; one who loves kings, lords, and commons, especially Kings George the Third and Fourth, and whose antipathy to and dread of universal suffrage resembles, and is about as reasonable, as that which a fine lady entertains towards a spider. He is constant in his attendance at public worship, never travels on the Sabbath, and is seriously afflicted at the sight of enjoyment or business on a day which he would devote exclusively to religion.

The testimony of such a witness as to religious matters cannot, we think, be impugned; yet according to him, without a splendidly endowed establishment,—without a law against blasphemy,—without a vice society, or the aid of those impiously inconsistent persons who tell us that the Almighty, unless assisted by them, is unable to support a creed expressly propounded by him for the benefit of man,—without state prosecutions for libel,—and without burning every copy of Tom Paine, or even discountenancing the sale of his works,—religious observances obtain in the United States to an extent, and with a degree of rigour, of which Europe can furnish few examples. At the same time, universal equality

as to political rights has extinguished a great proportion of the ill-will and dissension between contending sects, and all the cruelties and oppressions inflicted in Europe by the members of prevailing creeds over those who differ from them in opinion. Mr. Duncan says, with much effect (vol. ii. p. 329.): —

'The inquisition undertook to regulate astronomical science, and kings and parliament have, with equal propriety, presumed to legislate upon questions of theology. The world has outgrown the former, and it will one day be ashamed that it has been so long of outgrowing the latter. The founders of the American republic saw the absurdity of employing the attorney-general to refute deism and infidelity, or of attempting to influence opinion on abstract subjects by penal enactments; they saw also the injustice of taxing the whole to support the religious opinions of the few, and have set an example which older governments will one day or another be compelled to follow.

'In America the question is not, What is his creed?—but, What is his conduct? Jews* have all the privileges of Christians; Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and Independents, meet on common ground. No religious test is required to qualify for public office, except in some cases a mere verbal assent to the truth of the Christian religion; and in every court throughout the country, it is optional whether you give your affirmation on oath.

'It has been often said that the disinclination of the heart to religious truth renders a state establishment absolutely necessary, for the purpose of christianizing the country. Ireland and America can furnish abundant evidence of the fallacy of such an hypothesis. In the one country we see an ecclesiastical establishment of the most costly description utterly inoperative in dispelling ignorance or refuting error; in the other no establishment of any kind, and yet religion making daily and hourly progress, promoting enquiry, diffusing knowledge, strengthening the weak, and mollifying the hardened. The religious aspect of America is no doubt checquered with gloomy spots, and I believe that in a large portion of the southern states ignorance and irreligion prevail to a deplorable extent; but even in our own comparatively small portion of the globe's surface, how large a proportion of parishes are to be found, where there is all the apparatus of religion, a steeple, a benefice, and an incumbent, but an utter famine of the bread of life! and in how many more do we find that dissenterism, that is, systematic opposition to the established religion, has been the sole means of preserving the knowledge of the truth!

'When we dispassionately examine the history and present condition of the various divisions of the United States, we shall be constrained to admit that religion has made as extensive progress as we could possibly have expected from any establishment; nay, that it is probably in as active a state of advancement, in the older sections of the country, as in any part of the world. If any would imagine that an establishment would have improved matters, let him look to Canada; and

* "While I was in New York the sheriff of the city was a Jew."

even setting aside all reference to the French population, let him tell us what has been effected, among those of British descent, by a lordly episcopacy, supported by annual stipends from government, and a seventh part of all granted lands.'

The inferiority of the Canadians to the inhabitants of the United States, at least as far as regards activity and enterprise, has been remarked by Mr. Duncan, as well as by every other traveller. A canal of nine miles in length to elude some of the worst rapids of the St. Lawrence, has been *talked* of at Montreal for the last twenty years; the people of New York in the meanwhile have united the waters of Lake Erie with those of the Hudson and the Atlantic, by a cut of near 400 miles. All this, however, joined to an almost entire exemption from taxation, cannot overcome Mr. Duncan's evident hatred of republicanism. His arguments against the system of suffrage which prevails in America, are indeed confined to the calling it a "pestilent system," and predicting that the evil of it will be felt hereafter, without attempting to show us how; unless indeed at vol. ii. p. 335., where it is evident he considers as an evil a change in the constitution produced at the desire of the people, even though the change should be attended with nothing but advantage. "It does seem ominous of evil," says he, "that so little ceremony is at present used with the constitutions of the various states." Why is this ominous? or rather, of what is it ominous, save good? If there be any thing defective in the constitution of these states, why should ceremony be used towards such defects? When the people at large have ceased to use ceremony towards a form of government, what instance can Mr. Duncan adduce of their having made it worse? when sovereigns have ceased to use ceremony, what instance of their having made it better? "The people of Connecticut not contented with having prospered abundantly under their old system, have lately assembled a convention, composed of delegates from all parts of the country, in which the former order of things has been condemned entirely, and a completely new constitution manufactured; which, among other things, provides for the same process being again gone through, as soon as the *profanum vulgus* takes it into its head to desire it."

Now admitting the full force of the argument contained in the words "*manufactured*," and "*profanum vulgus*," we cannot truly see the harm of all this. — If the alteration were for the better, the learned friend of antiquity, immutability, and "*the old original*," would scarcely venture to object to it: if it were for the worse, why has he not pointed out to us in what respects it was so? What evil has accompanied this change? Tumult,

dissension, insecurity, abridgment of the rights of the governed, dangerous addition to the power of the governors, — not one of these, nor any other assignable evil, is so much as hinted at; and since it is obvious that it would have afforded our author no small pleasure to be able to indicate the slightest inconvenience attending the change, we may rest assured from his having failed to do so, that no such inconvenience existed; — and yet says he, "this is universal suffrage in its most *pestilential* character." But though he can assign no evil arising out of the supposed pestilence, he has his fears and his anticipations: — "I am afraid that if the Americans continue to cherish a fondness for such repairs, the highlandman's pistol, with its new stock, lock, and barrel, will bear a close resemblance to what is ultimately produced." And if the old stock, lock, and barrel were worn out or unfit for service, how is the highlandman injured by obtaining a serviceable instead of a mischievous instrument?

Mr. Flint entertains quite a different opinion as to the effects of Mr. Duncan's pestilence: —

'I am almost of opinion that the more extended bonds of American society are much strengthened by universal suffrage, and the frequent recurrence of elections; for this reason, that the candidates having no boroughs to be treated with in the wholesale way, and the constituents being too numerous, and coming too often in the way, to admit of their being bought over, expectants are obliged to depend on their popularity, and do not find it their interest to repulse any one. It is only from these causes that I could attempt to account for the affability of manners which are almost universal.

'To-day the inhabitants of Pennsylvania elect their representatives in congress, members of the state assembly, and county officers. I have gone repeatedly to the court-house of Pittsburg, to see the popular proceedings. The citizens wrap up the names of the candidates they recommend in a small slip of paper, which they hand through the open pane of a window to the inspector, an officer previously appointed for counting the tickets. This way of balloting places the poor man beyond the control of his superior or creditor. I have seen no riot or confusion. Populous cities, in America, are divided into wards, where separate elections are held at the same time; a salutary precaution, that prevents the assembling of great crowds.'

'A few days ago I witnessed the election of a member of congress for the state of Indiana.—Members for the state assembly, and county officers, and the votes for the township of Jeffersonville, were taken by ballot in one day. No quarrels or disorder occurred. At Louisville, in Kentucky, the poll was kept open for three days. The votes were given *viva voce*. I saw three fights in the course of an hour. This method appears to be productive of as much discord here as in England. The states Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Penn-

sylvania, and all north of the latter, vote by ballot; and the southern proceed verbally.'

He afterwards draws the following striking contrast between the institutions of a country where extensive suffrage and voting by ballot prevail, and those of a country where king, lords, and commons, are balanced so much to the admiration of Mr. Duncan: —

'There are no boroughs where the members monopolize the business of the place, or who chase away the stranger as if he were an enemy, or who can exact town taxes contrary to the will of their fellow-citizens. Public accounts are not kept from public inspection. There is no separate borough representation to be hired over, or owned by the partizans of a ministry. The clergy are here exalted to the dignity of citizens, whose interests are identified with those of the people. Their condition, relatively to that of their adherents, is in every respect similar to the situation of dissenting clergymen in Britain. America elevates no spiritual lords, on woolsacks, in her senate, to oppose the introduction of parochial schools. Nor is there any political body which courts an alliance with the clergy. I have never heard of any parson who acts as a justice of the peace, or who intermixes his addresses to the Great Object of religious worship with the eulogy of the Holy Alliance.'

With the exception of these strictures on democratic ascendency, some powerful remarks on slavery, and the very judicious observations on religious establishments which we have already extracted, Mr. Duncan's work is chiefly a description of external objects in the various towns through which he passed. These objects are concisely and perspicuously presented to our conception, but they possess less of novelty and interest to a large class of readers than the statements made by Faux and Flint. From the three works, taken together, the reader may form a fair estimate of the condition of nearly the whole of the United States, between 1818 and 1820. We wish our limits had enabled us to present more copious extracts, particularly from Mr. Flint, whom of the three we esteem by far the best qualified to give an accurate report; however, on the more important points which fell under their mutual observation, there is very little difference of statement. The prevailing vice of America is a barbarous and cruel system of duelling; the prevailing foible, an impertinent curiosity with regard to the private affairs of others: but the concurrent testimony of these writers, must serve to overthrow many of the generally received prejudices which prevail in England respecting the manners and opinions of Americans. For instance, so far from having experienced any of that jealousy and unkindly treatment to which it has been said Englishmen have been

peculiarly obnoxious, our three travellers met with nothing but undeviating kindness, confidence, and even generosity. We particularly refer to Faux, pp. 54. 127. 258. 308.; to Flint, pp. 145. 267, 268.; and shall conclude with the following extract from Duncan, vol. ii. p. 230.—

'Much that has been written on the incivilities to which a stranger is exposed here, is destitute of truth. Generally speaking, a traveller will meet with respectful treatment, if his own manners are not rude. The imperative tone which empty-pated coxcombs are prone to assume at home, would be resented here most indignantly; but if you *request* instead of *ordering*, you will rarely receive an uncivil reply. The country innkeeper is not unfrequently a man of some consequence in the neighbourhood, either from his property or from holding some official situation; and if you enter into conversation with him, you will often discover that under a plain exterior is concealed a great deal of shrewdness and information. Sometimes the landlord's daughter pours out tea and coffee at a side-table; but she always maintains a dignified deportment, and is respectfully treated by her guests. The females of every class whom I have seen employed in American inns, have been in all cases perfectly correct in their manners; nor did I ever see any rudeness offered to them. In waiters, stage-drivers, and the other retainers of the road, you will find little of the obsequiousness which is common at home; they generally indeed speak to you more on the footing of equality than inferiority: I have once or twice had uncivil answers, but not more frequently I think than at home.'

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ART. VII. *A Selection of Popular National Airs.* The words by Thomas Moore, Esq. Fourth Number. Power, Strand. December, 1822.

*The Sea Songs of Charles Dibdin, with a Memoir of his Life and Writings.* By William Kitchiner, M.D. G. & B. Whittaker. 1823.

*The Loyal and National Songs of England.* By William Kitchiner, M.D. Hurst, Robinson, and Co. 1823.

*Observations on Vocal Music.* By William Kitchiner, M.D. Hurst, Robinson, and Co. 1823.

WITHOUT labouring like the writers of old treatises to prove the importance of the pursuit in which we are employed, — without introducing Sculptor, Pictor, and Cantor, engaged in an apparently equal contest for superiority, but slily taking care that Sculptor and Pictor shall not have a leg to stand on, just as it happens when an attorney-general or a vice society are coping with a political or theological libeller, — we may fairly say, that in this, which has been deemed an unmusical nation, music is becoming an object of great and increasing interest. That middle age through which a people advances from bar-

barism to refinement, has passed away: whole days are no longer wasted in tedious formality, nor whole nights in brutal intoxication. Reading and knowledge have induced a more general attention to health and fortune; and as the leisurely class are no longer employed three hours at a time in adjusting a headdress, a demand has arisen for employment of a more improving cast. To find, for a mixed company, topics of rational and entertaining conversation during a whole evening, seems, in England at least, to be a hopeless task; at all events, the difficulty is not a little increased, if we feel ourselves under the *necessity* of finding them; and the mistress of a house must be comparatively at ease, when the apartment contains a piano-forte, to which, as to a *corps de reserve*, she can fly for aid when conversation flags. With respect to that portion of the occupied classes of society, who can afford an occasional relaxation from business or speculative pursuits, — and few indeed are capable of unremitting application to serious matters, — music affords, to such as have the musical ear, or sixth sense, a fund of the purest pleasure.

Having thus premised, we shall proceed to consider at some length the present state of vocal music, the highest branch of the art. We say, the highest branch of the art, because, by the employment of musical notes and musical rhythm to add force and effect to the articulate expression of definite images and conceptions, is a task much more difficult and much more likely to combine utility with pleasure, than the merely exciting, by means of inarticulate or instrumental sounds, a succession of indefinite sensations.

However, in this description of vocal music, we have indicated rather the rank it *may* assume, than that which it usually does. As, in playing on instruments there are two distinct species of composition, — the one the concerto or studio, the object of which is to ascertain and exhibit the peculiar powers of the instrument and exercise the fingers of the player, in order to the more efficient performance of the other species, *viz.* symphonies, overtures, sonatas, or single airs; and as the concerto, addressed chiefly to the judgment of the hearer, produces scarcely any other sensations than those of approbation, surprise, or admiration, while the object and effect of the other species of performances are to produce, in deeper emotion, the various degrees of cheerful excitement, sentimental depression, and religious or amatory fervours; — so, there are two distinct branches of the art of singing, essentially different in their object and effects.

For the sake of clearness, we will designate the one *mechanical*, the other *oratorical*.

*Mechanical* singing, is that *adjective* branch of the art which consists in ascertaining, exercising, and exhibiting the mere powers of the human voice. This process is carried on sometimes in the closet, sometimes before an audience. In the closet, *do, re, mi, fa, sol, la,* are the articulate sounds usually employed for this purpose; — before an audience, *fal, lal, la,* — nonsense verses, — and certain extraordinary excursions of the voice termed *cadenzas,* starting off, like a comet with a tail, from the orbit of the song. With a view to giving flexibility and power to the voice, and a perfect command over it, these exercitations are highly useful, and may greatly tend to promote the success of —

*Oratorical* singing, or the *substantive* branch of the art. This consists of the distinct enunciation and appropriate delivery of fine poetry, or at the lowest, of common sense, in musical notes and musical rhythm.

They who on the one hand have heard Bartleman sing "Angel of Life;" Braham, "Deeper and deeper still," "The last words of Marmion," "Scots wha ha' wi' Wallace bled;" or Miss Stephens, a simple ballad; — and on the other, have heard Madame Catalani or Mrs. Dickons execute their elaborate variations on "Oh! Dolce concento," or "Cease your funning," — will be fully competent to apprehend our meaning, and to appreciate all the difference between mechanical and oratorical singing.

Hear the performance of the three former in the pieces we have indicated, and various emotions will be excited, in the same manner and to the same degree as by the happiest efforts of the dramatic actor: listen to the two latter, and the sensations experienced will be the same as those on hearing Moschelles or Kiesewetter on the piano-forte or violin: a modification of the pleasure of address, — a kind of surprise that the performer's fingers and the instrument should do so much, or that the human voice should do as much as the instrument.

It is evident that the mechanical singer, however highly gifted by nature or acquirements in his branch of the art, can, if he be ignorant of the elements of oratorical singing, produce little effect beyond surprise or admiration; while the oratorical singer, although he may greatly increase his success by application to the details of mechanical singing, may, nevertheless, if he be but moderately skilled in these latter, excite every emotion which is subject to the dominion of music.

Hitherto, however, vocal music of the adjective or mechanical sort, — differing in no respect from that which is termed instrumental, but by the employment of the human voice for the instrument, instead of fiddle or flute, — has been cultivated almost to

the exclusion of the substantive, or oratorical. In the ordinary execution of this mechanical singing, it is as impossible to collect words from the mouth of a performer as from the string of a violin, and the sensations produced by the musical tongue differ in nothing from those which the musical string is able to excite.

It is immaterial therefore what form of words or what language is employed — sense or nonsense, English or Italian, — the ear is scarcely ever able to distinguish the difference; and if the good company would but confess it, a succession of *sol-fa*-ings, or *fal lal las*, would entertain them quite as well as the sublimest effusions of lyric poetry.

This cultivation of the subsidiary and less efficient branch of the art to the almost entire exclusion of all the oratory of music, we ascribe to two causes.

1*st*, The contracted education and acquirements of the greater proportion of composers and singers, who, exercised only in notation and counterpoint, have seldom sufficient intellect to distinguish sense from nonsense; and

2*dly*, The very limited quantity of good poetry fitted for the purpose of singing.

To begin with the singer. We know of no treatise in which the principles of musical expression have been satisfactorily or deeply investigated; but to us the analogy between the arts of music and oratory, seems close and complete; if, indeed, the various inflections of voice to which a fine speaker has recourse during the utterance of an harangue, ought not of themselves to be esteemed musical notes and intervals. At all events, taking a correct and impassioned elocution for our guide, we shall experience little difficulty in producing a great and uniform impression from the efforts of the singer: following any other criterion, our success will be inferior and uncertain. As an instance of this, let us consider a moment the nature of an *apoggiatura*, the expressiveness of which consists in a commencement of extreme softness, a gradual increase of sound till the voice has attained the requisite volume, and then a gradual decrease, till sound is almost imperceptible. "As different degrees of emphasis in elocution" (says an able teacher of instrumental music*) "serve to point out the particular stress the speaker lays upon certain words and ideas, and to render his meaning more forcible and expressive, so this variously *leaning* upon a lengthened sound, may be conceived to be a continued emphasis or natural expression, whereby the feelings of the musician are impressed upon the hearer; — every one knows that it is not merely the word

* Mr. John Gunn, formerly of Cambridge.

made use of that soothes, consoles, encourages, animates, engages our confidence or affection, or on the contrary, that makes it discouraging, cold, abusive, or insulting; but that all these opposite and different shades of meaning are conveyed to us by the tone and emphasis of the sound which is uttered."

If this theory be correct, here is sufficient to account for the feebleness of ordinary singers. Even among the educated classes, to read aloud with propriety and effect is no common attainment, and to speak with moving eloquence is still more rare. Now the individual who could experience a difficulty in reading a song correctly, is not likely to improve his recitation in singing; for, as will presently be shown, he will rarely derive any assistance from the composer of the music. But in many instances where the composer is necessarily passive, as in the common case of singing a succession of stanzas to the same tune or melody, the singer who is unable to read with propriety, and occasionally to make slight changes in the notes of the melody so as to suit the varying punctuation and emphasis in successive stanzas, will constantly be committing the grossest absurdities, and destroying all the effect which the music might have added to the poetry. Thus, whenever an air falls on its key-note where the words of the accompanying stanza are broken by a comma only and the sense remains to be completed, the same absurdity has place, as if a person in reading the same stanza aloud, should, when he arrived at the comma, give his voice the inflection which is exclusively appropriated to a full stop, and so render the passage absolute nonsense.

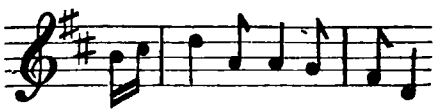
Instances of this kind are innumerable: scarcely is a song to be found in which they do not occur; but we shall point out one or two, to make our meaning more clear.

In Mr. Moore's beautiful song, "Ne'er ask the hour" (Irish Melodies, No. 8.), the second stanza runs thus,—

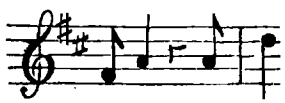
'Young Joy ne'er thought of counting hours,
Till Care, one summer's morning,
Set up, among his blooming flowers,
A Dial, by way of warning:
But Joy loved better to gaze on the sun
As long as his light was glowing,
Than to watch with old Care how the shadow stole on,
And how fast that light was going.'

Now it is obvious, that if, in reading these lines, we should, at the words "morning," or "glowing," give our voice the inflection employed to denote a full stop, the passage would be rendered nonsensical; and this will be equally accomplished if the singer employs for the last syllable of either of those words

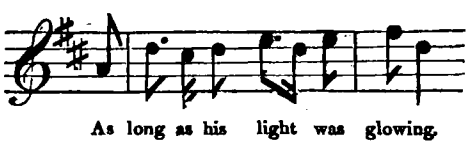
the note printed in the melody; which being the key-note of the piece, the musical phrase is as much completed, and the ear as much at rest as the attention would be when the reader comes to a full stop. The first passage stands thus:—




For the D substitute an A, and the ear remaining in suspense and unsatisfied, will perceive that the sentence is incomplete:—




The second passage is printed as follows; and, as far as sound goes, the sense is entirely closed:—

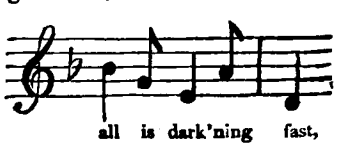



For the last F and D substitute E and F,—

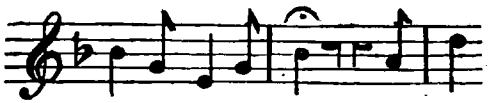

the inflection of the voice will be nearly the same as that employed for the same passage by the most correct reader; and in neither case will the beauty or character of the melody be in the least affected.

Take another instance from the striking air of *Le garçon volage*, in the second number of Mr. Moore's National Melodies:

'Like sunset gleams that linger late
When all is dark'ning fast,
Are hours like these we snatch from fate,
The brightest and the last.'



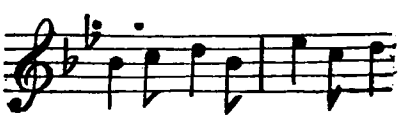
According to this, the printed notation, and the exact passage of the original melody, the sense is absolutely concluded at D, the key-note of the second strain of the air. The passage being in the minor key, it is difficult to alter it without departing from the air more than could be wished: but if a sacrifice *must* be made, we should prefer sacrificing the air to the sense; and taking C with a flat seventh for the harmony of the first of these two bars, and the beginning of the second, (instead of the harmonies of G, A, and D,) would sing the passage thus,—



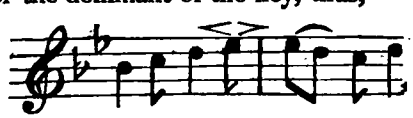

So, where, in order to give meaning to a sentence, it happens to be necessary that a particular word should be enounced with emphasis, it becomes frequently indispensable to substitute for the note in the melody some other which shall convey this emphasis. Thus, in the stanza (Ir. Mel. No. 8.), —

'Twas nectar fed, of old, 'tis said,
Their Junos, Joves, Apollos;
And man may brew *his* nectar too,
The rich receipt's as follows;'

the sense of the passage cannot be given unless a decided emphasis be laid on the word *his:* but this emphasis it is impossible to give with the unaccented note assigned to that word in the printed air:—



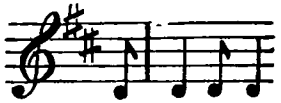

But for the Bb in the first of these two bars substitute $E_b$ with the harmony of the dominant of the key, thus, —



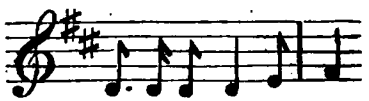

and the singer may pronounce the emphasis as distinctly as the speaker. — Again, in order to avoid giving emphasis to words that are *un*emphatic, it is equally necessary that the singer should know how to make occasional changes in the strict *time* of musical notes or bars. In the words, for instance, —

'Twas but to bless these hours of shade
That beauty and the moon were made;'

if they be sung according to the time allotted to them in the printed air, the emphasis is thrown on "*but*," instead of "*bless:*"




Simply by singing "*'Twas*," to the first note of the second bar, instead of the last note of the first, the musical emphasis is made to correspond with the oratorical:—

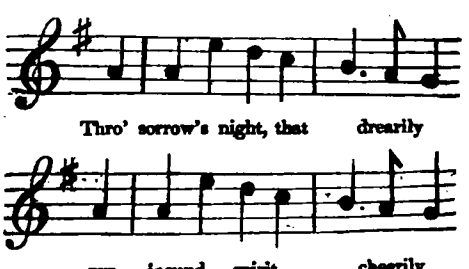



We have taken the foregoing examples from Mr. Moore's works, because they are more extensively known than any other; but there is scarcely a song of the ablest composers that does not abound in the vices we have pointed out. Among the thousand instances of the kind which his works furnish, we would adduce from a recent opera of Mr. Bishop's, a striking instance of the ill effect of bringing a musical phrase to a close on the key-note, while the sense of the words is yet in suspense.

In the exquisite air which Mr. B. has composed, so appropriate to the situation of Clari, when delivering the following words,—

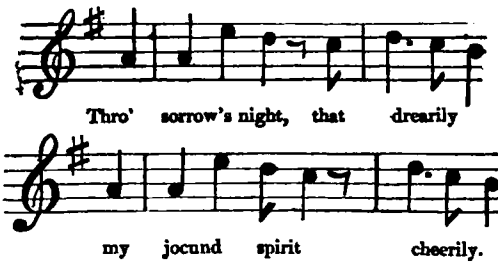
'Light bounds my heart!—Thro' sorrow's night, that drearily
Closed o'er my hopes, the sun of joy is breaking:
Freed from suspense, my jocund spirit, cheerily
Is from its mournful dream to life and rapture waking!'

Would the reader believe that the composer has so managed the inflection of the singer's voice as to make it appear he comes to a full stop at "*drearily*," and to another at "*cheerily!*" Yet so it is:—

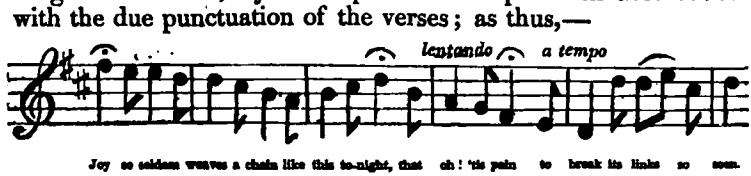



and by this the whole passage is rendered nonsense. How easily

might he have preserved the sense, without in the least detracting from the beauty of the air, by writing as follows:—




To return.—Besides the alteration in the time of individual notes, it is equally necessary to the success of an impassioned singer that he should know how to depart occasionally from the general time of the piece; and instead of inflexibly equalising the beat for each bar, like instrumental performers, in the conduct of a symphony, sometimes to accelerate, sometimes to retard his pace, as vehemence, tenderness, or the enunciation of a complicated sentence, may require;—above all, he may indescribably increase the effect of his art, especially in the delivery of simple songs and ballads, by short pauses * interposed in accordance with the due punctuation of the verses; as thus,—




To do all that we have here required, a singer must have received not only a good musical, but a good literary education; advantages which unfortunately fall to the lot of few who follow the profession for a subsistence: he must have an acquired, if not a natural judgment in these matters. But how lamentably

* Since writing the above, we have met with the following extract in Dr. Kitchiner's Observations, and are happy to see that the practice we have just recommended has the sanction of the judicious writer of the extract.

"Do not make words, which ought to be separated according to the principles of just elocution, *stick too close* to each other. I am disposed to think (I speak with due deference to professional information), that little breaches in singing frequently produce a most admirable effect. All good readers make perceptible pauses, where not even a *comma* is, or ought to be, found in the typography of a sentence. *The finest reader*, if he had a voice and intonation, would probably be *the finest singer*."—*Smyth on Singing*, p. 19.

almost the whole class are deficient in this quality, how little they are able to distinguish sense from nonsense, to understand the merit of congruity, and to suit the matter to the occasion, is but too apparent in the selections which, when left to themselves, they commonly make for the edification of their audience. We have heard "Oh! my love's like the red red rose," sweetly trilled out in falsetto at a public dinner to celebrate a county charity, instead of those convivial or political strains expressly suited to the occasion: we have heard "The tough wooden walls of old England for ever," bellowed out in the music-room at Oxford, before an amazed audience of dignified academicians.

That composers in general, so far from assisting the singer, have done as much as in them lay to embarrass him, and increase the difficulties occasioned by his want of education, is but too evident from the very examples we have taken to illustrate our subject. If Sir John Stevenson and Bishop, — men unquestionably of higher talents and attainments than usually fall to the lot of composers, — if, under the guidance of Mr. Moore, — himself a musician, a scholar, and a man of genius, — such men, while they put us to the expense of buying the same air repeated two or three times to the successive stanzas of the song, are ignorant of the effect they might produce by occasionally changing a note in the original melody for the purpose of rendering the song itself intelligible, or, if not ignorant, contest the propriety of this practice, — what are we to expect from other composers? What are we to expect, when, instead of selecting for duetts, trios, and harmonised airs, such words as may, without inconsistency, be uttered by many voices in conjunction, to wit, dialogues, general expressions of sentiment, or choral exclamations, — the best composers have never hesitated to make three or four persons, male and female, utter at once what could only issue with propriety from the mouth of a single male or a single female. Let the reader imagine two unprosperous swains with one mistress between them, all three simultaneously exclaiming, each to the others, —

> 'I'd mourn the hopes that leave *me*,
> If *thy* smiles had left me *too*;'

or four men at once sighing —

> 'When first *I* saw your face *I* resolved
> To honour and renown you;'

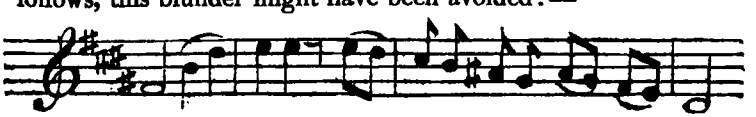
and he will at once recognise an absurdity which has never been discovered by musicians, and for which there is the less excuse, inasmuch as every sentiment expressed in general terms is suited to the purpose of simultaneous utterance in any harmonic com-

bination of voices, and may, without incongruity, be supposed, like the chorus in a Greek play, to come from many persons at once.

In truth, with a very few exceptions, composers have generally contrived to sacrifice the words to the music; assigning the principal notes of the air, and sometimes whole bars, to feeble conjunctions or prepositions, and passing over, without effect, the prominent idea of the passage; laying a stress on final syllables which are scarcely sounded in conversation; converting iambics into trochees, and trochees into iambics; coming to the close of a musical phrase while the sentiment to be enunciated is yet incomplete; and in short, evincing such a disregard of grammatical rules, that if a person were to read the sentence according to its musical notation, the hearers could never refrain from laughter.

No composer has sinned more in this way than Mr. Bishop; and if we are not misinformed, he sins against knowledge. In answer to objections made to his compositions on this score, he openly propounds that the music is all in all; the appropriate enunciation of the poetry, a matter of no importance; and that the sense ought, without hesitation, to be sacrificed, when, by doing this, a smoother sound can be conveyed;—and most manfully does he carry his doctrine into practice. Take the following as a single specimen from the song, "Let us seek the yellow shore," the music of which is, in our estimation, for the most part transcendently fanciful and touching:—


In both instances care has been taken to throw the word "*to*" upon the strongest accented note of the bar; and in the first instance the note appropriated to it is of such duration, and forms so principal a part of the musical phrase, that the meaning unavoidably conveyed is, that the singer is addressing a given individual, and exhorting him to join company: "Then hasten *too*," *i. e.* do you hasten as well I. By distributing the words as follows, this blunder might have been avoided:—




But then Mr. Bishop would lose the smooth sound of the *oo;* for the swelling note at the beginning of the second bar, and the four syllables, "*hasten to some,*" would (unless the performer

were careful enough to resort to a *lentando*) be enunciated with a rapidity inconsistent with the dignity of the rest of the piece.

The verses of this song are not destitute of merit, and deserved better treatment at the hands of the composer; but Mr. Bishop, we suspect, is not aware of the distinction between mechanical and oratorical singing, and has never carried his attention beyond the subsidiary and commonly practised branch of the art. Future editors will probably say of his compositions as Dr. Burney has said of the contemporaries of Purcell, "Inattention to prosody, accent, and quantity, was common to all the composers of that time; and *it is absolutely necessary for the words to be newly adjusted to the melodies by some judicious person* equally tender of the harmony of these admirable compositions as of the prosody of our language, taking care to place the accent of each word upon the accented part of each bar in the music." (Hist. Mus. vol. iii. p. 146.) However, in common with other musicians, he has to urge in extenuation of this neglect the *sort* of poetry which he is usually condemned to wed with music; and this brings us to the other cause of the cultivation of mechanical, almost to the exclusion of oratorical singing, viz. the very limited quantity of good poetry adapted to the purpose of singing. But before we proceed, we beg it may be understood that the foregoing observations, with regard to the deficiencies of singers and composers, are applied almost exclusively to English songs and English singing. That in the Italian opera there is a large proportion of highly oratorical singing, no one can doubt who has heard Tramezzani or Camporese in any of their celebrated performances; nevertheless it is obvious that singing in a foreign language cannot, on those who are unacquainted with the language, produce any emotions other than such as might be equally produced by instrumental music. Into the merits or defects of the Italian opera it is not at present our purpose to enter: we apprehend, however, that the opportunities it affords for oratorical singing are furnished chiefly by dramatic situation, and that the song poetry it contains is at least as contemptible as our own. As to this latter, till the days of Moore, the quantity in hand, fit for use, was scanty indeed. Even at the present hour, with the exception of a few songs from Shakspeare and Burns, and a few extracts from Milton, Campbell, and Walter Scott, the Grub-street trash with which, in the shape of song, an audience is usually treated, is such as it were infinitely better *not* to hear; and when Mr. Sinclair is ordered to trill out such delectable namby-pamby as

'Love's blind, they cry;
Oh! never, I, &c.

we should congratulate ourselves if the words issuing from his mouth were altogether indistinguishable, and if, renouncing all expectation of enjoyment from *vocal* music properly so called, we could at least fancy we heard a very equable clarionet playing a very pretty air.

The deficiency in the quantity of poetry adapted to singing, Mr. Moore has supplied to a greater extent, and with happier success, than any individual who ever wrote. In his various songs, amatory, convivial, elegiac, playful, and patriotic, we possess a mine of musical pleasure such as our predecessors have never enjoyed. Of these songs, some are so strikingly beautiful, that the mere slow and distinct enunciation of them, even by an indifferent voice, in the notes of the melodies to which they have been adapted, will, if executed with judgment, produce more effect on an educated audience, than the most scientific performance in which sound alone is regarded, and throw far into the shade all the legerdemain cadenzas of a tricky singer.

The *conceits* with which Mr. Moore's writings abound, have furnished matter of great offence to the critics, especially of that Quakerly and sober sort, who would confine us to one style of literature, and clothe all our ideas in the simple garb adopted by the Greeks and Romans. However the question may stand with regard to other species of composition, it seems to us, that in a song, a conceit, as it is called, is by no means misplaced. It is difficult by ordinary means to concentrate attention in the short space of time occupied by the delivery of eight or ten verses; and,

> ' ——— If existence would cloy
> With hearts ever happy and heads ever wise,
> Be ours the light grief that is sister to joy,
> And *the short brilliant folly that flashes and dies.*'

It ought also to be always remembered, that many of Mr. Moore's most exquisite and polished gems are entirely exempt from these brilliant follies; the objection to which is, that they sometimes carry with them an air of painful research where we are accustomed to look for the first simple expression of feeling. The songs of " Those evening bells," " Oft in the stilly night," " Dear harp of my country," and many others, are perfect instances of the most affecting simplicity.

The precise emotions which the instrumental performance of any given air is calculated to excite, must in a great degree depend upon the hearer's early associations of ideas, and it is impossible to foretel in what way each individual may be affected by the performance; the *species* of emotion, however, which will be experienced by a large proportion of hearers, may be guessed

at with more probability of success; as, whether they will be of the melting or animated kind,—whether depressive or exhilaratory.

But how few composers or writers have heretofore succeeded in making this guess, is apparent from the extreme incongruity between many of our old popular tunes and the words originally attached to them. The "Groves of Blarney" was formerly sung to a ludicrous kind of auctioneer-catalogue of the goods, chattels, and effects belonging to Blarney-house and estate. That Mr. Moore should have discovered, through all the envelopes of prejudice and habit, the true character of the air, will not a little surprise those who only know it as the vehicle of "The last rose of summer." He enjoys, indeed, a faculty of doing this, which no one before him ever possessed; and with singular felicity he has in repeated instances developed, not merely the species of emotion the air was calculated to excite,—in which, indeed, he has been uniformly accurate,—but even, as it seems to us, the precise train of thought and feeling. We shall only specify the wildly fanciful air of Luggelaw:—

'No, not more welcome the fairy numbers
Of music steal on the sleeper's ear,
When half awaking from fearful slumbers
He thinks the full choir of heaven is near,
Than came that voice,' &c.

which, after hearing it with the words, we might almost fancy we recognise as one of those imaginary strains which we have lost by the sudden disruption of a morning dream.

Gifted with this extraordinary faculty, as well as with the highest powers of lyric poetry, it was scarcely possible that Mr. Moore should employ them to greater advantage than in giving immortality to airs, the merit of which was established by their having become extensively popular, but which from the inanity of the words attached to them—"*Voces inopes rerum, nugæque canoræ,*"—it was impossible to employ for the purposes of vocality.

With what success he accomplished his task in the eight numbers which have been devoted to the melodies of Ireland, our readers have long been able to judge. Notwithstanding the temptation,—which, as far as regards the rest of the world, has been too frequently yielded to,—the temptation to illustrate subjects of confined local interest, this collection contains in proportion to its size a far greater number of songs adapted to general hearers and general singers, than any other of equal dimensions; we should indeed have termed it a selection, and a

selection begun, continued, and ended in the most judicious manner. In Thompson's voluminous collection of the Scotch airs, so many of the songs are addressed to subjects purely local, so many, — even in the judgment of an Edinburgh reviewer (No. 77. p. 73.) — are devoted to Corydons, Amyntas, shepherds with crooks, and Arcadian plains; so many, again, of the melodies themselves are intractable to an ordinary voice; that instead of constituting five volumes, the whole which are applicable to common occasions might be packed into one; and of these, with the exception of one or two songs by Miss Baillie and Mr. Smyth, the greater part are the production of Burns. But in the eight numbers of the Irish Melodies, the whole that we would exclude, local, intractable, or uninteresting, would not amount to more than a single number; while, excepting Burns's "Scots wha ha' wi' Wallace bled," and "Where's he for honest poverty that hangs his head," there is nothing of its class to equal the remainder.

The success of the songs subsequently written for the melodies of various nations has, if possible, — even up to the last number, — been more decisive and striking. Mr. Moore is inexhaustible in the art of giving a new complexion to the same idea as often as he wishes to repeat it to a new melody; and the only complaint we have to make in regard to this latter publication, is the large proportion of poetry of a desponding and disheartening cast. It is true that he has numbered some years since the commencement of his career; — it is painful to think —

> "*Singula de nobis anni prædantur euntes,*
> *Eripuere jocos, Venerem, —*"

We ourselves feel but too sensibly, that we are

> "Too old for youth, too young at thirty-five
> To herd with boys, or hoard with good threescore.
> Love lingers still, altho' 'twere late to wive;
> And as for other love, the illusion's o'er:
> And money, that most pure imagination,
> Gleams only thro' the dawn of its creation:"

But while a single topic of hope or animation remained, we should consider it as a serious duty to abstain from exciting or encouraging sentiments of a desponding cast. Life is so beset with real evils, — with pain in every shape, — that the man who exerts his powers to aggravate our misery, is, so far, an enemy to his species. This is the offence with which we gravely charge Mr. Moore and the whole tribe of sonnetteers and sentimentalists. Instead of pointing our hopes to the future, they are

eternally damping our few enjoyments with unavailing regrets for the past, and conjuring up every image which shall constantly remind us of the brevity of life, and the transient nature of human enjoyment: setting suns, fading colours, dying leaves, moaning winds, broken vows, departed friends, lost pleasures, and voices from the tomb, — these form the sentimentalist's apparatus of torture, and his gratification seems proportioned to the misery he is enabled to inflict. This misery, — depression of spirits, discouragement, despair, — is the obvious evil attendant on such exertions of poetical power. Who can point out any countervailing good? The canting hypocrisy and shortsighted delicacy, so prevalent in this age of vice societies and constitutional associations, has raised an outcry against the amatory excitement which some of Mr. Moore's earlier productions may occasion in individuals of a warm temperament; and this outcry has in its result deprived the poet of a large portion of his hard-earned literary property. It seems to us that these moral terrorists are altogether mistaken in the view they take of the matter; and that the woman who is early accustomed to speak of and contemplate the fire of passion as a matter of course, is much less likely to be endangered than she whose chastity is guarded by seclusion and ignorance, and on whom the first attentions of the first man produce an almost irresistible impression. To attempt to stifle the disposition that all who bear the human shape entertain towards entering on a topic the most deeply and extensively interesting of any, is as unavailing as an endeavour to suppress the calls of hunger; and the way to counteract the ill effects with which the unguarded gratification of this appetite may be attended is not to repress every glowing or exaggerated picture of the subject, but by pointing out the attendant good and evil, to enable the tyro to walk alone and meet without risk any casual encounter.

Be this as it may, we entertain no doubt that more mischief has been occasioned by two such songs as "Take hence the bowl though beaming" (National Airs, No. 4.), and "Oh, banquet not in those shining bowers, where youth resorts" (Irish Mel. No. 8.), than by any twenty of the warmest amatory ditties that the most formidable Don Juan ever chaunted to an assemblage of boarding-school girls.

That Mr. Moore is still able to entertain us in a very different manner, is evident from the lively and elegant stanzas adapted to an animated Roman melody in the last number of the National Airs — "'Tis when the cup is sparkling before us;" and that his vigour is undiminished when he chooses to direct it against the

enemies of social improvement, is amply testified by the song, "Oh! the sight entrancing," in the last number of the Irish Melodies —

'Oh! the sight entrancing, when the morning's beam is glancing
O'er files array'd with helm and blade,
And plumes in the gay wind dancing!
Yet, 'tis not helm nor feather, — for ask yon tyrant, whether
His plumed bands could bring such hands
And hearts as ours together?
Give pomps to those who need 'em, — the plain man, arm'd for freedom,
Undaunted braves the gaudiest slaves
That e'er let despot lead 'em.
The sword may pierce the beaver, — stone walls with time may sever;
'Tis heart alone, worth steel and stone,
That keeps men free for ever!
Oh! the sight entrancing, when the morning's beam is glancing
O'er files array'd with helm and blade,
And in freedom's cause advancing!'

There is a fervent intensity in these lines scarcely inferior to Burns's inimitable "Scots wha ha' wi' Wallace bled."

If Mr. Moore can only write as he feels, — and there is so much of the true man in him that we suspect this to be the case, — if he has ceased to feel amatory or convivial, here he has a topic for other feelings, the deepest, the most extensive, the most durable. The world is just now starting into manhood and intellect, and even in its amusements searches for profit and instruction; the feebly elegant *littérateurs* of former days, whose utmost merit was to amuse an idle moment, are sinking deservedly into comparative neglect, and the pursuit of a higher object is now essential even to poetical success. No man is more capable than Mr. Moore to direct the poetical and musical feelings of mankind to the highest of all objects, and no man has been more favoured by opportunity for this purpose; — now, when his judgment is matured, his imagination as vigorous as ever, and the hey-day of youthful distractions is over, — now, through the whole world, are the contending forces arrayed each against the other; tyrants, bigots, and the whole host who are interested in, or deluded into a respect for, barbarous institutions and misgovernment, on the one hand, — oppressed and plundered millions on the other. He that feels for the millions must be no narrow or national Tyrtæus; — but let Mr. Moore write twenty such songs as that which we have just quoted, and every language shall take up his strain: from the plains of Buenos Ayres to the lakes of Canada, from the valleys of the

Tyrol to the glens of Scotland, one universal chorus shall swell upon his ear; while the animation of hope, and the brightening prospects of future man shall cheer the decline of life, and crown with exhilaration the latest hour of his existence.

Before taking our leave of Mr. Moore's publications, we feel ourselves called on to say, that with the exceptions pointed out in the foregoing part of this article, the execution of the musical department reflects the highest credit on Sir John Stevenson and Bishop. It has been objected that the symphonies are too chromatic, and, as well as the harmonies by Haydn and others in Thompson's collection, too far-fetched and elaborate for the accompaniment of simple tunes. Now, variety is the soul of enjoyment; and it seems to us that these symphonies, while they partake of the character of the airs to which they are attached sufficiently to exclude any sensation of incongruity, afford a pleasing contrast by their highly ornamented and artificial structure: as to the varied harmonies attached to the principal notes of an air, if the accompaniment be, as it ought always to be, kept in due subjection to the voice, we do not see how the application of them can offend the most uncultivated ears; while to the instructed musician, who was before, perhaps, sated with the air, they give it a degree of novelty, which is equivalent to new creation. In Thompson's collection there are many striking examples of the fine effects of this process; and we would particularly instance Haydn's masterly arrangement of the simple tune called the "White Cockade."

Having thus indicated the nature of recent accessions to the stock of vocal music, where are we to look for a farther supply? We fear, the collection of Dibdin's sea songs has added little that is applicable for the general purposes of music. That Mr. Dibdin was a man of genius, that he occasionally wrote with elegance and pathos, and possessed an extraordinary faculty of addressing himself with effect to the ignorant and unreflecting, we are far from being disposed to deny; but the title of British Tyrtæus, which has been bestowed on him by one of our learned contemporaries, as well as by his admiring editor, seems to us, we own, a little exaggerated. Of his sea songs, a large proportion are written in the coarsest and most ungrammatical language; and to an educated audience must be unendurable, however pleasing they may have been to the class of persons to which they are especially addressed. We doubt, however, whether they would now be pleasing to any but the most uneducated and unreflecting, even of that class; and we have no hesitation in expressing our abhorrence of the sentiments and feelings they

inculcate. Overweening national vanity, hatred and contempt of fellow-men, for no better reason than the circumstance of their having been born at some distance from ourselves,—blind and bigotted devotion to rulers, whatever the conduct or character of those rulers may be,—these form for ever the burthen of the song; and in these are contained the elements of every species of political depravation.

At a time when it suited the interests of the aristocracy of this country, headed by Mr. Pitt, the quondam champion of reform, to divert the public attention from political regeneration, by plunging us into a war with the friendly inhabitants of a neighbouring kingdom, under pretence of a right to interfere with the mode in which they chose to manage their own concerns,—when every stratagem was resorted to which could inflame the passions and mislead the judgment of the people of Great Britain,—when interested terrorists had succeeded by trope and metaphor, by assertion and sentimentalism, in producing a degree of delusion which led people to esteem the most reckless and extravagant of statesmen a "heaven-born minister,"—it is not to be wondered that these songs should have been highly in vogue among the ignorant and uneducated. But those days are past; and now that we *have* paid and *are* paying a thousand millions sterling for our folly and injustice, we begin to discover that it is best for the interests and happiness of all nations to cultivate good-will each towards the other, instead of stirring up mutual hatred by expressions of childish and ignorant contempt, or by insolent pretensions to superior prowess. We begin to discover that rulers are men; and as such, instead of being deified by indiscriminate praise, must be narrowly watched and checked, to prevent them from sacrificing our interests to their own; and it may fairly be doubted whether, now-a-days, honest Jack Tar, after being torn from his wife, children, and property, or his peaceful mercantile avocations, and forced by an unrelenting pressgang a-board a man of war,—there to endure for life all the vicissitudes of climate, the dangers of battle, and the fearful subjection to officers unboundedly absolute,—whether even he would quite so readily as in former times toss off a bumper, or join in a stave to the praise of "Excellent Constitution," or of his humane and considerate rulers; who, themselves in the full enjoyment of ease, security, and opulence, can legislate with such tender regard for the beings who contribute to their support.

As to "The Loyal and National Songs of England," of which Dr. Kitchiner has now furnished so accurate and costly an edition, upon looking them over we could scarcely avoid exclaim-

ing, as his Satanic majesty is said to have done upon a similar occasion, "A pretty collection!" We fear, however, that the Doctor, or his publishers, may suffer for their loyal pains; for we cannot easily persuade ourselves that any but contractors and placemen, or musicians of the Chapel Royal, will load their shelves with such a set of old-fashioned ditties. No persons can exceed ourselves in loyalty, if by loyalty be meant a rational attachment to beneficial political institutions; and we have always heard that it is in this respect English loyalty has been so honourably distinguishable from the blind and undiscriminating devotion of the French people towards the person of their monarch, under the ancient regime. But these loyal songs breathe the very spirit of divine right and passive obedience, inculcating equally the same bigotted obedience to every reigning sovereign, whether he be a Trajan or a Nero. A little less coarse, a little less ungrammatical than the songs of Dibdin, they are precisely on a level in point of sentiment and principle; and as the judgment we have passed on the one collection in this respect, applies in all its parts to the other, we shall not weary our readers by a repetition of the same objections under a different form. We ought, however, to add, for the instruction of purchasers, that, in imitation of the publishers of the Irish Melodies, who have very injudiciously made their musical customers pay for gorgeously flourished title-pages and two absurd engravings in each number, the Loyal Songs are graced with a dedication, set forth in all the colours of the rainbow, with a congeries of curves and circles, like the case of an engine-turned watch, or the modern stamp on the back of a country bank-note.

Of Dr. Kitchiner's Observations on Vocal Music we are disposed to speak with approbation; and at least to thank him for his exertions to impress upon singers a conviction that the effect of music would be increased by rendering it subsidiary to poetry, and that singing loses all its peculiar power when it is carried on without due attention to the appropriate delivery of words. With this proposition the Doctor has commenced his work, as follows:—

'Melody is the soul of music,—poetry is the soul of melody.—The warbling of sounds without the distinct articulation of words, pronounced with proper accent and emphasis, does not deserve to be called singing; it is merely playing on the voice,—a concerto on the larynx, and comparatively as uninteresting as a frame without a picture.'

The rest of the book consists chiefly of the dicta of various professors,—strung together without order or arrangement,—as authorities in support of this proposition; and an extract from Sheridan of sixteen pages, on the art of reading with propriety.

Instead of adducing authorities in support of what appears to us so undeniable, we wish the Doctor had thrown off a little of this modesty, and, relying on himself, had entered on the subject scientifically.

He might have shown, first, that vocal music is usually accounted a higher branch of the art, than instrumental, because singing may add intensity to the emotions producible by the expression of definite ideas; while instrumental music can only occasion the degree of emotion producible by the raising of vague and indefinite associations of ideas.

Secondly, that the intensity of the emotions producible by the expression of definite ideas must, as far as the singer is concerned, depend upon the correct and impassioned delivery of the diction in which such ideas are clothed; and that this kind of delivery can only consist with the ordinary rules of elocution.

Thirdly, he might have shown by numerous examples to what extent singers have been deficient in this respect. And,

Fourthly, how far the fault lies with them, how far with composers.

As far as singers and composers are concerned, we think it by no means difficult to apportion the degree of blame which attaches to them respectively for the comparative inefficiency of vocal music.

Although the number of persons who can read aloud or speak with perfect correctness is small, there is scarcely any one of ordinary acquirements, who would not be immediately sensible of the gross violations of accent, emphasis, and punctuation, which a singer must repeatedly commit if he follows exactly the notation presented to him by the composer. Whatever faults a singer may fall into in this respect, — and in the former part of this article we have shown how numerous they are, — are chargeable mainly on the composer, and might be avoided by a little attention to the commonest rules of grammar. On the other hand, all the distraction occasioned by extravagant and impertinent flourishes, all the confusion or absence of ideas ensuing upon a confused and indistinct articulation, are vices peculiar to the singer, and might be avoided, if he would only bear in mind that he ought to be intelligible as well as audible. *Salvini* has well remarked, that the "singing, which, to be understood, labours under the inconvenience of the words being read, is not unlike to those pictures under which it is necessary to write, 'This is a dog, and this is a horse.'"

Dr. Kitchiner says, "To produce effect on others, the performer must himself feel the passion he wishes to inspire his hearers with; and to sing effectively with proper and character-

istic expression, must give to each syllable and crotchet its exact relative value; but not bawl upon *from, to, of, in, and, but,* because they are placed improperly under the accented part of the bar, or under a long note."

Now, although an educated and judicious singer may himself correct these faults in the composition, substituting short notes for long, and displacing the words as occasion may require, it is evident that in the instances just pointed out, the great blame lies with the composer, who has been so ignorant or inattentive as to place an unaccented word or syllable on the accented part of a bar, or *vice versâ*, or to assign important notes in a musical phrase to unimportant words in the sentence to be sung.

In the following observations of Dr. K. we entirely concur: —

'The *chef-d'œuvre* of difficulty is a plain English ballad, which is, "when unadorned adorned the most," and, indeed, will hardly admit of any ornament beyond an *apoggiatura*. — This style of song is less understood than any; and though apparently from its simplicity it is very easy, — yet, to warble a ballad with graceful expression, requires quite as much real judgment, and attentive consideration of every note and every syllable, as it does to execute the most intricate *bravura:* the former is an appeal to the heart — the latter merely plays about the ear, and seldom excites any sensation beyond.

'Who would not rather hear Miss Stephens sing an old ballad than any *bravura*? — although her beautiful voice is equally calculated to give every effect to the most florid song.

'The general admiration pretended to be given to Italian music is a despicable piece of affectation; yet vanity prevails so much over the very sense of pleasure, that the Italian Opera is more frequented by people of rank than any other public diversion, —who, to avoid the imputation of want of taste, submit to some hours' painful attendance on it every week, and talk of it in raptures which their hearts never felt.'

Upon the whole, though we regret that the Doctor has not entered methodically and extensively into the subject of vocal music, instead of giving us these detached observations, yet even in printing these, we think he has done good service, and that few singers or composers will read them without profit.

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ART. VIII. *Observations on the Judges of the Court of Chancery, and the Practice and Delays complained of in that Court.* 8vo. pp. 68. Murray. 1823.

WHEN Solomon put forth his aphorism, — There is nothing new under the sun, the printing-press was not in existence. Since the invention of that mighty machine novelties are of fre-

quent appearance; and among the recent prodigies of this sort is the publication before us. It is really a novelty. Its aim is to render the practice of the Court of Chancery "the theme of general commendation;" to disprove the vile reproach that its proceedings are either too dilatory or too expensive; to expose to public view and universal admiration the blessings of a chancery suit; and to show that all the imputed discomfort of that visitation consists wholly in the "ignorant impatience" of the suitors, who are *fortunati nimium! Sua si bona nôrint!!*

We must confess, however, that we are very presumptuous in venturing on this subject. The author deprecates the unhallowed approach of all ignorant intruders in a solemn quotation, by way of motto, from *Jeremy Taylor*, which is written in these words:—"Pretend not to more knowledge than thou hast, but be content to seem ignorant where thou art so; lest thou beest either brought to shame, or retirest into shamelessness." It seems, however, that the author is the absolute monopolist of all the requisite intelligence and integrity. The alleged abuses of the Court of Chancery appear to form a privileged region, "within whose magic circle none dares walk, but he." Mr. J. Williams, Mr. Denman, and Mr. Brougham, are stated by him to be "confessedly ignorant" on this subject (p. 1.); and "the chief speakers in the late debates" are characterised as "not possessing any knowledge of the practice against which they spoke." (P. 3.) With reference to "Mr. Denman's intellects and attainments," he is pleased, with equal adherence to truth and urbanity, to represent it as a matter of reproach, "to possess many sentiments in common with him." (P. 33.) Those who are not optimists in their opinion of the practice of the Court of Chancery, are described as "the ignorant and theoretical politicians of the day" (p. 7.); and "ignorant declaimers." (P. 41.) The recent debates on this very important matter are insinuated to have had no other object than "to slander the Lord Chancellor" (p. 5.); and are stigmatised as "flimsy and obloquious arguments." (P. 41.) And the complaints so universally urged against the delays and expenses incident to chancery proceedings, are reprobated as "tales treasured up with a revengeful spirit to gratify men who have been professionally * disappointed, or oftentimes professionally rebuked." (P. 3.) Now when such men as those above named are denounced as ignorant of the subject, connected as it is

* In p. 5. there is a note containing a most illiberal and unjust allusion to the supposed disappointment of Mr. Brougham and Mr. Denman in having lost their silk gowns by the Queen's death.

with the profession of which they are such distinguished ornaments, it is a venturous undertaking in us to approach it. But who can set bounds to the temerity and presumption of reviewers? Notwithstanding the author, by the inhibition of his motto, has fairly warned us off the ground, we shall not hesitate to enter the intellectual presence of which he fancies himself the sole proprietor and possessor, in despite of all the engines of destruction which may be set within it, and in defiance of the damages he may claim against us as trespassers after notice.

Addison's remark, that a reader seldom peruses a book with pleasure till he knows certain personal particulars respecting the author, is familiar to every one; and our author being, as we suppose, of the same opinion, thus describes himself:—

'The causes mentioned in support of my propositions are such as occur to my memory at the moment of writing, and they may be depended on; *for I have been for seven or eight years an occasional attendant on our courts of justice*, and as I did not hear the cases I cite without great interest, *the particulars became deeply engraven on my memory*—a depository from which facts that interest me seldom escape. *My memory is, as to lawsuits, my ledger;* and I could with facility, and without reference to records or papers, write, *by its help*, the history of more than a thousand chancery and common-law suits, *though I have not the honour to be either a judge, a barrister, a solicitor*, a lawyer's clerk, or an officer of any of the courts; *nor am I in any way professionally or pecuniarily dependent upon, or connected with any of them.*' (P. 20.)

Now as we think, with Addison, that a knowledge of these particulars "conduces very much *to the right understanding of an author*," we have been at some pains to ascertain their truth. We confess that we were struck with the intensity of the zeal of this "occasional attendant on our courts of justice," who had unprofessionally and unpecuniarily burthened his memory with the dull details of more than a thousand suits; who, for the sake of vindicating the Court of Chancery from the imputations made against its practice (the judge of that court being "altogether unknown to the writer of this pamphlet, except in his court, and in his judicial character," p. 60.), undertook costly searches at the Register's office (p. 40.); and who felt so much anxiety on this subject, that he set on foot a train of minute enquiries at a village in Sussex, and in other places, besides making searches at Doctors' Commons, for the purpose of disproving the allegation, that a suitor had died of a broken heart, in consequence of the delays in his chancery suit. (P. 56.) The sole reason assigned for all this active and expensive zeal being, that the writer was "a man unincumbered by any profession or employ-

ment." (p. 55.) Our scepticism was still further excited by the author's declaration of his universal knowledge of legal practice.—"Familiar as I am (he says, p. 40.) with the practice of all the courts of Westminster, I was well assured," &c. All these things, we confess, induced a suspicion in us, that the gentleman had misdescribed himself; and our enquiries eventually satisfied us, that in all his professions of independence and impartiality he has been "paltering with us in a double sense." With what indignation and contempt will the reader learn, that, notwithstanding his assertions, that he has been only "an occasional unprofessional attendant on courts of justice,"—whose "only record of lawsuits is his memory,"—that "he is not in any manner professionally or pecuniarily dependent upon or connected with any court,"—that "he is unincumbered by any profession or employment,"—he is nevertheless *a lawyer by profession!* Now mark how he has made up his work of deceptious verisimilitude:—if he had met with the *Anguilla Equivocationis* * of the Jesuits, and had grown pale with the study of it, he could not have equivocated more sinisterly. He "*is* not a solicitor:" true—but he *was*. He "*is* not a barrister:" true—but he is *about to be*. The truth is, he has quitted the rank of the former, to attain that of the latter. He is at present a sort of legal *chrysalis:* having left the creeping state of a solicitor, he is in a kind of intermediate professional existence, between that lowly estate and the condition of a full-fledged barrister, in which he expects shortly to take his flight. Or, to use a phrase which, we understand, is current among the sages of the law, when they condescend to jocularity, he is a *sucking barrister*.

We think our readers will now agree with us, that the knowledge of these personal particulars does "conduce very much to the *right understanding* of the author." This defence of the practice of the Court of Chancery, and eulogy on its presiding judge, may probably be considered a very discreet *probationary exercise* by a professional man just about to be called to the chancery bar. It was said by an ancient prophet, "The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib;" and there are barristers to be found, as well sucking as full grown, who are not at all behind either the ox or the ass in this very vital knowledge.

It is not our intention to enter in this place into the consideration of the practice of the Court of Chancery: that important subject we reserve for another opportunity; and therefore we shall not go into a detailed examination of the pamphlet before

* See *Ignoramus*, act ii. sc. 2. *apud notas.*

us. But we cannot refrain from noticing one topic with which the author has introduced his subject. He begins with a most dolorous lamentation, that it should have been "left to LAWYERS BY PROFESSION," to attack the abuses of the Court of Chancery.

Now, in the first place, we apprehend he is mistaken in supposing that this unpardonable offence was left to be committed by lawyers. The delays and expenses of suits in chancery have been proverbial for years; and "attacks" upon them are to be found every where. But why should he be wroth with the lawyers for exposing the abuses of their profession? Such conduct is at least honest and disinterested. Is it that he considers that they who live by abuses ought not to complain of their existence? Or, does he think the craftsman ought not to impeach the craft? This is indeed a species of self-destruction which the profession was formerly celebrated for avoiding. Hudibras commends their discretion in this particular: —

> "Lawyers are too wise a nation
> T'expose their trade to disputation;
> Or make the busy rabble judges
> Of all their secret piques and grudges,
> In which, whoever gets the day,
> The whole profession's sure to pay."

But, to be serious.—We have had no other object in noticing this time-serving pamphlet, than that of exposing its profligate hypocrisy; and even this we should have left undone, if the author had not made his own interested proceedings the medium of scattering most unjust aspersions and imputations against honourable and public-spirited individuals. For evident purposes of self-interest this professional aspirant, with the most arrogant and exclusive assumption of independence and impartiality, deals forth unlimited imputations of ignorance and of malevolence against all persons who oppose themselves to the abuses which notoriously exist in the Court of Chancery, and the existence of which we shall take the earliest opportunity of proving beyond dispute. The zeal, however, of this gentleman consumes its object: his positions are so preposterous that they are insusceptible of credit. He hesitates not to deny, that "human ingenuity can suggest any plan by which the costs and expenses of chancery suits can be materially diminished" (p. 15.); he justifies the everlasting delay of proceedings by the tritical observation, that "it is better never to decide, than to decide rashly" (p. 49.), and even goes so far as to denominate that delay "*a blessing to the suitors and the country*"! (P. 26.) In short, his optimism is so superlative, with respect to the Court of Chancery, that we are under no apprehension of his making many converts

to his doctrine. In matters relating to the Court of Chancery he is as ultra an optimist as Dr. Pangloss in Voltaire's *Candide* was with regard to mundane affairs generally, who insisted, that "they who assert that every thing is right do not express themselves correctly; they ought to say that every thing is best."

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ART. IX. *On the Administration of Criminal Justice in England, and the Spirit of the English Government.* By M. Cottu. Translated from the French. London. R. Stevens. 1822. pp. 312.

THE distinguishing feature in the administration of justice in England, is the institution of trial by jury; and whatever this institution may have been in its origin, it is clear that the quality for which it is now held in esteem, if not the sole purpose for which it is supposed to exist, is that of operating as a check upon the power of the judges; a check, which may have place in a twofold way: 1st, in the jury's coming to a decision different from that which the judge might desire them to pronounce; 2dly, in the necessity which their presence imposes upon the judge, — the necessity of summing up the case, of showing himself acquainted with all its details, and of assigning reasons for the opinion he may have formed on its merits. If such a check be not the quality for which the institution of trial by jury is so much esteemed and upholden, it is obvious that the power of immediate and final decision might at once be left unincumbered in the hands of the judge.

Now, in order to the jury's operating as a check upon the judge, in case he should be disposed to do wrong, three things are essential: —

First, That the jury should not be appointed by the judge, or any person deriving authority from him, or any person from whom he derives his authority.

Secondly, That the jury should derive their appointment from some application of the principle of chance, corrected by an impartial exercise of human prudence.

Thirdly, That the situation of juror should be *impermanent.*

To assign reasons in support of the first of these three requisites, might, to ordinary understandings, appear superfluous, had not a learned judge seemed to think, that in order to obtain persons duly qualified, *somebody* must nominate*, and had he not adduced reasons why it should be deemed satisfactory that this nomination should be made by *the known and general officer of the court.*† The personification here should be carefully remarked; for the expression "*the court*" turns aside attention from the fact,

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* The King v. Edmonds, 4 Barn. & Ald. 484. † Id. 481.

that this known and general officer is appointed by the judge or judges of the said court whose aberrations the jury is designed to counteract. But so long as human nature remains what it is, it may be presumed that a person appointed by the judge will entertain the same views and feelings, and be affected by the same interests and biasses as the judge himself; and that he will, therefore, perhaps unconsciously, aim at producing such results as he may deem agreeable to his patron: the previous connection between the parties, the selection made by the judge, gratitude for the benefit conferred, — all tend to justify such a presumption; and the judge being similarly circumstanced with respect to the powers by whom *he* was appointed (to say nothing of the effect producible on *his* mind by the prospect of promotion for himself, or branches of his family), a nomination of jurymen by the appointee or appointer of the judge is in effect no other than a nomination of them by himself. Scepticism, perhaps, may be excused for doubting whether the man in power will, very impartially, select such persons as are likely to offer a check to his own authority.

As to the second requisite for rendering a jury what it ought to be; although the same learned person appeared to think that *somebody* must nominate, it seems obvious, that for the purpose of securing an impartial nomination, the operation must be performed by *nobody*; i. e. by chance: whoever *somebody* may be, by whomsoever selected, he *may* be practised on by either of the parties concerned. No such practice can exist where the jurymen are appointed under a system of chance; and the possible introduction under such a system of improper or incompetent persons, may easily be corrected by superadding an impartial exercise of prudence by the parties concerned. Thus, suppose a book containing a complete list of all the persons qualified to serve as jurors for a given county; — a book, for instance, of 50 pages, with 10 names in each page. Suppose, for the purpose of a given trial, 48 names taken by chance out of this book (as, by the parties alternately inserting a pen at random into the leaves, and taking the name nearest to the pen); out of these 48 names, let each party have, as at present, the privilege of striking off 12. Suppose, that out of the list of qualified persons, there should be introduced by chance among the 48, three or four persons whom either party might deem incompetent or improper; — this is an evil which that party might immediately correct, under the privilege afforded to both, of excluding 12 from the 48. The exercise of this privilege being mutual, is, in the highest degree impartial; and it will hardly be pretended, that out of the 48,

there are likely upon any occasion to be more than 24 really objectionable persons.

Then, as to the third requisite; if the situation of juror be, as at present, attended with pecuniary remuneration, and be rendered permanent, the juror has a direct interest to insure his obsequiousness towards any person who may have it at once in his power to place or to omit to place him in such situation.

From repeated attendance too, a sort of connection in the way of sympathy, which has been called a *friendship of inequality*, is likely to spring up between the judge and the juror, enabling the judge to acquire that sort of influence over the mind of the juror which is altogether inconsistent with the nature of a check.

Without going at large into the excellences or defects of the institution of trial by jury, but assuming that so long as judges are appointed and promoted by the government, such an institution is necessary as a check to the natural bias of their interests and inclination, and that the requisites just enumerated are essential to the formation of such a check, let us now see what is the existing practice in the appointment and remuneration of juries.

With a few exceptions, provided by statute, all persons who have freehold or copyhold property to the amount of 10*l.* a-year, or leaseholds determinable on lives to the amount of 20*l.* a-year, are qualified to serve as jurors in England.*

In London, householders who have property to the amount of 100*l.* are qualified; and in other cities, boroughs, and towns, which have separate jurisdictions, householders who have property to the amount of 40*l.*†

Lists of the persons qualified are obtained as follows. The Midsummer courts of quarter sessions issue warrants to the high constables of each hundred, ward, &c. requiring such constables to issue precepts to the several tithingmen, petty constables, &c. within their respective constablewicks, to prepare a list of persons within their respective precincts qualified to serve as jurors.‡

The tithingmen having prepared such lists, with the place of abode and addition of every person named therein, and having fixed them on the door of the church during two Sundays, verify them on oath at a petty sessions the week after Michaelmas; the lists are then delivered to the high constables, who return them to the October quarter sessions; the clerks of the peace there enter

* 13 Ed. 1. c. 38. 4 & 5 W. & M. c. 25. s. 15. 3 G. 2. c. 25. s. 18.
† 3 G. 2. c. 25. s. 19. 23 H. 8. c. 13. 3 G. 2. c. 25. s. 20.
‡ 3 & 4 Ann. c. 18. s. 5. 3 G. 2. c. 25.

these lists on record, and deliver duplicates of them to the sheriff of the county.*

Qualified persons omitted, and unqualified persons inserted in the lists, may appeal to the quarter sessions; and unqualified persons may be challenged for want of qualification.†

Out of these lists the sheriff returns not less than 48, nor more than 72 names, for the service of each assize: no person is to be returned who, in Middlesex, has served within two terms or vacations next preceding, — in other counties, within two years; except in Yorkshire, where the interval between two returns of the same person must be four years; — in Rutland only one: the sheriff is bound to keep a register of such jurors as have served, and, upon application, to give certificates of service. ‡

The names returned by the sheriff to the assizes are directed to be written upon distinct pieces of parchment or paper, of equal size, and delivered to the judge's marshal; the marshal is directed to roll them up, each in the same manner, in a box provided for the purpose; and when any cause comes on to be tried, some indifferent person is to draw out 12 of the parchments or papers, and if any juror whose name is drawn does not appear or is challenged, the drawing is to be continued until 12 are obtained.§

Jurors thus appointed are called common jurors; and the remuneration for their services is, in London, a shilling for each cause they try; in the country, eight-pence.

There are two modes by which the check proposed in the institution of jury-trial may be done away: first, by a selection of persons for jurors whose opinions and interests are the same as those of the judge; secondly, by making it the interest of the juror, whatever his own opinions may be, to act upon the declared or supposed opinion of the judge. Now it is scarcely possible that either of these modes should be applied where a jury is constituted in the way we have just described. With respect to the first mode, the office of sheriff continuing only for a year, it is by no means certain that the sheriff for the time being would feel disposed to pack the gross list of 48 which he returns to the assizes; but should a sheriff be occasionally so disposed, the necessity he is under of returning jurors by rotation, and not oftener than once in two years, must render it a matter of un-

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* 7 & 8 W. 3. c. 32. s. 4. 3 G. 2. c. 25. s. 2.

† 3 & 4 W. & M. c. 25. s. 15.

‡ 3 G. 2. c. 25. s. 8. Ib. s. 4. 4 G. 2. c. 7. 7 G. 2. c. 7. s. 2. 3 G. 2. c. 25. s. 5.

§ 3 G. 2. c. 25. s. 11. & 12.

certainty whether he could find for his gross list 48 men, or a majority of that number, suited to his purpose.

With respect to the second mode, the emolument attached to service being so small, and the service being so transient, it is impossible a man should have such an interest in the situation of juror as should induce him, from the fear of losing it, to give an unconscientious verdict.

Juries thus constituted, being therefore but an intractable machine, it was contrived to attach to the office of juror an emolument so considerable and so permanent as to insure the juror's devotion to any party whose displeasure might deprive him of a competent livelihood.

The machine thus rendered tractable and called a special jury, appears to be of recent origin. So late as in the year 1623, no mention is made of special juries in the books of practice. But in the 23d of Charles II. the court of king's bench *ruled*, (that is, usurpingly legislated) "That upon affidavit that the cause to be tried at the bar is of *very great* consequence, the court will, if they see cause, make a rule for the *officer of the court* to *name* 48 *freeholders*."

At that time, then, special juries could only be had in trials at bar, and on consent of both parties. The rule 8 W. 3., whereby it was ordered, that "upon reference by the court to their officer to return any jury, or to name 48 *sufficient persons* to try any issue at bar, if the attorney on one side shall make default to attend at the time appointed, the officer shall name the jury," must apply to cases where the attorney made default after consent; for in Easter term 10 Geo. 1. it was found upon search that no special jury had been granted for 30 years then last past, without consent. (Wilks v. Eames, Andr. 52.)

The usurpation which at this time was confined to trials at bar, must have been extended to other cases in the reigns of Queen Anne and George I., and the emolument attached to the situation of special juror must have become considerable and permanent; for in the third year of George II. the statute was passed which prohibits jurymen from serving oftener than once in two years*, stating, as the cause of its enactment, "the evil practice used in *the corrupting jurors*;" and in the 24th year of George II. the statute, which (after reciting that "complaints are frequently made of the great and extravagant fees paid to jurymen") limits the fee of a special juryman to a guinea a cause.

Here then, notwithstanding two statutory recognitions of the

* By 4 G. 2. c. 7. the rotation in Middlesex is ordered to be not more frequent than once within two terms or vacations.

mischief of attaching permanent profit to the situation of juror, the legislature confirms the usurpation of the court of king's bench: — Why? unless it foresaw that the enactment with respect to the rotation of jurors would be eluded *, and that jurors permanently paid would be of all instruments the most efficient for favouring the purposes of despotism.

At all events, such has actually been the case.

So recently as the year 1807, Sir Richard Phillips, then one of the sheriffs of London, addressed a letter † to Sir A. M'Donald, the lord chief baron of the court of exchequer, in which he complained that special juries were become virtually permanent in consequence of the same persons being repeatedly nominated by the officer of the court; that this was contrary to the acknowledged principle of the constitution of juries, contrary to the express provision of the act of parliament 4 G. 2. c. 7. s. 2.; and that a partial selection of jurors was the habitual result of interference on the part of the solicitor for the crown. The lord chief baron, in an answer which he addressed to Sir Richard, does not deny any of the allegations; — he admits that special juries have become permanent; he admits that this is contrary to the act of parliament: but, the state of things complained of he justifies on the ground that inconvenience would arise from summoning jurors who lived at a distance; that the instructing jury after jury would expose parties to the hazard of points being ill understood; and that in 24 years' experience, he, the chief baron, had never seen any inconvenience arise from the manner of striking special juries, and had known few verdicts from which he should have dissented.

In 1817, a committee appointed by the common council of the city of London to enquire into this matter, reported, "That special juries were nominated from a book containing a list of names inserted at the discretion or caprice of the secondary, who had placed such names on the book as he pleased, and struck off such as he pleased; that he professed to be regulated in this practice by the recommendation of other special jurymen, of *some* attorneys, and of the sheriff, which he considered himself at liberty to adopt or reject as he thought proper; that although in the city of London there are an immense number of persons who are eligible to serve on special juries, the book contained only 485 names from which all the juries are selected; that out

* In 1798 the court of king's bench held that the act does not apply to special juries, where the crown is a party. R. v. Perry, 5 T. R. 458. And also in 1731, Hil. 5 G. 2. Rex v. Franklin, ib.

† See Phillips on the Office of Sheriff.

of these 485 names of persons, there are no less than 226 who are not householders within the city of London, and are, of course, ineligible to serve; that out of the 259 householders in the list, the number of those who are merchants, in the modern acceptation of the term, is 88; those usually styled tradesmen, and not merchants, 171; that the alleged practice of a special jury being composed exclusively of merchants (*i. e.* in London), is as unfounded in fact as it is utterly unsupported by any principle of law; that during the sittings after the three terms immediately preceding the report, there were jurors summoned for the trial of 114 causes; and that out of the book which contained the 485 names 274 only were summoned, out of whom one was summoned 55 times, one 53, one 50, one 46, one 45, one 43, two 42, two 38 times, &c.; that the book being left in the hands of the officers of the court for weeks together, they may have been enabled to make a selection destructive of the purity of trial by jury; and that application has been made to the secondary by the solicitor to the treasury to know the political sentiments of a jury appointed to try a cause between the crown and an individual for a libel."

With respect to the city of London, this report occasioned some reform as to the number of names and the quality of the persons from among whom the special jury is nominated (a reform of little avail while the nomination remains in the hands in which it is at present vested); but in Westminster, and other places, the matter remains as it was. In the case of The King v. Wardle, for an alleged libel in the Manchester Observer, it was affirmed, and not denied, that the special jury list for the extensive county of Lancaster (the population of which amounts to 1,074,000), contained fewer than 100 names; and in the case against Major Cartwright and others, that in the county of Warwick (the population of which is 280,000) the special jury list had no more than 54 names in it, besides those of the grand jury who found the bills. From these 54 were to be taken 48 for this and all the special jury causes to be tried in the county. Yet the master of the crown office called this a good and proper list; and on motion in court for a rule to check this practice, the rule was refused, and the court declared that the list was a good and proper list.

Here then is ample proof, and an admission by one of the judges, that the situation of special juror has become virtually permanent; and being so, it cannot be other than a situation of considerable emolument, while the fee for attendance is a guinea in each cause;—a degree of emolument of *vital* importance to a great proportion of those who are accustomed to serve; for how-

ever it may be pretended, as it was by Lord Ellenborough (Rex v. Wooler, 1 B. & A. 193. 265.), that the object of the rule for a special jury is to attain persons who, "from their better education and superior intelligence, are calculated to decide upon questions of difficulty," and as it *is* pretended by the officer of the court, that merchants only are selected in London, and "*esquires*" in the country,—the contrary appears to be the case, according to the report just quoted; and it is notorious, that the service is habitually performed by a set of needy persons not having so much as the requisite statutory qualification, but, from their constant attendance, stigmatised by the name of *guinea-men.* The reporter from the committee told the common council, that "of the favoured few to whom the master of the crown office had thought proper to grant patents of rank and intellect, the most part had no property whatever in London; that many of those who were summoned were known to have been *unfortunate in trade:* it was notorious, that many persons derived a certain profit from serving upon special juries; and if any of them were to decide against the crown, it was easy to judge what would be the consequence."

A person who has repeatedly served on common juries in Westminster makes the following statement as a sample, and a sample only*:—

"I knew a special juryman who was a *common soldier*, who, during a parliamentary investigation, was discharged from his regiment at the instance of an army agent, and then provided for in a certain way;—this man, after a time, told me he was endeavouring to collect as much money as would enable him to purchase a freehold, as he had the promise of being made a special juryman: he purchased the freehold, became a special juryman, and I saw him one day receive nine guineas in the course of about three hours.

"Another had been *coachman* to a law lord; his master laid out his savings for him in the purchase of a small freehold, and he was made a regular guinea-man.

"Another was a very poor man with a large family, whose wife kept a green shop.

"I have repeatedly seen and sat by the side of a special juror, who was so deaf as not always to be able to hear his name called, and I have seen one of his fellows give him a push with his elbow to induce him to answer to his name."

So much for the better education and superior intelligence of this *inestimable body*, as Lord Ellenborough termed it.

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* See a pamphlet "on the Law of Libel." 1823. P. 48.

The situation of special juror, being, as we have shown, attended with considerable emolument, and perhaps the means of livelihood to a large proportion of those who serve,—the attainment of such a situation having been rendered an object of desire, the loss of it an object of apprehension,—in whose hands is patronage so valuable lodged? who has the appointment, who the disappointment of so many aspirants? who, in short, composes the body which is supposed to be a check upon the judge?—An officer of the court in which the judge presides! an officer, appointed by the chief judge of that court, or by the judge's predecessor!

In the court of king's bench, this officer is commonly called the master; and according to recent decisions of that court, (R. v. Wooler, 1 B. & A. 193., and R. v. Edmonds, 4 B. & A. 484.), has a *right* to *select* (in what does *selecting* differ from *packing?*) *such persons as he may think fit.* In R. v. Edmonds, it is laid down, that it would be contrary to all precedent and example, if the officer should take the names by some mode of chance. It required, however, the courage of Lord Ellenborough to avow and put in force this exercise of arbitrary power.

In the year 1777, upon the trial of Horne Tooke, a remonstrance being made by that gentleman against a proposal of the solicitor to the treasury, that the master should select two names out of each page of the sheriff's book, the master consented to take the first 48 names of special jurors that should present themselves*; whereupon, whenever a name presented itself in any way suspected by the prosecutor, the sheriff's officer affirmed that the man was dead, or had retired, or was a bankrupt: one man, who was asserted to have been dead seven months, Mr. Tooke knew to be alive, he having that day been appointed to an office in the city. This man's name being suffered by the master to form one of the list of 48, was instantly struck out by the solicitor to the treasury, among the 12 he was entitled to reduce.

Subsequently to this, and up to a recent period, that is, within the time during which the present master has enjoyed the office, something like an appearance of impartiality has been observed on these occasions, the 48 names having been obtained by the master striking his pen at random into the leaves of the sheriff's book, and taking the esquire or merchant whose name happened to be nearest to the point of the pen. Under the authority and express decision of the court of king's bench, this course,

* See Holt's Vindication of the Conduct and Principles of the Printer of the Newark Herald.

however, has now been abandoned; and the master, *without assigning any reason, selects or rejects whatever names he may think proper.*

The following is a statement, by one who is understood to have been an eye-witness of what passed upon the last contested nomination of jurors,—the jurors appointed to try Mr. John Hunt, for the publication of the Liberal.

"The master, being seated at a table, round which the parties in the cause stand, opens the freeholders' book. He turns over the pages, reads aloud any name he may fix upon, which is taken down by the parties attending: he usually takes one or two names in a page; but sometimes passes over many pages without taking any. He is asked by the defendant why he thus selects, and upon what principle he makes the nomination; and he explains, that in the first place he only takes such as are designated esquires in the book, and of those names, the required number quite at random, choosing any one his eye may light upon, *unless he knows some reason why that one is unfit,* and then he passes him over, reserving the objection, however, entirely in his own breast. The defendant objects to this mode, as opening a door to partiality. Without meaning to convey the slightest imputation on Mr. Lushington (the present master) he protests against the principle of a practice which puts it in the power of a master most completely to pack a jury. The defendant further suggests that there are various other modes of striking a jury which would be liable to no suspicion of wrong: he proposes, for instance, that the book shall be opened at random, and that the first, second, or third esquire, (as it might be beforehand agreed on) in each page so casually opened, shall be nominated until the whole 48 be obtained. To this plan, however, the master demurs: he declares his strict impartiality, and even professes an earnest desire to adopt that course which shall prevent any possibility of suspicion; but he refuses to establish a *rule* on the taking of the names, and adheres to his own plan of what he alleges to be an *impartial selection.* The general suspicion and reprobation this plan must and does excite with the public being urged by the defendant, Mr. Lushington *admits,* '*that if a master were corrupt, he would have the power, under this practice, of packing juries.*'

"A conversation ensues, in which the master says *he* wishes that all the eligible names were collected in a heap, and he had to pick out 48 at hazard, *in the manner of a ballot.* He admits that all persons named in the book are eligible, and that he might, if he pleased, take freeholders who are not esquires; but then the practice of the office is to take only esquires, and he refuses to

deviate from it. He asserts that the mode of nomination is left entirely to his discretion, and also that he has on former occasions nominated in another way; as, for instance, he has thrust a pen into the leaves of the book, opened it at the page hit on, and taken the esquire nearest to the point of the pen. Nothing can be fairer, says the defendant; will you do so in the present instance? No, replies Mr. Lushington; I left off that mode on account of the *trouble.* — Would he then fix on any other plan which should preclude the chance of partiality? No; he objects (and this after all, was the chief point) to any plan which would make it peremptory on him to take persons whom he might think improper men to serve on the jury. He insists that his mode (being, as he protests, quite impartially acted upon) is the best, because it leaves him the power to pass over certain persons; for instance, he says, if I see a man holding a place under government, or notoriously connected with government, I pass him over: and on the other hand, if I see a man whose opinions are *notoriously improper*, I pass *him* over."

Now, the possibility of getting upon the jury one or two persons whose opinions might in the estimation of the master be improper, that is, who might be strong partisans on either side, is a thing unavoidable under any impartial plan, which can be no other than some application of a system of chance; but the law, as it stands, has contemplated and provided for this inconvenience, by allowing each party to strike out 12 of the 48 first appointed; so that the interference of the master to prevent such inconvenience is as unnecessary as it is open to abuse. Without alleging the existence of any such necessity, however, the court of king's bench determines that the master shall retain this power of *selecting*, unless corrupt motives or corrupt conduct can be imputed to, and proved on him. When complaint on this subject is made in the legislature, up rises some friend of the master, and with real or pretended wrath asserts that no one has ever dared to cast imputation on the purity of the master's motives.

Now all this is completely, probably purposely, beside the question: no one has imputed corrupt motives or corrupt conduct to the master; first, because it would be next to impossible to adduce judicial proof of such motives or such conduct; and secondly, because such proof, and the consequent punishment or removal of the master, would be utterly useless; for, the thing imputed to the master and not denied, the thing complained of and not redressed, is, not that the master *does* actually pack a jury, but that he has the *power* of doing so, and of doing so without the possibility of detection. To this power, the parties who may be affected by it decidedly object; and for the con-

ferring this power upon him, nothing that will bear the name of a reason has ever been adduced; while it has been repeatedly shown, that for any good purpose such power is wholly unnecessary.

Nothing can equal the facility and security with which this power may be exercised, or rather profited by without being exercised, but the abject and trembling dependence of the permanent juror who is the object of selection; — *he* must consider as the arbiter of his fate, as the person who may determine whether or no he shall continue in the enjoyment of an easy and ample subsistence, not only the master by whom he is at first selected, but all those powerful persons behind the curtain whom he may suspect to take an interest in the verdict: to the will of every one of these, as far as it can be guessed at, and is reconcilable with that of the rest, will it be necessary for him to shape his verdict. Although in his conception that verdict may be a matter of indifference to five out of six of these high-seated spectres, if it be matter of anxiety to the remaining sixth, the independence of the guinea-man is as effectually destroyed by the apprehension of this single one, as it could have been by all six. With none of the persons supposed to be offended, can he possibly come to any explanation; with no certainty can he so much as collect their names: his punishment (omission to insert his name among those of the permanent jurors) he cannot call a punishment, cannot complain of it as a hardship, or even know the precise time at which it is inflicted. In the exercise of his power of amotion or omission the master observes a discreet silence; he names no name, he assigns no reason: his acts, if omission to select can be called an act, are as incapable of proof as his motives; and whatever those acts may be, he is, to all intents, safe in irresponsibility.

With those who assert that the operation of an interest such as we have described, will produce no bias on the juror's mind, will have no influence in producing his verdict so long as he is bound by the solemn obligation of an oath, — we can have no reasoning in common; we start from different premises, we entertain opposite views touching human nature, and can never arrive at the same conclusions. Without entering into any disquisition on the utility or effect of judicial oaths, we shall content ourselves with observing, that they who maintain that such oaths are a sufficient protection against the operation of sinister interest on the minds of a jury tribunal, might with equal justice carry the position further, and altogether dispense with the incumbrance of a jury, by holding the judge's

oath to be a sufficient guarantee for his deciding in all cases with impartiality and integrity.

It now remains for us to observe, that almost the only class of cases in which the government and the judges have an interest in a partial administration of justice, are alleged offences of the press. The publicity of their proceedings and the character of the times, render it next to impossible that judges should receive a bribe, or have any interest in misdecision upon ordinary cases between man and man: but neither the judge, nor any other man in power, can patiently endure a check upon his authority; and the censure of the press is the only existing check, while parliament is composed of persons irresponsible to the people. This check the judges have done, and are doing every thing in their power to destroy; and have declared, that all censure of the man in authority is a punishable offence. Lord Ellenborough has expressly laid it down, that any thing which may tend to bring such a man into disesteem, or even to hurt his feelings, is a libel; and as censure, in proportion as it is merited, cannot fail to hurt his feelings, however measuredly or calmly that censure may be pronounced, it is obvious that, in point of law, no such censure can safely be exercised. Nevertheless, in spite of legal prohibition, such censure continues to be pronounced: — as it is the last, so it is the most efficient corrective of those tendencies of power which are mischievous to the community at large, and is at present almost the only assignable cause of the comparative absence of misgovernment enjoyed by the people of England.

Cases affecting the exercise of this censure, in other words, state prosecutions for libel, are, therefore, of all others the most important; and these cases are uniformly tried by special juries.

With respect then to the most important class of cases debated in our courts of justice, how does the matter stand as to the chance for impartiality in the tribunal?

Certain men in power, composing the whole or part of the governing body, exasperated by censure, which is offensive in proportion as it is deserved, institute a prosecution with a view to punish the author of an alleged libel.

The judge to whom they refer the question, is a person created a judge by themselves; and though not removable by them, frequently receives promotion at their hands, and at their hands has the prospect, if he pleases them, of obtaining a provision for his family or dependants. Whether the defendant consents or no,

the prosecutors may insist, and do always insist, on trying their cause before a special jury. The judge created by the prosecutors, or one of his brother judges, appoints an officer of the court called a master: — the master *selects* the persons from among whom the special jury are to be taken; the special jury have a strong pecuniary interest in retaining the situation of special juryman — some of them derive from it their whole subsistence; and the master, without the smallest responsibility, without the possibility of so much as a question being asked, has the power of appointing, or ceasing to appoint, to this situation whomsoever he pleases.

In the course of this statement, confining ourselves to facts, we have carefully avoided the language of asperity, and having concluded it, we shall abstain from all invective. The only immediate effect we desire to produce on the reader is, to set him enquiring whether or no the statement is true; and if, as we feel the fullest confidence, the statement cannot, in the main, be denied, we leave him to his own feelings and comments, perfectly satisfied they will supersede on our part the necessity of any condemnation of the system we have just developed. Nothing but ignorance of the facts here presented can have led the people of England so long to believe, that in jury trial they possess an impartial and unbiassed tribunal, and a check upon the power of the judges, or of the several individuals by whom the government is conducted; nothing but their ignorance can have induced them to acquiesce so long in a semblance of justice, which could scarcely delude the most illiterate and barbarous nation.

We have entered into this subject the more at length, because we understand that in the next session Mr. Peel is about to introduce a bill to consolidate and amend the laws relating to jurors. We presume he will insert a clause to secure the impartial appointment of those who are to serve: already have the practices here described been denounced in parliament. It is impossible that the people can remain long or generally ignorant of them; and it is equally impossible, that when they are extensively known, the existence of them should be beneficial to a government, however conducted: — an alleged libeller may be convicted and punished, a public censurer may be silenced; but indignation, at the means by which the victory has been attained, will more than counterbalance the advantage proposed by success.

Up to the present moment, however, there is great reason to believe, that a large proportion of the community *is* ignorant of the mode in which jury trial is administered: they are ignorant, that, except in the city of London, where some little reform has taken place, the conviction and punishment of a person who has

censured the conduct of men in power, is the uniform result of his trial. So long as they remain ignorant of this, so long as they believe the jury to constitute a fair and impartial tribunal, it is impossible to conceive an engine that shall so effectually serve the purposes of misgovernment. A single judge, on whom the whole responsibility should rest, and who might be under the necessity of assigning reasons for his decision, might sometimes fear to convict; but when the verdict is in the hands of the jury, the judge is divested of all responsibility, while the opinion pronounced by him is a sufficient authority to shield the jury from reproach.

A government purely despotic might seize and punish the supposed offender by means more summary, — it might even carry on all the farce of a mock tribunal; but suspicion and hatred would attend all its proceedings, and the sense of oppression and injustice would ultimately excite resistance.

Such is the course of what is called justice in France, and such is the result apprehended. M. Cottu, having ascertained that "they order these things much better in England," and having described the principles there prevailing, goes on to say, that if the French government is averse to adopt them, "it is because its reason is blinded by the fear of losing one of *the instruments* which it thinks *the most useful* for the preservation of its authority. Let it cast away all apprehension; it will be neither less powerful nor respected, for freely renouncing every kind of influence over the administration of criminal justice." (P. 300.)

M. Cottu was dispatched by the French Government to ascertain the state of the administration of criminal justice in England, and a fitter instrument for their purpose they could scarcely have selected.

He appears to be one of those ingenious gentlemen, who, born in the middle class of society, and gifted with talents and acquirements a little beyond those which usually fall to the lot of the hereditarily opulent, find it exceedingly convenient, at the expense of a certain amount of obsequiousness, to share in the good dinners and flattery of the aristocracy, and who esteem this mode of attaining the advantages of wealth preferable to the pursuit of them by assiduous and continued toil: he is, therefore, an avowed and steady friend to every institution which is likely to create or support a privileged class, at the expence of the rest of the community. Finding such institutions in this country at a pitch of perfection he had never before seen or dreamt of, he saves himself the trouble of thinking; and takes upon trust, from sundry members of this same privileged class, nearly all the opinions which he chooses to present to his readers. On setting out from

France, he is first consigned to the Marquis of Lansdowne; the Marquis consigns him to Mr. Scarlett; and Mr. Scarlett to Mr. Scarlett, junior, and the gentlemen of the bar travelling the northern circuit. (See Preface, pp. 5, 6, 7.) With such oracles for his guides, it would have been presumptuous for him to exercise a judgment of his own; and he frankly says,—

'The present work is less the offspring of my own reflections, than a collection of opinions received from persons the best informed on the subjects here treated. When my work was completed, I submitted it to Mr. Grey *, a young barrister of the greatest promise, and afterwards to Mr. Scarlett, who kindly snatched a moment from his numerous avocations to point out such errors as had escaped me, and *even to furnish me with some notes on the spirit of the English constitution.*' (Pref. viii.)

It may easily be guessed what sort of opinions M. Cottu would collect and echo from such society. A legislature, irresponsible and self-appointed, under a system of election procedure, in which the open mode of giving votes renders it impossible for the few who possess the elective franchise to exercise it independently without the risk of loss; — a court of justice, the judges in which sit there by inheritance, without regard to mental qualification; — the laws of primogeniture; — an unpaid and irresponsible magistrature; — special juries; — rotten boroughs, &c. &c.; — whatever tends to exalt an aristocracy, and oppress and degrade a people; — find in M. Cottu an avowed and earnest advocate.

His work, however, is exceedingly curious and instructive; not so much in what M. Cottu proposes to teach, as in what he has unwittingly betrayed. As M. Cottu associated chiefly with that assemblage of individuals who are denominated the Whig party, and as he was furnished with *notes on the constitution* by one of its prominent members, it may fairly be inferred that he speaks the prevailing sentiments of that same assemblage: — from the unsuspecting and incautious foreigner we obtain a manifesto, disclosing views and sentiments such as those who have attentively watched the conduct of this party have always ascribed to it, but such, as in all their nakedness, it has never dared to avow. That the Whig aristocracy has essentially the same interests and inclinations as the Tories or party in power; — that whenever it has indulged in the expression of sentiments or the proposal of measures advantageous to the interests of the whole community, its sole object has been by deluding that community to obtain the power enjoyed by the Tories; — all this we are driven to infer, from the circumstance, that of the measures prejudicial to the in-

* Now Sir Charles Grey, and appointed a judge at Madras.

terests of the people at large, a vast proportion has originated in the Whigs, while in the temporary possession of the reins of government: but on the great topic of political regeneration, — the giving to the subject many the real, and not the mock, or as it is termed, the *virtual* election of their representatives, — their sentiments, as far as they have been *let out* by M. Cottu, differ in nothing from those propounded by Mr. Canning, or any other supporter of despotism disguised under popular forms. Hear what he says, —

'These very rotten boroughs, the object of so much jealousy and declamation, are perhaps a branch of its institution to which the parliament of England owes its greatest splendour, and liberty her most intrepid advocates. Divided between families, of which some are on the ministerial side, others in opposition, they are the means of furnishing parliament with members equally opposed in their views; some engaged to support power, others to restrain it within proper bounds. They are besides the nursery of all great parliamentary talents; because their owners, desirous, for the sake of their party or credit, to produce men capable of boldly maintaining their own political opinion, usually return young barristers, or literary men the most distinguished.' (P. 159.)

As if the people at large, who seldom fail to discover and employ the best mechanic, lawyer, or physician, were not equally competent to discover and elect the best politician; — as if the noble and ignoble proprietors of boroughs did not select the creature devoted to their purposes much more frequently than the man capable of doing public service! "The encouragement of the public," says an able writer on reform *, "is uniformly awarded to those qualities which best adapt any functionary to the service which the public interest requires of him. The favour of any small number is, by a similar rule, distributed according as consanguinity or friendship, or any other interest common to a small number, may dictate."

M. Cottu tells us, that the main object of English country gentlemen is to become of importance in their respective counties; that with this view they attend musical festivals, races, assize-balls, and county-meetings; that a family newly come to settle in a county "at first bounded in its views, is satisfied with civilities and invitations; becoming by degrees more difficult, it seeks for local titles and dignities; at length, encouraged by such success, it aspires, if not to the high honour of a seat in parliament, at least to that of *exercising a great influence over the elections.*" (P. 6.)

* Statement of the Question of Reform. (Baldwin, 1821.)

What the nature of this great influence is, he tells us with admirable frankness.

'The owners of great manufacturing or trading establishments possess in their counties great importance. They are respected for the number of votes which they have at disposal; *I say disposal: for in this there is no sort of disgrace; and when a man who is dependent on another votes differently from his employer, he is sure of losing his situation.* Such conduct, which in France would be considered *the extremity of injustice*, experiences in England not *the slightest hesitation.* You must have, or at least follow, the political opinion of him who supplies you with the means of gaining your livelihood.' (P. 157.)

With equal *naiveté*, and with equal absence of reprobation, our author describes the effects of this system of terrorism. For a long while, says he,

'When I heard mention in France of the enormous sums expended by the English to procure a seat in parliament, I was at a loss to imagine what great advantage they could derive from it, and in what receive an equivalent. I was unable to understand this problem, but at that time I was unacquainted with the nation's manners.

'A seat in parliament has a further especial attraction, in addition to its being the most certain mark of a member's actual influence in his county; it paves the way to still greater influence, more particularly when the member elected *is in the interest of ministers.* He becomes then the dispenser of every vacant office in the county. There is scarcely one but what is bestowed on his recommendation, — *ecclesiastical benefices, public employments, sinecures, collectorships of excise duties, favours of every kind; nothing is refused.* There are in this way several great families which, from an hereditary attachment to government, seem to have made a tacit contract with it, covenanting to use their whole interest to return to parliament one of their own members or friends; with this understanding, that, in consideration of the sacrifices made by them, they shall have almost the entire disposal of every situation in the county. Thus, when Lord Lonsdale, for instance, expends from 30 to 40,000*l.* to procure the return of his son, or some of his friends, it is less the honour of the representation which is bought at such an exorbitant price, than *the sovereignty of Westmoreland.*' (Pp. 151—153.)

To any such plan as that of voting by ballot, which would at once root out the system of election terrorism, and save the people the expense of repaying Lord Lonsdale for his purchase of the "sovereignty of Westmoreland;" to any system which should give the voter a genuine vote, and render the government really representative; — our author would doubtless be averse. He tells us fairly,

'The aristocracy, as it may be seen, is the real governing power.

It rules in the counties, where it occupies all administrative situations; it rules the whole kingdom by the parliamentary power, which is almost exclusively its office.' (Pp. 160, 161.)

By the aristocracy is meant a privileged class, who, by forming a legislature of themselves, their sons, their brothers, and dependants, possess the power of imposing taxes to any amount on the rest of the community, and spending the amount of such taxes in providing for one another by overpaid, useless, and sinecure places. This aristocracy, M. Cottu and his instructors esteem the greatest blessing a country can enjoy, and the only security for good government.

'I am going to make an assertion which perhaps may seem paradoxical, but which will appear to be just to every impartial and reflecting mind, — that no moderate government, and still more, no real liberty, can exist without an aristocracy.' (P. 235.)

In a variety of passages we are given to understand that the rich have a paramount interest in the institution and security of property, and that the poor are constantly arrayed against order and government. (See pp. 162. 238.) "*Des excès du peuple;*" "*les fureurs populaires*" (p. 241.): these and such like phrases are ever in the mouths of those who would pillage the many for the benefit of the few. Can the advocates of misrule be ignorant that these pretences are equally false in fact and in theory? There are few persons in any civilised community who are absolutely destitute of property; and to the man who has 20*l.* a-year, security of property is an object of importance as great as to him who has 20,000*l.*: the same superiority of physical strength which would be disposed to grasp at the 20,000*l.*, would be equally disposed against and equally formidable to the 20*l.* But how does the case stand with those who are absolutely destitute of goods and chattels? "Take away all public protection of property," says an author whom we have before quoted, "and the rich man immediately finds himself at the head of an association whose interest leads them to respect proprietary rules among themselves, and to violate them with regard to every one else. There is no person except himself, whom all the members would concur in reverencing as their chief. But the poor man, when the public safeguards of property are withdrawn, cannot make it the interest of any body to maintain its laws towards him. He is perfectly isolated and defenceless, and stands exposed to oppression from the powerful associations in his neighbourhood. Let no one imagine that because he is poor, he is therefore an object not worth aiming at. His labour is the most valuable of properties, and he is incalculably the most profitable of all domestic instruments. Conformably to these principles, in every country where

there is no law of property, the rich man is a despot and the poor man a slave. In England, 500 or 600 years ago, the property of the feudal baron was secure and terrible, while the poor villain had no protection even for life." It is clear, then, that the poor have no interest in the subversion of property: have they any propensity to array themselves against order and government? A little observation of human nature must convince us that the love of ease, which, with regard to the domestic affairs of each individual, is so powerful a motive to inaction, operates with tenfold force, where the interests of the many are concerned. Men are not easily moved by the apprehension of remote consequences, when the evil complained of does not immediately come home to themselves; and even when it does, dread of the powers that be, dread of a possible change for the worse, prejudice, superstition, and ignorance, all tend to generate a spirit of apathy and acquiescence. The people are not easily moved by single instances of tyranny; and, in point of fact, insurrections against authority have never taken place till oppression has become general, severe, and long-continued.

Nevertheless, under pretences such as we have indicated, M. Cottu is continually exhorting the French government to establish a privileged aristocracy, which shall enjoy honours, wealth, and power, at the expense of the rest of the community. (See pp. 252, 253.) An aristocracy a little less privileged, less odious, and less despicable than that which occasioned the Revolution — for such an aristocracy he tells us fairly the people would not endure, though he owns the same body have never ceased to manifest the same pretensions (see p. 247.) as those which occasioned their ruin, — but an aristocracy just as tyrannical and mischievous as there is any probability the people *would* endure. The prohibition of entails, the abolition of the laws of primogeniture, are his constant topics of complaint; the existence of them in England, the constant object of his envy. (See pp. 242, 243.)

It is consoling, however, to learn from an adverse witness (for on this point, such must M. Cottu be esteemed), that the French people are still fully aware of the mischief of such institutions.

'Ideas of equality are now too universally disseminated to permit the imposition of any other kind of superiority than what appears established *for the general interest:* and the institution of a nobility especially cannot hope to overcome the repugnance to which it is peculiarly subjected, except so far as it shall be regarded as a magistracy necessary for the maintenance of public order, and as the means of rewarding services to the state, or of perpetuating the recollection of them.' (P. 246.)

But notwithstanding all his aspirations after aristocracy, our author tells us that in England there exists between this aristocracy and the people a perpetual struggle, and that it is to the existence and continuance of this struggle, that we are indebted for the comparative exemption from misgovernment we still enjoy.

'The government of England is a perpetual and armed struggle, as it were, between all classes of society, acting and re-acting incessantly one against the other; in which the lower classes strive to deprive the higher ones of the privileges they possess, and which the latter in their turn defend to the utmost of their power. From this constant attrition springs public liberty; just as the agitation of the waters produces their transparency.' (P. 147.)

Then follows a great deal of fine writing about tempests and waters, in lieu of a reason why this perpetual struggle should be essential to good government; and the passage is concluded with this assertion —

'Public tranquillity is then founded upon equality in the means of attack and defence possessed by the different parties.' (P. 147.)

How it is that public tranquillity is founded on an attack and defence, conducted with equal means by conflicting parties, is no where explained; neither are we told how privileges conferred on a few, can possibly promote the interests of the many: the author, on the contrary, seems rather to admit that these privileges are productive of mischief to the people, inasmuch as he no where reprobates the people for attacking them.

If he imagine, as many unreflecting persons do, that a government cannot stand unless supported by a combination of the opulent, and that the opulent will never combine for such a purpose unless they are bribed by privileges conceded to them at the expense of the rest of the community, — privileges in the shape of disposing of the public money for their own advantage, — privileges in the shape of factitious and unmerited honours; — if he imagines this, we would say, look to the United States of North America: there may you see a government, not only subsisting but flourishing, — not only established but containing in itself the elements of durability beyond any other that has ever existed; and this, without the concession to a single individual of one of these obnoxious privileges. The government of that country is, in truth, the only one that has ever had for its object the united interest of a whole people; but we may rest assured, that wherever those interests are consulted and promoted, and good institutions are once fairly in action, the satisfied majority would experience no great difficulty in defeating the attempts of

a dissatisfied minority, should such attempts, indeed, be ever made.

It is absurd, therefore, to contend, as M. Cottu does, that in order to generate the degree of public spirit necessary to resist the encroachments of those in power, it is essential there should be a continuing conflict in the attack and defence of privileges, and that this conflict is the cause of the public spirit prevailing in England.

The conflict is the effect, not the cause, of the public spirit: the public spirit is caused by the comparative degree of publicity with which matters affecting the people at large are, and always have been, conducted in England; in other words, because, except in the American United States, England is the only country in which the subject many have ever been enabled to know what the ruling few were doing. Independently of this publicity, the political institutions of England are such as would enable an oligarchy to establish its despotism to any imaginable extent. The discussions raised by this publicity engender in the oligarchy a degree of fear for the safety of its own existence; but publicity alone, unaided by democratic institutions, affords a very inadequate protection to the great mass of the nation. Reprobation, the usual result, the oligarchy has borne, and does bear in sufficient quantity; and in the system of legalized pillage and insolence, only stops short of such measures as are likely to occasion instant and general rebellion. Witness the suspension of the habeas corpus act; the passing of the six acts against free discussion; the laws against aliens; the murders of women and children at Manchester; the trial of the late queen; the neglect of our commercial interests; the countenance and assistance given to the Holy Alliance; the contempt expressed for county meetings, with a long list of *etceteras.* Upon all these occasions, and a thousand others, what is called public opinion has been loudly and unequivocally expressed; upon all these occasions it has openly and resolutely been defied. And yet, says M. Cottu,

'Even the parliament, although far from offering a perfect system of representation, and appearing devoted more especially to the interest of the aristocracy, is constrained to follow in the track of public opinion; with which all may be performed, and without it nothing.' (P. 198.)

Having thus indicated the nature of our author's political sentiments, to the development of which a considerable proportion of his book is devoted, we shall now, as succinctly as possible, examine the view he takes of various points in the administration of justice in England.

An unpaid magistracy is, according to M. Cottu (see p. 254.), an institution greatly to be desired. To us it has always appeared, that next to the having no justice at all, the worst thing that can befall a people is, to have it administered by an unpaid magistracy.

Such a magistracy is virtually irresponsible. The country is *so much obliged* to them for their supposed gratuitous services, that the magistrate must be equally borne out whether he discharges his duties amiss, or neglects them altogether. With regard to neglect, it is the universal practice of the country gentleman to discharge, or not to discharge, these duties, just as suits his convenience: a great proportion of those who are in the commission never act at their own residences; and of the numbers who present themselves on the first day of the quarter sessions to hear the news and enjoy the importance of regulating the expenditure of the county, so small a body remains on the third or fourth day, that it is with difficulty a legal tribunal can be formed. As to misfeasance; complain of partiality, corruption, or oppression in a magistrate, the uniform language of the courts is, that the most favourable construction must be put on the actions of such men; that the tranquillity and good order of the country is mainly owing to the functions of the magistracy being discharged by men of property and honour; and that such men would refuse to discharge these functions if the courts should be severe to mark in them what is amiss. M. Cottu affirms, that in the liability to action at the suit of individuals, in the liability to have their conduct reviewed, not by judges, but by juries, they incur effective responsibility. This, however, is one of the shadows of security with which the people of England have suffered themselves so long to be deluded.

As to actions at law, the class of men most liable to the oppressions of a country magistrate are those whose whole income does not exceed 25*l.* a-year: to conduct a suit against a magistrate may cost the plaintiff, if successful, 500*l.*, if unsuccessful, 1000*l.* It is a mockery, therefore, to say, that the right of action is any security to a man of this class. Nevertheless, suppose the action brought, and the case fairly exhibited to a jury; with sentiments such as we have above asserted to prevail in our courts, it is morally certain, that in his charge to the jury, the judge will exert every nerve in favour of the defendant. Suppose, however, that an ignorant jury, instead of implicitly deferring to his lordship (as such a jury will do in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred), should, as by miracle, find a verdict for the plaintiff, *he* must be profoundly ignorant of our jurisprudence who does not know that, upon motions for new trial, or in arrest of judgment, there are ten

thousand technical subtleties which put it in the power of the judges to terminate which way they please a great proportion of the cases brought before them. A case is hardly to be found in which a party has ever succeeded in seeking redress against a magistrate; though it might naturally be supposed that even under institutions less imperfect than our own, the acts of a numerous body of men would, in the course of years, furnish some instances of error or injustice.

It is, however, erroneous to suppose that the services of these magistrates are gratuitous because they are not paid in money. In the shape of dignity and power they receive for their services a compensation, which by many, especially of the opulent and idle, would be deemed fully adequate. If instead of being appointed by the lord-lieutenant virtually for life, they were to be periodically chosen by the people, the apprehension of failing to be re-elected would operate as a salutary incentive to good conduct, and their interest would be consistent with their duty. In producing this union between interest and duty, consists the great art of legislation: as this is the last art which men acquire, and as our wise ancestors, the framers of our institutions, had acquired scarcely any arts at all, it might be readily supposed, and upon investigation such will turn out to be the fact, that almost without exception, the interests of our public functionaries, from the highest to the lowest, are diametrically opposed to their duties. The judge, whose duty it is to expedite the conduct of suits receiving an income of 5 or 6000*l.* a-year from fees paid on writs of error, has an irresistible interest in defending and promoting the law's delay. The duty of the juryman it is, to decide impartially between man and man: what his interests are, we have pretty plainly shown in the beginning of this article; and yet, so misinformed has M. Cottu been on these subjects, that he gravely says,

'Here, then, lies the grand secret of the perfection of the English government. Almost all public situations, of judges, sheriffs, jurors, and justices of peace, are so constituted, as to incite in their possessors no interest but that of obtaining the regard and affection of society.' (P. 47.)

On the mode of appointing special jurors, which he details at length (p. 128.), M. Cottu makes no observation: he tells us, however, that at present they are frequently *packed* in France; and he *does* exhort the government to adopt some process of chance in the nomination.

'As to the drawing of the jury for trial, subject at present to so many abuses, from *the little scruple* of some presidents of assizes in arranging the names of the jurymen in the urn, that *the*

*best informed* and *most experienced may always come up first*, it might be arranged so as to prevent such contrivances.' (P. 108.)

M. Cottu is a lawyer, and of a lawyer's notions of simplicity he gives us a tolerable exemplification, when he says (p. 121.) that he considers our English civil procedure — "in general sufficiently simple," — a procedure under which, by every species of unnecessary complication, a man who has been injured to the amount of 50*s.* must pay from 50 to 500*l.* for the mere chance of obtaining redress.

It is impossible for us, in an article like the present, to follow our author through all the interesting and extensive topics which his work embraces; we have touched those only which seemed of paramount importance, and with one more we must conclude.

The indifference which is usually manifested in England touching the prosecution of offenders, and the indisposition to secure their conviction, greatly perplex M. Cottu. He does not know whether he must ascribe this to the natural humanity of our tempers, or to the fear of seeing an increase in the already overwhelming numbers of our criminals: he is so little skilled in the theory of criminal legislation, that he never dreams of looking for the obvious cause of the object of his wonder in the monstrous and barbarous disproportion between offence and punishment, and in the expense and trouble attendant on prosecution in consequence of the defective organisation of our judicial establishment. Where death, or a chance of death, or even of six or seven years' hard labour in the hulks, is to ensue on the loss of a small sum by theft, embezzlement, or forgery, sufferers are slow to prosecute, jurors to convict, and judges to sentence. This indisposition in all parties to give occasion to punishment, multiplies the chances of escape to such a degree, as to hold out the strongest temptation to crime, and sufficiently to account for the enormous crowd of offenders with which our gaols are filled. Nicely to apportion the degrees of punishment to the degrees of crime, can only be the work of an enlightened legislator profoundly skilled in the application of the principle of utility: indiscriminately to visit with death offences the most various in degree, is a work that may be accomplished by the most ignorant barbarian; and to such hands, unfortunately, a great proportion of our jurisprudence has owed its existence.

From the foregoing extracts our readers will, we trust, be enabled to form a pretty accurate judgment of the nature of M. Cottu's commentaries, and of his political dispositions. His work, like that of Blackstone and of all other writers

who in good set language eulogise existing institutions, has attracted a large class of readers: the extensive circulation it has attained, especially on the Continent, rendered it expedient that something like a true account of it should be given by an Englishman; and as we have met with no such account, we thought it not too late to attempt the task on the appearance of a translation, which, though bald, is in general sufficiently faithful to convey the meaning of the original.

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ART. X. *On the Means of arresting the Progress of National Calamity.* By the Right Honourable Sir John Sinclair, Bart. London. 1817.

*The Question concerning the Depreciation of our Currency stated and examined.* By W. Huskisson, Esq. M. P. New Edition. Murray. London. 1819.

ERRORS on subjects where the public interest is concerned are seldom stopped in their first stage, but they are not unfrequently arrested in the second. And if they are still not checked, there appears to be a Vis Medicatrix in the political body, which continually throws them out in more violent forms, till an end is in some manner put to the disorder of the public opinion. One of these efforts of nature may be considered as having taken place in the case of the prevailing doctrines on the subject of national profusion. The authority of Burke might long have induced men to believe, that there was something like a balance between expenditure and its effects; — that a country under taxation was really like the earth which receives back the moisture extracted from it, and not like a reservoir from which some feet are drawn annually by the sun and some inches returned by the rain. But his successors have resolved upon maintaining, not only that the reservoir receives again what is extracted, but that it does so when the substantial moisture is drawn out, and only fictitious showers and paper representations of humidity are added in its place; — nay more, that the distress of the owners during some remarkable periods of difficulty, has arisen from the supineness of the overseers, who neglected to draw sufficiently largely for their own consumption and replenish the reservoir with the paper representative.

Among the most eminent of the supporters of these opinions and of their opponents, are the writers cited at the head of this article. The principles contended for by the Right Honourable author of the work which is placed first, may be summed up in the axiom exhibited in his title-page, — that 'either the means

of circulation must be increased, or the burthens and payments to which it is liable must be diminished;' from which it is concluded to follow, that the way to enable a people to support burthens and payments is to increase the quantity of the circulating medium. His ministerial opponent maintains, that 'the currency of a country may be depreciated by excess,' which is the great point at issue; — though this admission is not followed by any calculations of the consequences. But as each has given the description of his belief rather than of the means by which it was attained, there appears to be no way of arriving at any conclusion but by going back to the simplest state of the phenomena in question, and so endeavouring to investigate the nature of the instrument of exchange; the effect of alterations in its volume, and particularly whether any stimulus to production is created by its augmentation; — when the augmentation is made in paper, who gains, how much, and who pays for the gain; — with the effects, either in the way of calamity or the contrary, entailed on different classes of the community.

In the earliest stage of society after the division of labour had been begun, exchanges might possibly be confined to cases in which each of the parties desired to consume the object which he was to receive. But it would soon be found out that any thing which possessed a general and undoubted value in the eyes of those who wanted to consume it, was a good and desirable payment if offered at a proper rate; — on the ground, that though the receiver did not want to consume it himself, the persons could never be far off who would be willing to obtain possession of it by giving something which he did want to consume in return. And the substances accepted in consequence of this discovery, may be denominated the instrument of exchange; for by means of them individuals in the end exchange their commodities for what they wish actually to consume or to enjoy.

When the communication among the different parts of the community was sufficiently improved for the formation of markets and the equalisation of prices which is the consequence, if any object, as for instance a bushel of corn, was offered to a retailer of the same commodity for a quantity of the furs, salt, gold-dust or other substances which he was in the habit of receiving for corn which he sold, the utmost which he would consent to give would be, not the quantity for which he would sell a bushel of corn in the market, but this quantity diminished by the portion which would ensure his necessary profit, supposing him to sell the bushel for the first. And if the bushel of corn was offered to purchase something else, as for instance cloth, it is evident that, first, if the dealer in cloth did not want to eat or consume

corn, the quantity of furs, salt, gold-dust or other substances in use as the instrument of exchange, to which he would accept it as equivalent, would be that which he could recover for it from a retailer of corn, diminished by the amount of any trouble, expense or risk which would attend its reception and conveyance to the retailer; or in other words, he would accept it for what he could realise by sending it to a retailer who bought it to sell again. It is true that if he chose to set up the trade of a dealer in corn in addition to his own, he might at some time obtain the full market price. But he must deduct the amount of his expenses, trouble and delay; and his deduction for these, instead of being less than the deduction of the regular corn-dealer, must always be considerably greater. So that he would gain nothing by the proceeding, even though the trouble, expense, and risk attending the transmission of the corn to a retailer, which are escaped by it, would be of considerable amount; and *à fortiori* if they were comparatively small. And, secondly, even though the dealer in cloth was in want of corn for his own consumption and on the point of sending for it to the market where he will pay the full market price, he would not accept the bushel of corn from any of his customers for more than has been stated. He knows that his being in want of corn for consumption is not within the knowledge of his antagonist, and that he has only to keep his own secret and the corn will come into his hands at the same rate as if he had no such want. A hawker, indeed, would go away in search of a higher rate; because his object is to find out persons who want to consume at the market price, and secure their custom by bringing the corn to their doors. But a customer who offers corn as the instrument of exchange does it to escape trouble, and expects only to get what it is worth to every man alike. And a customer is distinguished from a hawker at first hearing, by his saying 'I want,' instead of 'Do you want?' And what is true of corn will be true of other substances, furs, salt and gold-dust among the rest. Summarily therefore, the value for which an object of any kind would be accepted as the instrument of exchange, would be the value which could be realised by sending it to a retailer who bought it to sell again, deducting all the expenses of the transit.*

* Hence it would be a mistake to think, that if a bushel of corn would buy an ell of cloth, an ell of cloth would buy a bushel of corn. It would buy less, in the ratio that what could be realised for an ell of cloth in any kind of substances by sending it to a retailer of cloth, multiplied by what could be realised for a bushel of corn by sending it to a retailer of corn, bore to the market price of an ell of cloth in the same kind of substances, multiplied by the market price of a

The motive by which individuals would be induced to part with their substances at this reduced value would be, the desire of obtaining particular kinds of commodities in return, without the trouble and delay of exposing the substances in the market and waiting till a purchaser presented himself who offered the desired commodities in payment. And if there was no inducement for any person ever to withdraw any of the substances which had been once introduced into employment as the instrument of exchange, they would soon amount to such a quantity as would prevent the necessity for any new ones unless to supply the decay of the old. For in any given state of the community, there must be some amount at which the substances in circulation would be sufficient to effect all the transfers required among the remainder. And for any period in which no alteration took place in the aggregate wealth and business of the community, this quantity may be considered as constant; on the same principle that the food used daily may under similar circumstances be considered as constant, or because one man's exceeding will make up for another's falling short. And it would increase when the aggregate wealth and business were augmented, and decrease when they were diminished. But instead of there being no inducement for any of the substances to be withdrawn, there would be a continual inducement for every individual to withdraw whatever was applicable to his own consumption; for he could procure it no where else so cheap. And his consuming it would not lay him under a necessity for putting an equal quantity of new substances into circulation to replace; because his occasion for the instrument of exchange would be removed at the same time. For example, the man who should have received corn as the instrument of exchange, could eat no other corn so cheap; and what he so ate, he would not have occasion for the instrument of exchange to buy. Hence the substances in circulation would be subjected to a continual drain, through the receivers applying them to their own consumption; and the consequence would be a continual demand for new. And the share of this demand which fell on any individual would be proportioned to the quantity of the instrument of exchange which he was in the habit of employing, and not to the quantity which he withdrew. And from all this withdrawing and substitution there would in the aggregate be neither gain nor loss; for what was gained by those who consumed substances out of the instrument of ex-

bushel of corn. Or if the proportion of the market price to what could be realised from a retailer was the same in both, then in the ratio of the square of what could be realised for either the cloth or the corn from a retailer, to the square of its market price.

change at a reduced rate, would be balanced by the losses of those who had to introduce new ones at the same rate.

The characteristic property of the invention of coins is, that the fineness and weight are authenticated by the external appearance; and consequently it would be for the common interest that their fabrication should be confined to the governing power. And the government could send into circulation in any given period, as for instance monthly, as many new coins as could be provided and manufactured for the whole of its income during that period or even a greater quantity; as long as they would be received for what would pay for the costs, or it chose to be itself at the expense of the deficiency.

In the early periods of the issues, *the rate at which coins would be received in the market would rise.* For if the coins were composed, for example, of a drachm weight of gold each, — by gold, to prevent repetition, being always meant either pure gold or gold of a uniform degree of fineness, — and if one of the coins was placed by the side of a drachm of rude gold, or, for greater distinctness, of gold-dust, — the coin would be the most desirable payment, because it would require no weighing or assaying. And if any other substance, as corn or cloth, was placed by the side of the others, in such quantity as when presented in the market would purchase the same as the gold-dust, the coin would be a more desirable payment than this substance also, to any person who wished to apply what he received to the use of the instrument of exchange, on account of the difference of transport when he should come to use it himself. Hence as long as there was any competition for payment in coins, there would be no man who would not give something in the way of premium to get possession of the coin instead of any of the other objects. For instance, if the saving from its possession might be estimated at one per centum, there would be no man who would not give a half or a quarter per centum to secure the remainder; or, which is the same thing, who would not increase the wares which he would sell for the coin by a two-hundredth or four-hundredth part. But let it be supposed that there was no man who would not increase them by a thousandth; — and if it had been preferred to fix on any other fraction, the nature of the result would not be altered. Hence a thousand of the coins would be received every where for at least as many commodities as a thousand and one drachms of gold-dust or the corresponding quantity of any other substances. But when a thousand coins were known to pass at this rate, if they were placed by the side of a thousand and one drachms of gold-dust or the corresponding quantity of any other substances, it would be as true as ever that

as long as there was any competition for payment in coins, there would be no man who would not increase his wares by a thousandth to obtain them. And consequently a thousand of the coins would come to be received every where for at least as many commodities as a thousand and two drachms of gold-dust and a fraction, or the corresponding quantity of other substances. And in the same manner they would come to be received for as many as a thousand and three, and a thousand and four. And similar consequences would be repeated over and over, with as much rapidity as men could come to the knowledge of the value which coins were at the existing moment bearing in the market. In short, the phenomenon would amount to this, — that whatever was the height to which the negotiable value of coins should be known to have risen in the market at large, it would be the interest of all sellers to offer to receive them at a rate somewhat higher, rather than be paid in substances which, though they would command the same at the next place of purchase when they arrived there, would be attended with some previous expense or inconvenience; and this would cause the negotiable value of coins to rise. And it would continue to rise, till either it had risen to such a height as to make the existing supply of coins complete or sufficient to conduct all the exchanges of the community, and thereby put an end to further competition, — or till the anxiety of men to secure coins by an increase upon the market rate, was counterbalanced by the fear that the rate might from some cause be shaken before the coins were out of their hands.

But for the first of these events to take place, it is clear that the second must not. And the further the rate was raised above the value of the metal, the more its durability would become liable to suspicion, and the greater would be men's dread of the consequences of a downfal. The rising of the rate, therefore, would go on as long as men were willing to risk their property on the durability of the existing rate, and no longer. Individuals would compare the loss which they would suffer if the downfal of the rate should happen within the period for which they expected to retain the coins, with the advantage which they would derive if it should not; and according as the loss multiplied by the fraction which expresses the apprehended probability of its occurrence, was less or greater than the gain multiplied by the fraction which expresses the probability of escape, they might be expected to undertake the risk or to decline it. And there would be no situation in which the rate would not rise by some amount or other; — because, however great might be the apprehended probability of a downfal, there must always be some rise so small,

that the loss if it happened to its greatest possible extent, combined with the probability of its happening, would be less than the advantage held out combined with the probability of escape. Hence there would be a height to which the market rate of coins would rise in the early periods of the issues, and a height to which it would not rise; and the height to which it would rise would depend on the degree of security established in the community, and could only be determined in any particular case by experiment. And at this rate the market rate of coins would go on if the issues were increased; with the exception of such alterations as might be caused by changes in the public security, or in the public opinion upon that subject. And if the issues were persisted in, a period would arrive when the number of coins in circulation, passing at this elevated rate, would make the supply complete; and when the supply of coins was thus made sufficient for them to be employed in all exchanges, they would be employed so accordingly, without impediment from the elevation of the rate.

If when this period arrived the number should be further increased, *the market rate of coins would fall*, to such a point as would render the final number no more than was required to make the supply complete. For before the number was enough to render the supply complete, every increase of the number would be followed by the dropping of a corresponding quantity of the substances previously employed to assist in composing the instrument of exchange. If, for example, these substances had been corn, a portion of corn whose power of purchasing was equal to that of the new coins introduced, would cease to be employed as the instrument of exchange, and would be either eaten by the holders or sent into the market for the purpose of being finally eaten; for it is certain that men would not continue to employ it at an inferior valuation as the instrument of exchange after it had ceased to be wanted in that capacity, when by consuming it or selling it for consumption they might make it available for its full market value. Hence an increase of the number of coins would, under these circumstances, be attended with no increase of the total volume of the instrument of exchange. But when the number of coins had become enough to make the supply complete, — since all the other substances previously in circulation would have been dropped already, any farther increase would cause some persons to have in their possession a greater numerical quantity of the instrument of exchange than would have been the case if the coins had not been increased. For the elevation of the rate would prevent the additional coins from being applied to the uses of ordinary gold. And since the

owners can employ them in no other manner, they must bring them into the market with the intention of purchasing a novel quantity of some commodities or other at the existing prices, or a quantity which they would not have thought of purchasing if it had not been for the increase of the coins. And by the appearance of these novel intentions in the market, an extraordinary demand would be created for all or nearly all kinds of commodities, and particularly for the necessaries of life. For though the additional coins might be poured into a small number of channels at first, they would quickly be subdivided into an almost infinite number of channels; and a great proportion of them would ultimately be employed as the wages of mechanical labour, which are principally expended on the necessaries of life. And when an extraordinary demand thus arose for any particular kind of commodities, the dealers would attempt to raise the substantial price. For the raising of the substantial price upon an increase in the demand, is not a purely arbitrary act arising out of a desire to take advantage of other men's necessities; but, to a certain extent at least, it is what the sellers must either effect, or make the buyers a present of a portion of the commodities at their own expense. In the first place, an increased quantity of commodities cannot be extracted from the natural sources from which every thing must be ultimately derived, without the exertion, not only of a greater quantity of labour, but of a greater comparative quantity. Again, if individuals are to increase their labour, they have a just claim not only to an increase of reward at the old rate, but to an increase in the rate for a given quantity. A man who is working twelve hours a day already, will not, unless in cases of extreme want, be induced to work fourteen by the mere prospect of being compensated for the additional hours at the same hourly rate as before, and other men have no right to expect it of him; but he may be induced to do it by an advance in the rate per hour. And thirdly, since the sellers are exposed to all losses which arise from unexpected diminutions in the demand, they must either protect themselves by raising their substantial prices on occasion of an increase, or bear those losses without redress. From some or all of these reasons, therefore, the dealers in general, and particularly the dealers in the necessaries of life, would be obliged to attempt to raise their substantial prices; and this could only be done by attempting to raise their money prices. And they would not only attempt to raise them, but they would effect it. For the reason why dealers cannot always raise their money prices as they might be disposed to do, is because they cannot depend on the cooperation of each other.

But where the necessity is real and general, none will undersell the other; and consequently the prices will be raised. An exception may appear to be presented in the cases of some kinds of dealers, who from particular causes cannot raise their prices to meet small variations in the demand, or in the value of money; as in advanced stages of society is exemplified in the fees of lawyers and physicians, the prices to theatres, and other instances. But these dealers, if they do not raise their prices at one time do it at another, or else reduce the quality of what they give; for they can no more go without their just recompense to an indefinite extent than any other set of dealers. The advances in the money prices of different commodities would not necessarily be all in the same proportion; and there might even be some kinds of which the money prices would not be raised at all except as they were affected by the prices of other kinds. But if there was a rise in the money prices of all or nearly all kinds of commodities, and particularly in those of the necessaries of life, every man would discover that the coins were of less substantial value to him than before. Their substantial value would not be deteriorated to all men exactly alike; but it would be deteriorated to all. Let it be supposed then, that to those to whom the deterioration was least, it amounted to a thousandth; — and if it had been preferred to fix on any other fraction, the nature of the result would not be altered. But under these circumstances all dealers would find that instead of receiving the substantial increase of reward to which they had a just claim, their expected recompense had been diminished in at least the proportion of nine hundred and ninety-nine to a thousand. And their first proceeding would be to attempt raising their money prices again in at least the opposite proportion; and, as before, they would not only attempt it, but they would effect it. For they would be conscious that they were only seeking for their just recompense; and consequently none would undersell another or flinch from his demand. But by this second rise of money prices the substantial value of coins would be deteriorated to all men by at least a thousandth again. And consequently the dealers would raise their money prices as before, in at least the proportion of a thousand to nine hundred and ninety-nine. And similar consequences would be repeated over and over, with as much rapidity as the dealers could learn the existing market rate of coins, and raise their money prices with a view to counteract the effects of its declension. And what is described above, would be the consequence of the impulse given by one appearance of the increased number of coins in the market. But as long as the market rate was not reduced to the point which rendered the

number in circulation no more than was required to make the supply complete, the presence of the excessive number of coins in the market would cause a succession of new impulses, whose effects must be added to those of the first. And the final result would be, that by the efforts of the dealers to overtake their substantial payment, the market rate of coins would be reduced till the progress of the reduction was met by the opposite tendency for the rate to rise. But when the reduction had arrived at this point, it could proceed no further, and the dealers would be obliged to give up the pursuit after their substantial prices. For by giving it up they in fact give up next to nothing; because what they were in pursuit of was the smallest quantity which was sufficient to make itself felt. But if they were to reduce the rate any lower, their interest in raising it again would be of perpetual recurrence, and must amount in the end to more than they submit to once for all by giving up the pursuit. — And if after this the number of coins should be diminished, their negotiable value would rise, on the same principle as before. Also, if instead of any alteration in the number of coins, an alteration of a contrary nature should take place in the aggregate wealth and business of the community, the effects produced would be the same. The negotiable value of the coins, therefore, would possess an expanding and contracting property, by which it would accommodate itself to the number and the demand.

If the issues of new coins were persisted in, a period would arrive when a coin would purchase the same quantity of commodities that might be purchased with the metal contained in it, or with what would be given for it by a goldsmith. And if the issues were continued further, it would purchase less; and coins would be returned to the uses of ordinary gold, till the number was reduced to that which being circulated at the value of the metal would make the supply complete. For till this was accomplished, there would be a premium upon removal. But if the application of coins to the uses of rude metal was artificially impeded, then what could be purchased with a coin would be reduced below what could be procured for the metal contained in it by any person who chose to deface it in defiance of the obstacle.

If, during these operations, any alterations took place in the aggregate wealth and business of the community, the requisite corrections must be made. But the savings arising from the employment of the improved instrument of exchange will, themselves, constitute additions to the aggregate wealth; and consequently a correction will be required. And the effect would be, to defer the time when the issues would render the

supply of coins complete; or to make a greater number of coins required to produce this result. But though the time would be deferred, it would not be put off without limit. For it must be an extraordinarily wretched and unsettled country indeed, where the market rate of coins would not rise sufficiently to afford the government a fair profit on coining, and even to pay the expense of increasing its issues by borrowing. But wherever it rose sufficiently for this, the issues would be sure to overtake any demand for coins which could arise out of their own employment.

After the supply of coins had been rendered complete at the most elevated market rate, *no* increase of demand, production or wealth in the aggregate, would ensue from an increase of their number; but on the contrary, a diminution. For since the additional coins are continually swallowed up by a proportionate rise of money prices, the aggregate power of the community to purchase and to consume cannot be finally augmented; it being clearly indifferent as to this point, whether the business of the community is transacted with a certain number of coins at a given value, or with double the number at half the value. The only question is whether an increase of something does not take place during the period that the value is shifting. But the increase of demand for commodities which is the cause of the change in the value of coins, exists only while the change is taking place, and its immediate operation is to produce its own counteraction. For example, if the effect of the additional coins was to throw a demand for a thousand bushels of wheat into the wheat market, the rise of price which would be the consequence would cause the consumers of wheat in general to economize their consumption and their demand; which must be set off against the other. And every time the impulse on the wheat market is renewed, the stimulus to economize demand in another direction will be renewed also; and the same for any other commodities. Hence, to expect a final increase of demand on such a foundation, is like expecting to raise a pyramid of water on a lake; for the foundation is always giving way. And not only will there be no increase, but, on the other hand, the amount of what was given to the government for the additional coins will be deducted from the wealth of the coin-holders at large; which must diminish their power of demanding.

An increase of production, employment and wealth, might be created in some particular branches of trade, in consequence of the direction given by the government to the additional coins; but it would be balanced by an equal diminution in some other branches. For if the purchases of the government with the

new coins had been so divided among all imaginable commodities, that the numbers applied to the purchase of each should have continued in the same proportion as before, the new coins would have been quietly absorbed by a corresponding depreciation, the government would have obtained a portion of all commodities for its coins, and the amount would have been lost by the coin-holders at large; and there would, on the whole, be neither increased production, employment nor wealth. And if the purchases made with the new coins were distributed in some different manner, the same sums could only excite the same quantity of production, pay for the same quantity of labour, and employ the same quantity of capital, in the aggregate, in one place as in another. If the favoured trades, therefore, had been more lively, some others must have been proportionably more dull.

What are called Agios appear to present experimental proof of the truth of the foregoing principles. When it happens, as it does in some countries, that bank paper will sell for more than the value expressed in it, the difference, as is well known, is the agio. Since this bank money has the advantage of being secure from fire, robbery, and other accidents, and of being paid away by a simple transfer, without the trouble of counting or the risk of transporting it from one place to another, it is evident that to all persons who are in the habit of employing such sums as the paper is drawn for, it will be more advantageous to be paid in this paper, at whatever may be its existing negotiable value, than in ordinary money. Hence, if this difference of advantage amounted to a thousandth or to any other fraction that can be named, the negotiable value ought to rise to the greatest height which the confidence of the public in the durability of the price would allow; unless the issues were sufficient to supply the public demand at a lower rate. And if the bank should determine, as any other trader would do in similar circumstances, to increase its issues as long as the price would pay for the trouble of issuing, the price ought to fall to the point thus determined, and there remain; with the exception, that the demand for bank money should happen to decrease, in which event the price would fall further, unless the bank should offer to buy up its paper. And accordingly, it appears that the Bank of Amsterdam 'has of late years come to the resolution to sell at all' 'times bank money for currency, at five per cent. agio, and to' 'buy it again at four per cent. agio; in consequence of which' 'resolution, the agio can never either rise above five, or sink' 'below four per cent.' But 'before this resolution was taken,' 'the market price of bank money used sometimes to rise so high'

'as nine per cent. agio, and sometimes to sink so low as par.'* From all which it may be inferred, that five per centum was the bank's living profit, or what left a fair remuneration for its trouble in this branch of its trade after paying the expenses; and that the issues were consequently extended till the agio was reduced to this point. And at the same time that a hundred pounds in this bank money was being negotiated for as much as a hundred and five pounds currency, the absolute and intrinsic difference between being paid with a hundred pounds bank money but passing for a hundred and five, and with a hundred and five pounds currency, might not be worth two shillings. The phenomenon has been differently accounted for, by supposing the agio to be the difference between the good standard money of the state, and the clipt, worn, and diminished currency poured into it from all the neighbouring states. To which it may be objected, first, that the variations of the agio from nine per centum to nothing are inexplicable upon this ground, unless it can be supposed that the deterioration of the coins brought from all the neighbouring states would ever with one consent become nothing; and secondly, that since the bank can command the magnitude of the agio by regulating its issues, and can afford to fix it permanently at one value, the agio cannot be the difference between the standard money of the state and the degraded currency of its neighbours, which it is clear the bank can neither command nor foretell.

In a State where the receipts and disbursements of the public had been made only in commodities, much trouble would be saved if the government was to fabricate paper billets having a certain value specified in each, as for instance a bushel of wheat, and deliver them in its payments in lieu of the commodities specified; engaging to receive them again for the same value in discharge of taxes, and at all times to return the specified commodities upon demand. And in consequence of the convenience attending the employment of the billets as the instrument of exchange, a number of them would be neither returned in discharge of taxes nor in demand of payment. And for every billet so retained in circulation, it is clear that the commodities which had been received when it was issued would be in the hands of the government, over and above the receipts of the taxes or just revenue; and that a corresponding quantity of some commodities which had been previously employed as the instrument of exchange, would be restored to their ordinary uses. The public have given commodities for paper, and in

* Wealth of Nations, *B.* 4. *Ch.* 3.

return paper performs for them the office of the instrument of exchange, and releases an equal quantity of commodities from that employment. The public therefore are just where they were; and the commodities which were given for the paper remain with the government. A kind of creation has taken place, by making paper perform the office of valuable commodities; and it is the government that is the gainer.

If the government should issue from time to time a greater number of the billets than were returned in discharge of the taxes in the same interval, they would proceed to occupy the circulation to the exclusion of commodities; and on account of their superior convenience, they might be expected to bear an agio till it was reduced by the multiplication of their number. But when the number retained in circulation had become sufficient to reduce them to their natural value, or cause each to exchange for the value of the bushel of wheat which was expressed in it, the number retained in circulation could not be further increased, whatever might be the issues. For any increase of the number would cause the exchangeable value to be diminished below that of the wheat which might be obtained upon demand; and consequently they would be carried in for payment till the superfluous number was reduced.

If when the government had thus issued the greatest number which would be retained in circulation, it should cease to pay in wheat upon demand, it does not follow that there would be a general overthrow of the whole circulation, or that every man would apply his billets to the purposes of waste paper. On the contrary, if the refusal to pay in corn was accompanied by a law making the billets legal tender in all contracts where the value had been expressed in bushels of wheat, — in which, by making legal tender, it is sufficient to understand that the law denies remedy, — men would make an attempt to continue the circulation, and what they attempted would succeed. Considerable agitation would probably occur at the moment; but when this was over, it is as well established as any other fact can be by experiment, that the public paper would continue to perform the office of the instrument of exchange. Paper issued by private bankers might do the same, if the consent of the community, expressed through the organ of a law, would make it legal tender also. By such a proceeding it would in fact be made public paper; for it could make no difference whether the paper thus adopted by the law was signed in what was called the government's bank, or in one that went by some other name. But inasmuch as neither the community nor the government sees any good reason for doing

this kindness to the private bankers, they are obliged to depend upon their power of paying on demand.

If, after this, the government should continue to issue from time to time a greater number than were returned in discharge of the taxes in the same interval, then, on every addition, an increased number must in some manner make their appearance in the market; and from this, an increase of paper prices, or, which is the same thing, a depreciation of the paper, would take place by the same steps as in the case of an addition of superfluous coins. For example, if exclusively of the number occupied in the discharge of the taxes, four thousand billets were in circulation at any particular instant where three thousand circulating at par would be sufficient,—then the billets would be depreciated by one fourth, or a billet purporting to be for a bushel of wheat would in fact exchange only for the value of three-quarters; or, which is the same thing, the paper prices of commodities would rise by one third. It would be of no consequence that a bushel of wheat was expressed in the billet. The government, which made the promise of a bushel of wheat, has refused to keep it; and other persons are bound to give, not what the government promised without intending to perform, but what the state of the market will allow. If the government should attempt to prevent the depreciation by forcibly causing the value of a bushel of wheat to be given for every billet as before, this would be equivalent to enacting that every man should have a right to take a bushel of wheat from his neighbour upon giving him three quarters of a bushel in return. And the consequence of pushing the enforcement to the limit of possibility would be, that every man's property would be at the disposal of his neighbours; or in other words that there would be no such thing as property at all. — Hence the proportion of the nominal value to which each billet would be reduced would at any time be expressed by a fraction, whose numerator was the number sufficient for the circulation when the paper was at par, diminished by the number engaged in discharging the taxes; and its denominator the number actually in circulation, diminished by the same. And if this is subtracted from unity, the fraction which remains will express the depreciation.

It may be useful to examine the consequences of such a system; — and first, if the nominal amount of the taxes remains unaltered, or they continue to be discharged by the same quantity of paper as at first. When the whole of the circulation had come to be occupied by the billets at par, if the government should go on issuing from time to time — as, for instance, daily — a number

equal to what were returned in discharge of the taxes in the same interval, no depreciation would ensue; for the number in circulation would remain unaltered. These, then, may be called the *legitimate* issues; because in any period they are authorized by the number returned by the taxes. And any issue over and above this number may be called a *superfluous* issue; and the sum of the legitimate and superfluous issue is the *actual* issue. Also, by the *nominal* value or amount of any quantity of paper must be understood the value or amount of the commodities, as for instance the bushels of wheat, which are expressed upon the paper; in opposition to the *substantial* value, or what can really be got for it in exchange.

No part of the superfluous issues could be returned by the payment of the taxes; because the legitimate issues are equal to the paper returned by the taxes, and the superfluous issues are over and above. The superfluous issues, therefore, must all go to cause depreciation. Let it be supposed then, that the issues and the nominal produce of the taxes are uniform; and that the effect of each day's superfluous issue becomes sensible at the conclusion of that day or the beginning of the next. During the first day no depreciation would be felt. But on any of the following days, the sum of the augmentations to the number in circulation would be equal to the superfluous issue of one day multiplied by the number of days during which the superfluous issues had been carried on; — from which the depreciation may be found. And what the government would substantially receive on the same day in exchange for the superfluous issue, would be expressed by the nominal amount of the daily superfluous issue, diminished by the product of itself and of the fraction which expresses the depreciation. And what it would substantially lose on the same day by the diminution of value of the legitimate part of the issue, or the paper received for the taxes and re-issued, would be expressed by the nominal amount of the legitimate daily issue multiplied by the same fraction. And the result to the government on any given day would be equal to the first of these quantities diminished by the second; or to the nominal amount of the daily superfluous issue, diminished by the product of the actual daily issue and of the fraction which expresses the depreciation. Hence, when the depreciation became such that the product of itself and of the actual daily issue was equal to the daily superfluous issue, the daily result to the government would be nothing, or the increase of gains would be at an end. And this would be, when the depreciation became equal to the daily superfluous issue, divided by the actual daily issue. But if the superfluous issues were continued after this period, the government would

begin to lose; for it would suffer more by the diminution of what it obtained for the paper received for the taxes, than it would obtain for the superfluous issue. And the losses would in no very long period amount to as much as all the previous gains; after which there would be no escaping final loss. — And conversely to have produced a given depreciation by gradual and uniform issues spread over the largest period for which the influx of gain is possible, the daily superfluous issue must have been to the actual daily issue, as the numerator of the fraction which expresses the given depreciation, to the denominator. For example, to have produced a depreciation of one seventh in this manner, the daily superfluous issue must have been one seventh of the actual issue, or one sixth of the nominal produce of the taxes. But when the depreciation had reached one seventh, there would be an end of daily gains, and daily losses would commence. And these losses would amount to the sum of the previous gains, when the depreciation reached twenty-six hundredths nearly; as may be verified by trial. *

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* If $A$ represents the number of billets, each nominally for a bushel of wheat, which are sufficient when at par for the whole circulation including the payment of the taxes, $b$ the number occupied in discharging the taxes, $s$ the daily superfluous issue, $p$ the daily nominal produce of the taxes or legitimate issue, $t$ the number of days that the superfluous issues have gone on, and $z$ the fraction which expresses the depreciation, — then, the issues and nominal produce of the taxes being supposed uniform, $z$ will be equal to $1-\frac{A-b}{A-b+st}$, or to $\frac{st}{A-b+st}$. The bushels of wheat received for the superfluous issue during $\dot{t}$ will be $s\dot{t}-s\dot{t}z$; and the bushels lost on the remainder of the issue will be $p\dot{t}z$. The result therefore during $\dot{t}$ will on the whole be $s\dot{t}-(s+p)\ \dot{t}z$, or $\frac{A-b-pt}{A-b+st}\times s\dot{t}$. Of which the fluent, corrected so as to be nothing when $t$ is nothing, is $\left(\frac{s+p}{s}\times(A-b)\ \times \text{hyp. log. } \frac{A-b+st}{A-b}\right)-pt$; which is the total gain of the government in any time $t$, expressed in bushels of wheat. When the depreciation is such that $(s+p)\ \dot{t}z$ is equal to $s\dot{t}$, the daily gains will be at an end. And this will be when $z=\frac{s}{s+p}$; or when $\frac{st}{A-b+st}=\frac{s}{s+p}$, or $t=\frac{A-b}{p}$. When $t$ is greater than this, the result during $\dot{t}$ will be negative, or there will be a daily loss. And these losses will balance

What is given to the government on any day for the superfluous issue, will on the following day be lost among all the holders of paper by the consequent increase of depreciation. But the payers of the taxes will, on the following and every successive day, gain the amount of the additional depreciation on their respective payments, in addition to all that they gained by the old; for the paper which they require to pay their taxes will be procured with so much less of substantial cost. And what the payers of taxes gain, the government will lose; because the paper will buy less by the same quantity when it is re-issued. The gain of the government therefore will be made once for all and there will be no more of it; but its losses from the consequences will recur every day and be endless. And this is what makes the government sure to lose in the end.

If a system of funding had been previously established, the gains of the government would be extended, in consequence of what would be taken from the stockholders. And if the payments to the stockholders also are supposed to be made daily and uniformly, then on any given day the result to the government from the depreciation would be equal to the result in the preceding case, increased by the product of the daily nominal payment to the stockholders and of the fraction which expresses the depreciation. Or it would be expressed by the nominal amount of the daily superfluous issue, diminished by the product of the difference between the actual daily issue and the daily nominal payment to the stockholders, and of the fraction expressing the depreciation. And by substituting this, the consequences may be computed as before. — Hence the gains of the government would be continued, till the depreciation became equal to the daily superfluous issue divided by the difference between the actual daily issue and the daily nominal payment to the stockholders. And if the superfluous issues were continued after this

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the previous gains, when the fluent above given becomes nothing. And this will be, when the depreciation becomes such that $\frac{z}{1-z}$ divided by the hyperbolic logarithm of $\frac{1}{1-z}$ is equal to $\frac{s+p}{p}$; from which the depreciation may be found by the method of approximation. Conversely, for the daily gains to come to an end when the depreciation is of a given magnitude, $s$ must have been in such proportion to $p$, that $\frac{s}{s+p}$ shall be equal to the given depreciation. If, for instance, the gains come to an end when the depreciation is one seventh, $s$ must have been $= \frac{p}{6}$ And the losses will balance the previous gains, when $z = ,25975$.

period, the government would on any day lose more by the taxes than it received both by the superfluous issue and by the gain made from the stockholders. — For example, if the daily nominal payments to the stockholders amounted to one half of the daily nominal produce of the taxes, and if, as before, the daily superfluous issue had been one seventh of the actual issue, the gains of the government, instead of coming to a conclusion when the depreciation was one seventh, would be continued till it was one fourth. But from the time that the depreciation was one seventh, the government, though it continued to gain from the stockholders, would be losing from the other consequences of the depreciation: and these losses are what at length bring the influx of gain to a conclusion. And when the depreciation had reached one fourth, there would be an end of daily gains, and daily losses would commence. And these losses would balance the previous gains, when the depreciation reached a little more than forty-two hundredths. Hence even the gains from the stockholders would not prevent final loss. This system therefore could answer no purpose; except to a government intent only on present gain and careless of the consequences. *

But where men had been brought to be in any degree tractable under taxation, it would be a poor financier that could not contrive that the substantial value of the taxes should continue undiminished. For it is for the most part practicable to lay a tax so that it shall operate *ad valorem*; and where it is not, the proof of the relative magnitude of the tax having declined is always a good foundation for demanding that the rate should be increased. And in reality such an augmentation is not an increase of the tax. There is a fraud going on, but not a fraud upon the payers of the taxes. In that capacity at least, they are only spectators. It may be assumed therefore, that in practice the substantial value of the

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* If $p = q + r$, of which $q$ is paid daily to the stockholders, the result to the government during $\dot{t}$ will be $s\dot{t} - (s + p)\,\dot{x}z + q\dot{t}z$, or $s\dot{t} - (s + r)\,\dot{x}z$; and the consequences may be deduced from the former computations by substituting $r$ for $p$. The influx of gain will cease when $z = \frac{s}{s + r}$; but loss will have been arising from the effects of the depreciation in all quarters except the gains from the stockholders, from the time that $z$ was equal to $\frac{s}{s + p}$. If $s = \frac{p}{6}$ as before, and $q = \frac{p}{2}$, $r$ will be equal to 3 $s$, and the influx of gain will be at an end when $z = \frac{1}{4}$. The losses will balance the previous gains, when $z = ,42317$.

taxes would be made to keep pace with the depreciation. But if this was the case, the influx of gain would at once be made perpetual; for there would be no deductions for loss upon the taxes. The proportion of the nominal value to which each billet would be reduced, would at any time be expressed by a fraction whose numerator was the number sufficient at par for the whole circulation, and its denominator the number actually in circulation; the number occupied in discharging the taxes being left out of both, as being the same proportional part. What would be substantially received on any day for the superfluous issue, would be equal to the nominal amount of the daily superfluous issue, diminished by the product of itself and of the fraction which expresses the depreciation. What would be substantially gained on the same day from the stockholders, would be equal to the nominal amount of the daily payment to the stockholders multiplied by the same fraction. And the sum of these two quantities would be the daily gain of the government. By computing the bushels of wheat received for the superfluous issue on each successive day of the period in which any given depreciation has been brought to pass, their number will be found to amount to such a proportion of the number of billets sufficient at par for the whole circulation, as is expressed by the hyperbolic logarithm of the inverse of the fraction which expresses the reduced value of each billet.* And the bushels extracted from the stockholders will be found to amount to such a proportion of the number of billets sufficient at par for the whole circulation, as is expressed by taking the product of the fraction which expresses the depreciation and of the inverse of the fraction which expresses the reduced value of each billet, — diminishing it by the hyperbolic logarithm of this inverse, — and multiplying the remainder by the nominal payment made to the stockholders in any given period, divided by the superfluous issue in the same period. And the sum of these two amounts will be the gain of the government. †

* The hyperbolic logarithms may be found from the logarithms in the common tables, by multiplying them by 2,30258529. The logarithm of a fraction is equal to the difference between the logarithms of the numerator and of the denominator; considering the difference as subtractive instead of additive and *vice versâ*, when the denominator is the greatest. By the inverse of a fraction, is meant the fraction inverted; as four thirds instead of three fourths.

† Where the nominal amount of the taxes rises with the reduction of value of the billets, if $\frac{A}{m}$ is the number engaged in discharging the taxes when the depreciation begins, $\frac{A+st}{m}$ will be the number

Because the portion of the instrument of circulation which is engaged in discharging the taxes rises in nominal amount in proportion to the reduction of the substantial value of each billet, it has been seen that it may be left out of the calculations altogether. And this leads to an observation of importance. If the instrument of circulation consisted in part of bills of exchange, the nominal amount of the bills drawn from time to time would also rise in proportion to the reduction of the substantial value of any given elementary part, as, for instance, of the pound sterling. Hence bills of exchange, so far as they will be affected by depreciation, may be left out of the calculations altogether.

The losses of the stockholders from the reduced value of the payments made to them, would have no effect in lowering the nominal price of stock. For if an annual payment of five notes would sell for a hundred when there was no depreciation, an annual payment of five depreciated notes would sell for a hundred

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engaged in the same employment after any number of days $t$. For if this number is called $x$, $x$ will be to $\frac{A}{m}$ as $A+st-x$ to $A-\frac{A}{m}$; from which it follows that $x$ will be to $A+st$ as $\frac{A}{m}$ to $A$, or $x$ will be equal to $\frac{A+st}{m}$. The proportion of the original value to which each billet will be reduced, will be equal to $A-\frac{A}{m}$, divided by $A+st-\frac{A+st}{m}$; which is equal to $\frac{A}{A+st}$. And $z$ will be $=1-\frac{A}{A+st}$, or $\frac{st}{A+st}$. The bushels of wheat received for the superfluous issue during $\dot{t}$, will be $s\dot{t}-st\dot{z}$, or $\frac{A\times s\dot{t}}{A+st}$ Of which the fluent, corrected so as to be nothing when $t$ is nothing, is $A\times$hyp. log. $\frac{A+st}{A}$ The bushels gained from the stockholders during $\dot{t}$, will be $qt\dot{z}$ or $\frac{sqt\dot{t}}{A+st}$. Of which the fluent, corrected as before, is $qt-\left(\frac{qA}{s}\times\text{hyp. log. }\frac{A+st}{A}\right)$; which is equal to $\frac{qtAs}{As}-\left(\frac{qA}{s}\times\text{hyp. log. }\frac{A+st}{A}\right)$, or to $A\times\frac{q}{s}\times\left(\frac{st}{A}-\text{hyp. log.}\frac{A+st}{A}\right)$. And $\frac{st}{A}$ is equal to $\frac{A+st}{A}$ multiplied by $\frac{st}{A+st}$; or to the inverse of the reduced value of each billet, multiplied by the depreciation. If $s=\frac{1}{5}$, $st$ will $=\frac{A}{5}$; and the first fluent will $=A\times,28768192$; and the second fluent will $=A\times\frac{q}{s}\times,04565141$.

depreciated ones; the security of the government and other circumstances in general being supposed unaltered.

If such a paper purported to represent coins instead of corn, and was made a legal tender in lieu of them, the progress of the issues would cause coins to disappear from circulation. For depreciation would be produced as soon as the coins and notes together were more than would be sufficient for the circulation if their value continued at par; and both would be depreciated alike. But as soon as the coins were depreciated below the metallic value, they would begin to be returned to the uses of metal. And as long as the paper in circulation was enough to keep up this degree of depreciation, all efforts to increase the number of coins by issuing new ones, would be like pouring water into a sieve.

If the transformation of coins was opposed by laws, these laws would produce no effect in finally preventing it. Nevertheless, the government might have a motive for putting a stigma on the transformation of coins. For if it could make it impossible for decent people to turn their coins into rude metal, to all decent people the power of obtaining coins for notes would be a useless privilege; and what would be useless to them if they had it, they would not murmur at being refused.

To send new coins into circulation, would be one way to reduce a depreciation; but the cost of coining would be thrown away, because the coins must disappear. The same result may be obtained without cost, by destroying the paper as it comes in, instead of re-issuing it. And if the government was *bonâ fide* to destroy the depreciation at its own expense by the contrary of the steps by which it had brought it on, it would make but a partial restoration, and be a great gainer on the balance of the account. But there is something yet behind;—for it is possible for the government to destroy the depreciation, and *not* do it at its own expense. It may do it at the expense of other persons; as, for instance, of the payers of the taxes. It will indeed be obliged to make advances of money in the first instance; but they may be repaid over and over by the consequences. And for this end it is only necessary to change the mode of laying the taxes, from imposts *ad valorem* to imposts fixed in nominal amount. The case will then be the reverse of the case first examined; and the having to pay the stockholders in a currency of increased value, will not prevent the arrival of a period when what is gained upon the taxes will overbalance all the outgoings. Hence, if through the cessation of war or other causes the government should be master of any sur-

plus revenue, it would be a most profitable speculation to employ it regularly and constantly in buying up the superfluous paper. And universally, if a government can procure the nominal value of the taxes to be raised from time to time, while superfluous issues are being carried on, and to remain stationary when they are reduced — as the valve of a pump allows a passage in one direction, and prevents it in the other, — both the issuing of superfluous paper and the withdrawing will be profitable operations. But if instead of the nominal amount of the taxes remaining undiminished for an unlimited period, a surrender can only be deferred for as long as is necessary to pay the expenses of the process, the government will make a clear gain of all the credit of the proceeding, and most probably make a farther gain by the unobserved increase of the substantial value of the taxes which are left.

If billets of the nature described were issued by individuals, they could cause no depreciation as long as either commodities or coins could be obtained for them on demand. But if the government should allow its own paper, which was itself not recoverable upon demand, to be legal tender in payment of the notes of private bankers, then the existence of depreciation would have no effect in causing the notes of private bankers to be returned. For there is nothing to be gained by demanding one kind of paper in exchange for the other. It may be thought that some inducement would arise out of the increase of value which would be produced by diminishing the quantity of paper in circulation. But the way to determine the effect is to see what an individual would gain. In 1810, for example, when there are asserted to have been fifty-six millions of paper in circulation in Great Britain, the holder of five pounds of the paper of a private banker, on the supposition that by returning it he increased the value of the paper in circulation by the whole five pounds, would gain something less than the two-thousandth part of a farthing. And the holder of two hundred and forty pounds, by carrying it back might make a gain of very near a farthing sterling. That is, he might enjoy the prospect, that in his purchases with the two hundred and forty pounds, he would receive the value of a farthing more, in consequence of the change of money prices. Little seems to be required to prove, that such temptations never caused a single note to be returned. The author of the second pamphlet however has adopted a different conclusion*; in which he appears to follow the author of the Essay on the Principle of Population.†

* P. 37. † B. 3. Ch. 5.

On the foregoing grounds, the gains in particular cases may be calculated. For example, it has been asserted, that the circulation of the notes of the Bank of England amounted in 1810 to twenty-three millions sterling, and the total circulation of Great Britain, including the notes of private bankers, to fifty-six millions; to which may be added about four millions in specie.* In 1814 under the same system, the depreciation below the metallic value was something more than one fourth. Upon which data, supposing the superfluous issues to have proceeded with uniformity since 1797, the sum required for circulation, free of depreciation, might be collected to be near forty-five millions. But an allowance must be made for the increase of the sum demanded for the circulation. Let it be supposed therefore that this sum in 1797 was thirty millions; an amount at which it had been stated by some persons in 1776†, and which can hardly be extravagant at the other period. And by employing this instead of forty-five millions, it will follow, that on the supposition that the depreciation proceeded from over issues and that the allowance for the increase in the demand for money is sufficient, there would have been received for the superfluous paper the substantial value of thirty millions multiplied by the hyperbolic logarithm of four thirds, — or eight millions six hundred and thirty thousand four hundred and fifty-eight pounds, sixteen shillings and sixpence; which would have been taken from the holders and users of the instrument of exchange during the progress of the depreciation. Of which, by dividing it according to the paper of each in circulation in 1810, three millions five hundred and forty-four thousand six hundred and fifty-two pounds, sixteen shillings and eleven-pence would have been received by the government, and five millions eighty-five thousand eight hundred and five pounds, nineteen shillings and seven-pence by the private bankers; — the whole being over and above what might have been gained in any quarter through the substitution of paper for coins. And if the payments to the stockholders are supposed to have amounted to sixteen millions annually on an average, and the superfluous paper to have been accumulating from 1797 to 1814 at the rate of ten seventeenths of a million annually so as to make the depreciation finally one fourth,—the difference between this and the paper really in existence being allowed for the increase in the sum demanded for the circulation, — the government would

* Speech of Mr. G. Johnstone in the House of Commons on the 19th of July, 1811.

† Wealth of Nations, B. 4. Ch. 1.

further have gained from the stockholders the substantial value of thirty-seven millions two hundred and fifty-one thousand five hundred and fifty pounds, eleven shillings and twopence.* Which makes the whole gain of the government forty millions seven hundred and ninety-six thousand two hundred and three pounds, eight shillings and a penny; and the whole loss of the public, including what is taken by the private bankers, forty-five millions eight hundred and eighty-two thousand and nine pounds, seven shillings and eight-pence. And all these are substantial millions, clear of depreciation; but if their value is reckoned in the degenerate millions of 1814, the numbers must be increased by one third. The four millions in specie have been treated as if they were non-existent; for it is evident that they were not in circulation. The moment one of these coins appeared in public, it must have been hunted down for the melting-pot or exportation. Those therefore that escaped must have lain hid.

The advocates of the paper system, when pressed on the subject of the depreciation, say that it proceeded from a rise in the value of gold. But if it had proceeded from this cause, it would have been the interest of the government to make the value of paper keep pace with that of gold by diminishing the quantity, for the sake of the increased value which would be given in perpetuity to the taxes through the simple contrivance of fixing them in nominal amount. And the same will apply to the supposition of a diminution in the sum demanded for circulation, whether proceeding from a diminution of the wealth and business of the community, or from what has been called 'economizing the circulating medium.'

It might be interesting to inquire into the causes of the good understanding between the ministers of past times and the private bankers, which could induce the former to give up so much of what they apparently might have brought into the coffers of the government. It can only be explained by supposing that the bankers had strong means of defence. They must evidently have been of all men the best informed on the nature of the process going forward; and to have had them in opposition in their quality of bankers, would never have been got over. Fairs and markets would have rung of the extracted

* In this case $q$ = sixteen millions divided by the number of days in a year, and $s$ = ten seventeenths of a million divided by the same. Hence $\frac{q}{s} = 16 \times \frac{17}{10}$. And the fluent = thirty millions $\times 16 \times \frac{17}{10} \times$ ,04565141 : which is =37251550,56.

millions, as they have since rung of the omnipotence of credit and the blessings of an extended circulation; and a tribune would have been erected in every country town, which no statutes could have silenced. It is difficult to say the bankers were to blame, in taking what it was so necessary to offer them. At the same time it is consolatory to see, that forty millions could not be taken by the ministers, without allowing some other persons to take five millions more. A despotic government would clearly have taken all. The fact therefore affords a measure of the distance from despotism, and of the difficulty of taking money from the public.

An inference from the above theory is, that a public paper not payable upon demand may be maintained at a given standard, by increasing or diminishing the quantity in circulation according to the market price of gold. If the government should never create new paper, but upon proof produced before the popular branch of the legislature that a note would purchase a certain prescribed or standard quantity of gold and something more, — and if the creation was limited to what would reduce the quantity purchasable to the standard quantity, — it would be impossible for depreciation to arise; unless the demand for the instrument of exchange should ever become retrograde. And in this case, the withdrawing of a quantity of paper would remedy the evil.* The expense of doing this would be no more than would take place if the paper was payable upon demand. But there would be this advantage, that a necessity for refunding could not be brought on by alarm, but only by a real diminution in the demand for the instrument of exchange. At the same time a nation which should have the process of substituting paper to begin, would do well to keep the value in sight. Hence if such a nation had a debt, — and there appears to be little use in considering the case of a nation which has none, — it could apparently do nothing better with what was brought into the hands of the government by the substitution of paper for gold, than apply it in aid of a sinking fund. For the whole would then be employed with the same advantage to the public as other sums which are levied from them with the same specific purpose; and any paper which

* If the standard or proper price of gold is to the variation of price as $G$ to $g$, the proportion of the existing currency which must be added or withdrawn to bring the price of gold to the standard price will be $\frac{g}{G \mp g}$; the negative sign being used when the price of gold is too low or paper is to be added, and the positive in the contrary case.

it might ever become desirable to absorb, could be procured without waste by returning into the market a portion of the stock of the fund. And this is not the old mistake of making a treasure of a redeemed debt. For the debt has received an express diminution, with the included purpose of giving back a part in case of urgency. A diminution of ten pounds, even with the possibility of being obliged to give up one, is at all events a diminution of nine. And there is also the chance, that the surrender will not be required at all. — The standard price of gold must be fixed a little above the metallic price or that which is expressed by the number of coins into which a given quantity of gold is wrought. And at the same time, the private bankers must be obliged to pay in coins; and when the government is applied to for coins, it must sell them at such a rate as will pay the cost and just profit of coining. Without these precautions, there will be nothing to prevent the private bankers from driving in the paper of the government, and causing as much depreciation as they please. One of them cannot much outrun the other; but there will be nothing to hinder them from all going on together till they reach any assignable point. And in particular, the confining either a private or public bank to discounting bills at dates however short, will be no limitation. For it amounts to a permission to issue in perpetuity as much paper as men can be persuaded to borrow, under the formality of from time to time renewing the contract. — Subjection to the proposed standard would attach the value of the currency permanently to that of gold. And to demand a standard abstractedly free from variation, is like seeking for better bread than is made of wheat. Gold is by general consent the best standard for the use wanted. But if it is required to compare the value of gold at distant periods, corn, taken on the average of a sufficient number of years to obviate the diversities of seasons, affords an almost perfect measure, through the interference of the principle of population.

And here it becomes a question, how much of the instrument of exchange a nation is bound to allow the private bankers to occupy. A people by their own act or that of their government, can make a substantial saving of forty or fifty millions sterling, through the process of issuing a paper currency not payable upon demand, under a proper check upon the issue. That they have the power of doing this, arises from the fact of their being a nation, and is totally distinct from the principle on which an individual can circulate notes under a promise to pay. It is a pure perquisite of nationality, which nothing else can acquire or possess. A portion of risk too attends the gain; and this also the public takes. If ever there was a process by which the pub-

lic has an exclusive right to profit, it is this. There is nothing in it like commerce or exchange; it is a simple exercise of internal economy on a national scale, like that by which an individual replaces his silver vessels with glass. In the midst of this stands up an order of men, and represents that it will be convenient to them to take twenty or thirty millions of the public profit, and that they have a right to do it because they will be at the expense of issuing the paper. Which is precisely as if they should enter the house of an individual, and insist on carrying off his silver drinking-vessels on the ground that they would leave glass ones in their room. It would be of no use to try to persuade him that it was their trade, or that they were benevolent dealers who established agencies in every town and village out of apprehension that any man should be in want of vessels. And it would be equally useless for them to assure him, that the glass was just as good for the purpose of drinking. He would admit it; but he would aver that he, and not they, had a right to the difference. If they proceeded to positive attempts, he would proceed to lock up his plate. Which they would probably pronounce to be iniquitous, and contrary to the right which all men had to be on an equal footing in his plate closet. Upon which he would double his lock. Men are hawks when they view their interests singly, and beetles when they are to lose in crowds. There is no reason why a single pound of the public any more than of the private saving, should be carried off by any but the owners; — though it seems to be considered, like Park's caravan by the Africans, as a '*dummulafong* or thing to be eaten' by any that can lay hands on it. A government may not always be the most exact representative of the public; but it must always be some representative. For it must be a very bottomless pit, if the public is not something richer for what it saves, and poorer for what it gives away.

But perhaps there is not much danger that any government, when the necessity for conciliation was removed, should do otherwise than take all. The stewards of the public are often suspected of allowing the general wealth to drain out; but, without peculiar reasons, they can never find it economical to make it over to whole orders of men in the gross. There must be some merit, beyond the mere willingness to take it and be thankful; — the most expansive administration will be more select in its attachments. Where the contrary took place, it was to secure the taking of a greater sum, and by no means for the simple services of the private bankers, though doubtless they were always helpful. But in the absence of such a reason, a government seems as likely to allow the public forests to be scrambled for by

the landholders, as to permit what it might take for itself to be taken by the bankers.

Since the issuing of superfluous paper is likely to be carried to a greater extent than that of coins, there may be consequences which it would have been useless to notice under the head of coins, though they might have been traced there if it had been preferred. One of these is, the multiplication of bankruptcies. If the increase in the nominal prices was mistaken by the manufacturers and traders for an increase in the demand, they would endeavour to increase their rate of manufacturing and trading; and as there could in the end be no real demand for a greater quantity of goods than before, this increase of production would be checked by the expulsion of those traders who were least able to bear up against disappointment. The rate of profits in every branch would be reduced to the lowest at which men with average advantages and good conduct could maintain themselves in the degree of comfort which custom had made necessary for their station, — those of extraordinary abilities and good fortune would accumulate wealth, — and the weakest and least advantageously circumstanced, among whom might be expected to be found those who had to pay for borrowing or long credits, would be driven out of business by bankruptcy, or avoid it by a voluntary retreat. Hence what are rightly termed 'failures in business,' including the rare cases in which bankruptcy is avoided by retreat, appear to be the natural check to the indefinite multiplication of traders, as the consequences of diminished food are the check to the multiplication of the inferior classes of labourers. Under ordinary circumstances, the process of expulsion goes on without exciting much attention; but under the operation of a stimulating cause like the fallacious semblance of an increase in the demand, the evacuation might assume a tremendous appearance, and exhibit itself in the shape of incalculable misery to innocent and hopeful individuals. And if this is a natural process, which from the inevitable operation of men's eagerness to better their condition must be always taking place with the weakest, it forms a striking reason for the moderation with which modern nations have agreed to treat the unfortunate in trade. — As long as the superfluous issues were persisted in, the fallacious appearance of an increase in the demand would be prolonged; but it would not accumulate, though its effects would. If the advances of the depreciation were uniform, it would be a uniform constant force. For it depends, not on the absolute magnitude of the depreciation, but on the rate at which it is increasing. And while the force existed, its effects might be looked for in a progressive elongation of the List of Bankrupts, in proportion

as by the action of the cause more and more individuals were drawn into the vortex and cast out.

The solitary case in which an increased quantity of commodities might be finally called into existence in consequence of the multiplication of superfluous paper, would be if the substantial wages of labour did not keep pace with the progress of the depreciation. For there would be a continual struggle on the part of the masters to prevent the nominal rate of wages from rising; and in most countries the laws give an unjust advantage to the masters. And if the workmen did not succeed in raising the nominal rate of wages so as to keep pace with the depreciation, — and it is almost certain that they would not succeed, — one portion of the substantial recompense of which they were thus defrauded would be employed in exciting them to an increase of production, and the remainder would pay the profits of the masters on the additional commodities produced. The portion applied in the first of these ways would be so adjusted, that the remainder should be sufficient to pay the profits. And this adjustment would be effected by the same means by which the adjustment of the supply is enforced in other circumstances. If the profit left was too great, the rate of manufacturing would be increased; and the contrary. But it is evident that all that was gained in this manner, would be extracted from the nerves and muscles of the labouring classes, by the double process of increasing their labour and diminishing their reward. And this could cause no increase of the aggregate wealth; for all that was given to one would be taken from another. Yet in the eyes of the masters it might appear to be a material improvement; and they would probably not fail to celebrate the advantages of an augmented circulation, the extension of manufactures and commerce, and particularly the increased employment given to the poor.

It will be urged in denial of the injury sustained by the labouring classes, that taxes cannot be levied on the wages of labour. Which is true, as it proves that there is no use in a government's attempting to levy taxes upon wages; but is not correct if extended to prove, that nothing can be taken from the poor. The recompense of labour will find its level as water does, — that is, as fast as it is able. But the Nile may always have been two miles higher at its source than at its mouth, and all manner of difference may have been made by it to travellers upon the stream. There is a wide difference between an effect that has taken place, and an effect that is endeavouring to take place; and between the effort being in a man's favour or against him. And when the labouring classes have been endeavouring

to overtake their wages for twenty years together, they may well be supposed to be behind. The strength of the argument against them is, that if any thing is taken from them their numbers cannot be kept up; and consequently, if their numbers are kept up, there can have been nothing taken from them. But happily for the poor this assumption is as yet incorrect. It is quite evident that the very poorest classes have still something that they might lose. All minor moralists and dispensers of admonitory pamphlets are full of demonstrations of it. The promoters of saving-banks are so many evidences to the belief, that the poor might possibly save; and if they can save, they have something that they might go without. It is undoubted that to the present hour, some of them consume their superfluous wealth in tobacco, and others waste it in spirits; and it is impossible to say that if this was transferred to the master, either their own health or that of their posterity would suffer. It is difficult to prove that white bread has any inherent advantage in increasing population, over brown; and it has at all events been demonstrated that nothing can upon this ground be reasonably objected to potatoes. It is not yet in any part of Great Britain a moot point, whether the hog lives in the house or the labourer in the pig-stye; the labourers of Great Britain have therefore all this that they may come to. And even the Irish labourer may find a lower point in the West, as long as a hog is better company than a slave-driver. Whenever it is thought desirable to answer the complaints of the poor by logic, they are reminded that in comparison with the poor in other countries they live like gentlemen; which is an avowal that they might possibly live worse. In short there is a cloud of witnesses, that, in Great Britain at least, the poor have still something that might be taken from them. They cannot keep up their numbers and live as they used to do; but they may live worse. There are strange depths in ill living; and the rich are almost sure to be mistaken, when they undertake to think the poor past the possibility of being hurt. The most substantial friend the poorer classes ever had, — though some of their sincere well-wishers persist in not finding it out, — has declared that he 'really cannot conceive' 'any thing much more detestable than the idea of knowingly con-' 'demning the labourers of Great Britain to the rags and wretched' 'cabins of Ireland, for the purpose of selling a few more broad' 'cloths and calicoes.'* The first step towards preventing this detestable consummation appears to be the removal of the idea that the poor cannot be deprived of what they have. They can-

* Essay on the Principle of Population, b. 4. ch. 10.

not be deprived of it all; they cannot be deprived all at once. But their habits may be gradually deteriorated by the pressure of a constant force. They may learn to do without one fragment of comfort to-day and a second to-morrow. One decency of life after another may be dropped into the gulph, till they approach within any assignable quantity to the beasts that perish. When there is a given standard for honest poverty, those who are below it will not multiply, or will multiply less. But it is evident that the obstacle is in the mind and not in the physical impossibility, and that if the mental standard is depressed, population may go on. If any thing can effect such a depression, the double screw of a depreciation appears competent to do it.

One of the worst properties of this depression of the reward of labour would be, that it would accumulate, and the interests engaged in support of it would accumulate with it. And if the system was carried to any great extent, it might form one of the most intolerable engines of oppression on the labouring classes which it is possible to conceive. Its operation would be silent, gradual, irresistible. It would give no warning, there would be no jerk, no exertion, nor any thing which could be fixed on to concentrate resistance into a particular period. The bewildering misery of an animal in the receiver of an itinerant philosopher, would be a faint image of the situation of an uninformed mechanic, — dying because working would not support existence as it used to do, — knowing neither the source of his evils nor the remedy, — cajoled, threatened, tormented, pitied, — in sight of the comforts of his neighbours, yet running against a wall harder than brass if he attempted to help himself, — disgusting to the refined by the uncouthness of his distortions, and suspiciously eyed by the timid as one who would bite if he could. The very workers of the machine might be employed in condoling with the sufferer, and perhaps scarcely themselves know the nature of the process. And a hundredth part of the gains thus squeezed from the classes who are already weakest, would suffice to keep up no mean apparatus of splendid charity. It will be asked if it would be better that the charity should be omitted. It is like an inquisitor's giving cordials to his patient; — it would be better to give no occasion for the kindness.

But there have not been wanting those who have thought that a superfluous issue of paper, with the consent of all parties concerned, was an excellent mode of taxation. It is a tax on the users of the instrument of exchange, levied in exact proportion to what they employ; so that it may be considered as the *beau idéal* of a uniform tax upon expenditure. And it has one singular advantage; — that it costs nothing to collect. But the

objections to it appear to be three. The first is, that uniform taxation is essentially unjust. In whatever mode taxes are collected, it is plain that not only more should be levied, but a greater proportion should be levied, on the rich than on the poor. If a man of two thousand pounds a year contributes a twentieth of his income to the exigencies of the state, it is plain that, to preserve fairness, a man of two hundred a year should contribute less than a twentieth. For as he is much nearer to the possession of the mere necessaries of life, to diminish his power of purchasing by a twentieth would make a much more dangerous inroad upon his happiness than a levy of a twentieth upon the other. The necessaries of life are those things of which the non-possession necessarily causes physical suffering, as hunger, thirst, or injury from exposure to the weather; and the nearer a man is to the simple possession of these already, the less he can afford to be reduced in any given proportion. There is an infinite difference between being driven from white bread to brown, and being driven from burgundy to port. And it would be difficult to prove that any right to inflict greater distress on the poor than on the rich, can arise out of the fact that the poor are distressed already. The object, therefore, should be, to make taxation bear on all with fairness; or if there are not data for doing this with exactness, to assign a scale which shall approach to it. And the first thing that presents itself, is that there are some stages of poverty on which it is evidently improper to lay any direct taxation. Day-labourers, for example, may safely be placed in this class. But there is another class who are in point of fact equally unable to bear any reduction of their means of support. And this is composed of the persons who, though ostensibly better paid than the day-labourer, are placed just on the other side of the great gulph which the habits of civilized society have established between manual and mental labourers. The respect paid to mental labour in all its forms, joined to the frequent necessity there is for such labourers mixing with the wealthier classes, has created a demand upon them for a certain elegance in their appearance and mode of living, which it is in vain for them to think of resisting without giving up all the resources which previous habits have placed within their reach. And though it may be true that the possession of this superior elegance is in itself a source of enjoyment, yet the mental labourer may be as utterly unable to support any diminution of his means of living as the other. And this appears to show, that an equitable scale of taxation must commence above the class which contains the poorest order of mental labourers. And another requisite would evidently be, that in no

imaginable case the taxation should exceed a certain per centage. It would be an absurd rule which should make the per centage on a wealth of any imaginable magnitude approach to the whole; and it might be equally improper that it should amount to a half or a fourth. The scale, if expressed by the visible arithmetic of curves, should be nothing at a certain income, and approach to some reasonable per centage as to an asymptote. The simplest scale of this kind would be one where the per centage should be nothing on the income supposed to contain the poorest class of mental labourers, and should fall on the higher incomes according to a uniform rate upon their excess above the sum which is to pay nothing.* For example, if a hundred and fifty pounds a year paid nothing, two hundred should pay at a fixed rate, as for instance five per centum, upon fifty; two hundred and fifty at the same rate of five per centum upon a hundred; and so on. On such a scale the per centage on a sum of unlimited magnitude would approach to five per centum on the whole. — The above considerations display a strong objection to taxes on the instrument of exchange, on the ground of their uniformity. And the other objections are, their acting on the labouring classes as an intolerable engine of depression, and the endless mischief arising from the vitiation of money contracts.

The leading error in the first pamphlet appears to consist in not perceiving, that after the instrument of exchange, composed either of coins or paper, has been made sufficient to conduct the exchanges of the community without the aid of commodities, its volume or numerical quantity has no connexion with what men

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* The equation to the curve is $y = M \times \frac{m}{n} \times \frac{x-a}{x}$; where $x$ is the abscissa measured from a point without the curve, $a$ the distance from this point to the vertex of the curve, $y$ the ordinate, $M$ a given line, and $\frac{m}{n}$ a given fraction. If $x$ represents the income, $a$ the income at which taxation is to commence, $\frac{m}{n}$ the uniform rate levied on the excess of $x$ above $a$, the ordinate $y$ will vary as the per centage which the proposed scale assigns to the income represented by $x$. Or the proportion of the ordinate to the given line $M$, will always be that of the numerator to the denominator of the fraction which expresses the per centage on the income. — If a line is drawn parallel to the abscissa at a distance equal to $M \times \frac{m}{n}$ and on the same side of it as the curve, it will be an asymptote; for when $x$ is indefinitely increased, $y$ approaches to being equal to $M \times \frac{m}{n}$.

will be able substantially to pay or to expend. The argument appears to be, that when men have an increased quantity of the instrument of exchange, they must necessarily be anxious to employ it. 'Put money into people's pockets, and they will consume.' And a stimulus to production is concluded to be the consequence of the continual necessity of finding employment for the instrument: — without adverting to the possibility that the project may evaporate, as so many other projects for a perpetual motion have done, through some simple principle which is overlooked. Let it but happen that there is depreciation, and the whole expectation vanishes. The mistake is in assuming that because a certain increase in the improved instrument of circulation, or every increase up to a certain point, promotes production, an increase beyond that point will do the same. An insufficient supply of coins or paper which should necessitate the employment of commodities, may be compared to a bad and insufficient highway. The wares which are circulated by means of it, will be conveyed with a degree of difficulty and delay which is a hindrance to production; and every improvement in it will have a contrary effect. But when the road has been brought to the best condition which the materials will admit, and has been made wide enough to convey all that is to be carried upon it without confusion or delay, it would be unreasonable to expect that, by making two or three parallel roads of the same kind, production should be any further increased. The same produce which might have been conveniently carried upon one road, would only be carried on two or on three. And if any man was led into increasing his business or expenditure by confounding such an increase in the means of conveyance with an increase of the wealth to be conveyed, it is evident that he would be corrected by disappointment.

## Art. XI. PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

1. *Edinburgh Review.* Vol. 1, 2, &c.

IF periodical criticism is good for any thing, it cannot be less needed in the case of periodical literature, than of any other class of the productions of the press. It is indeed a subject of wonder, that periodical publications should have existed so long, and have come at last to occupy so great a portion of the time and attention of the largest class of readers, without having become subject to a regular and systematic course of criticism. We trust it will appear that we shall have rendered an important service to the progress of the human mind, in setting at least an example of this species of control; in showing how great has been the need of it before it existed, how much of evil it is calculated to prevent, and how much of positive advantage it cannot fail to secure.

Periodical literature is so wide a field, that though we shall not interdict ourselves from any part of it, we shall select for our province more particularly that portion, with respect to which the demand for the service which we thus desire to see rendered, will, to every intelligent mind, appear to be the strongest. The review of books, with the influence which it has in giving direction to the taste for reading, has long been a department of literature the effect of which has been very imperfectly appreciated. For a considerable number of years this field has been to such a degree occupied by two rival, celebrated, and successful publications, that the old have sunk into insignificance: the attempt to elevate new ones, has hitherto proved abortive; and it will hardly be incumbent on us, unless with casual exceptions, to bestow much of our attention upon the rest.

Another circumstance renders criticism peculiarly necessary in the case of the publications to which we have alluded; we mean, the Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews: under the guise of reviewing books, these publications have introduced the practice of publishing dissertations, not only upon the topics of the day, but upon all the most important questions of morals and legislation, in the most extensive acceptation of these terms. Whatever occasion, therefore, there can be for that species of censorship which criticism exercises over those who assume the task of supplying nourishment to the human mind, it is presented by the publications in question, and with peculiar circumstances of aggravation.

Of these circumstances, some they have in common with other periodical publications; some are peculiar to themselves. One law to which periodical literature is subject is attended with consequences, the good and evil of which have never yet been sufficiently analysed, though it is of the highest importance that they should be familiarised to the public mind. If a work is published, not periodical, and possesses real merit, it can afford to be overlooked for a time; and though it may be little noticed for the first year, or years, may count with tolerable certainty upon that degree of ultimate fame to which it is entitled. Not so with periodical literature. That must have immediate success, to secure so much as existence. A periodical production must sell immediately, at least to a certain extent, otherwise it cannot be carried on. A periodical production must be read the next day, or month, or quarter, otherwise it will not be read at all. Every motive, therefore, which prompts to the production of any thing periodical, prompts to the study of immediate effect, of unpostponed popularity, of the applause of the moment. To catch at this applause is then to be regarded as a grand characteristic of periodical literature; and the good and evil consequences which arise from it deserve to be diligently traced, and correctly estimated.

On the favourable side it may be affirmed, that as the diffusion of all the good which is derived from reading, must be in proportion to the diffusion of this which is its instrument, this peculiarity in periodical literature is an eminent advantage. By consulting the public taste with continual anxiety, the pleasures of reading are perpetually supplied to the greatest possible number. The number of those who love reading and the number of those who derive pleasure from periodical literature, are the same. To it, therefore, we are, it may be said, indebted, for the grand source of general intelligence; that is, the grand source of the greatest possible good.

The most effectual mode of doing good to mankind by reading, is, to correct their errors; to expose their prejudices; to refute opinions which are generated only by partial interests, but to which men are, for that reason, so much the more attached; to censure whatever is mean and selfish in their behaviour, and attach honour to actions solely in proportion to their tendency to increase the sum of happiness, lessen the sum of misery.

But this is a course which periodical literature cannot pursue. To please the great body of men, which is the object of the periodical writer, he must flatter their prejudices. Instead of calling in question the opinions to which they are wedded, he

must applaud them; and the more he can furnish such men with reasons for being more in love with their opinions than before, the more he is sure of commanding their approbation, and of increasing their zeal to promote the reputation of his work.

The most mischievous of all erroneous opinions are those which lead to the injury of the great number of mankind, for the benefit of the small number; which tend to make it the interest of the small number, by giving them the power, to oppress the great number in all practicable ways, and to brutalise them for the purpose of rendering the oppression more easy, and more secure. That these are the most mischievous of all opinions, is proved by merely telling what they are. That literature is useful only as it contributes to the extirpation of these detestable opinions, is so far true, that deprive it of this tendency, and it is doubtful whether it would not be more of a curse than a blessing. These, however, are the very opinions which periodical literature is under the strongest inducements to promote, and the discouragement of which it is utterly unsafe to undertake. It is obvious what is the general course it will pursue.

The opinions, on the propagation of which the success of periodical writings depends,—immediate success, that success which is essential to their existence,—are the opinions in vogue; the opinions of those whose influence is the most extensive, who can go farthest in creating or hindering a reputation. But what is the class most instrumental in setting the fashion, which exercises the greatest control over the opinions of other men? The answer is not uncertain. The people of power compose it. The favourite opinions of people in power are the opinions which favour their own power; those opinions which we have already characterised as being the grand instruments of evil in this world, the ultimate and real cause of the degradation and misery of the great mass of mankind. To these opinions periodical literature is under a sort of necessity, under an inducement which generally operates as necessity, of serving as a pandar.

It is a common observation, that notwithstanding the influence of error in the world, arising partly from ignorance, partly from the influence of interested opinions in high quarters, the opinion of the wise and distinterested, though they are small in number, always, or at least generally, prevails at last, and becomes the opinion of the world. That there is this tendency in the opinions of the wise, is certain; and it is the ground of all our hopes for the amelioration of mankind. When an opinion, founded on truth, and tending to good, is once declared, and when there is the means of making it generally

known, and of calling to it continually the attention of mankind, it is sure to make its way; and by degrees to bear down all that opposes it.

Here, however, the characteristic malady of periodical literature is most clearly seen. Instead of aiding this beneficent progress, it is opposed to it. The success of those important opinions, the progress of which involves the overthrow of the opinions which are dearest to the classes by whom power is exercised for their own benefit over the rest of the community, and dear to them for this reason, that they tend to the support of the power which they so employ, is *slow*. Periodical literature depends upon *immediate* success. It must, therefore, patronise the opinions which are now in vogue, the opinions of those who are now in power. It will obtain applause, and will receive reward, in proportion as it is successful in finding plausible reasons for the maintenance of the favourite opinions of the powerful classes, and plausible reasons for the discountenance and rejection of the opinions which tend to rescue the interests of the greater number from the subjection under which they lie to the interests of the small number. In this view, it is evident, that, so long as the interest of the smaller number is the predominating interest in any community; so long periodical literature is the natural enemy of the most important and beneficent class of opinions, and so long may the balance of its effects be expected to be decidedly in opposition to them. We say the balance of its effects, because there is no doubt that occasionally, from various motives, the more important of which we shall think it expedient to describe, the periodical press displays exertions both in opposition to the opinions which tend to confirm abusive powers in the hands of the few, and in favour of the opinions which tend to rescue from these powers the interests of the greater number.

After the mass of the people have become a reading people, a reward is held out for writings addressed peculiarly to them. The opinions of the people will, of course, be consulted in such writings; and those opinions which are peculiarly recommended to the powerful classes by the circumstance of their favouring the existence of those powers of theirs, which may be used for their personal purposes, will not be the peculiar objects of applause. But it is with the more numerous, as it is with the less numerous classes; they have some opinions which are just as well as important, and they have others which are erroneous.

It is of very little importance, in addressing the people, to continue recommending to them right opinions, which they

already possess. Labour of such a kind is labour thrown away. The really useful effort, in the case of the people, as in the case of any other class, is to contend against erroneous opinions, and introduce to them ideas which, though full of important consequences, are as yet strange, and perhaps revolting, to their minds. From this undertaking it is now sufficiently evident to our readers that the periodical press is debarred. It cannot wait for that success which depends upon the slow progress of just opinions, and the slow removal of prevalent errors. It must aim at that immediate applause which is bestowed only for immediate pleasure; for gratification administered to the mind in its present state; for encouragement of the favourite idea, flattery of the reigning prejudice.

We have seen, during some late years, in this country, since the talent of reading has become more general, periodical publications, addressed in a particular manner to the more numerous class. They are cheap publications, from the circumstances of the purchasers; and they have been worse than they otherwise might have been, from the characters of those who have been the principal instruments in their production, and who, had they been wiser and better men (for, with little exception, they have been very defective in one or other, or both, of these requisites), might have obtained as much success, with less subservience to the errors of those whom they have addressed. It is abundantly apparent, however, even on a cursory inspection of the writings to which we have thus alluded, that the principal influence to which they bend is that of the favourite opinions, right or wrong, of those to whom they look for their reward. That writings produced under this influence can hardly fail, where men are as ill instructed as they still are in this country, and where partial and sinister interests so greatly preponderate, to have a greater tendency to evil than good, we imagine cannot, after what we have stated, be regarded as matter of doubt.

The two publications which we have already pointed out as destined to be the principal objects of our attention in this department, are addressed to the aristocratical classes. From the circumstances belonging to them it will appear that they may be regarded as almost exclusively addressed to those classes. To what degree they have been subservient to the interests of those classes, in other words, hostile to the interests of the more numerous class, it would be premature in us, and perhaps hardly fair, as yet, to pronounce. That can be properly determined only by evidence adduced; and that evidence will be among the results of the examination to which we mean to subject them. It is enough in the meantime to estimate correctly the induce-

ments to this fatal subserviency under which they have been placed.

Assuming that they agree in this main and characteristic circumstance, of being addressed to the aristocratical classes, upon what principle, we may be asked, do we account for the great diversity which appears in their tone and character; a diversity so remarkable, that they are not regarded as competitors, but as enemies, as tending not to the same, but to opposite ends; as promoting irreconcilable opinions, the one upholding what the other endeavours to destroy? The elucidation of this point is of great importance, in laying the ground-work to our future labours in this department. It is in fact a point, the elucidation of which goes far into the philosophy of British history, and will therefore, if we can perform it satisfactorily, demand a rather more than ordinary portion of attention, on the part both of our readers and of ourselves.

We use the term "aristocracy" in a somewhat extended signification; and as we shall for the most part adhere to that use of it, we are under the necessity of expounding somewhat carefully the sense we thus attach to it, and of requesting our readers to bestow attention enough upon this explanation to retain it in their memory for future purposes. We do not use it in the mere sense of a titled nobility; nor in that of the families possessed of large fortunes. These are connected circumstances, but of secondary, rather than primary import. Wherever a government is not so constituted as to exist solely for the good of the community, aggregately considered, its powers are distributed into a certain number of hands, in some cases bearing a greater, in some a less proportion to the whole community; but a number always small in comparison with the population at large. This body, sharing among them the powers of government, and sharing among themselves also the profits of misrule, we denominate the aristocratical body; and by this term, or the aristocratical class, or in one word, the aristocracy, we shall be careful to distinguish them. The comparatively small number possessing political power compose the real aristocracy, by whatever circumstances, birth, or riches, or other accident, the different portions of them become possessed of it.

The aristocracy in some countries consists almost entirely of the lords of the soil. This in former times was the case in almost all the countries of Europe. And in those which have made the smallest progress in knowledge and civilisation, it is to a great degree the case at the present moment. In countries still more sunk in barbarism, as in Turkey, and in most Asiatic

countries, the military hordes compose almost the whole of the efficient aristocracy, and are not hereditary. In our own country, the aristocracy is a motley body; and it imports us to be familiarly acquainted with the ingredients of the compound. If we assent to the doctrine of the Edinburgh Review, — and we are willing, for the present, to take it upon their showing, — we must conclude that the powers of government are centered in the House of Commons, and are there substantially and ultimately exercised. * If this be the case, it is only necessary to enquire, of whom the House of Commons is composed, and by whom the members are sent there; because in their hands, of course, the powers of government are efficiently lodged. It will not be necessary for us to go into the minute details, or indeed into any disputed subjects. For the conclusions which concern our present purpose the broad and incontrovertible matters of fact will suffice. The owners of the great landed estates have the principal influence in sending members into the House of Commons. They possess the representation of the counties exclusively. The members for the counties (Middlesex has more of the nature of a town) are returned by a combination among the leading families, and commonly by a compromise between the two parties, the one being a Whig and the other a Tory. In respect to the boroughs it is not necessary that we should descend to a particular enumeration. Mere notoriety will suffice for our present purpose. That a large proportion of them are in the hands of the same great families, either to nominate or effectually to influence the return of the members, will not be denied; because men in their senses do not make affirmations with respect to matters of fact which every body who knows them possesses sufficient grounds to deny.

There is a certain number of the boroughs, the constitution of which is such, that the electors find it for their interest to sell their votes on each occasion to the highest bidder. It is proper, though it is somewhat of a deviation from the present purpose, to remark, that this class of the boroughs is a general subject of vituperation, to those who, from their influence as landed proprietors, determine the election in counties, and in the boroughs over which their influence extends. Unhappily their influence sets the fashion in morality as well as in dress; and their long-continued cries have made it be regarded as peculiarly infamous in the electors in boroughs to sell their votes. But why should it be more infamous in a poor elector to sell his vote in a borough, than for a rich lord of the soil to sell his vote in par-

* Vol. x. pp. 411, 412. &c.; and vol. xiv. pp. 287. 300 &c.

liament? "Why is the one traffic infamous, the other honourable?" For this reason, and this alone, that the great men influence public opinion more than the little men: the case would otherwise have been directly the reverse; the conduct of the rich lord would have been the most infamous, as in degree it is unquestionably the most highly mischievous. The case of the elector in the borough who sells his vote to the highest bidder, and that of the man who in a borough or a county gives it habitually to the lord, are essentially the same. Each, with little or no regard to the fitness of the man for whom the vote is given, follows his own interest. The elector who places his vote habitually at the disposal of his landlord, does so because his landlord could, and he fears would, do him injury, if he acted otherwise. The elector who takes money for his vote, does so for the immediate benefit which it yields. It is the part of men who are not legislators, but drivellers, to whine against people for following their interest. In legislation the only enquiry is, how to make the interest of men and their duty coincide. What we desire is, to place the right of voting for members of parliament on such a footing, that it shall not be for the interest of the voter to give his suffrage from any other motive than the verdict of his conscience, preferring the fittest man. And for that we are called Radicals, and other names intended to be opprobrious, by those whose interest it is that the right of voting should never be placed on any better than the present foundation.

To return to the mode in which the boroughs, so constituted as to make it the interest of the electors to sell their votes to the highest bidder, affect the composition of the British aristocracy; —it is evident that they open a door of admission into the governing body to monied men. Such men, in considerable numbers, do by such means, as well as by what is called the purchase of a borough, that is, of the means of intimidation over the wretched electors, originally possessed by some neighbouring lord of the soil, become members of the House of Commons; and thus the class of monied men become sharers in the possession of the powers of government, and form a portion, though a minor, and hence a subordinate, portion, of the aristocracy of England.

In the composition of the aristocracy of England, the importance of its two props deserves much and careful consideration. Its two props are, the Church, and the Law; by the Law, we mean here the professional body.

We need not lengthen our investigation by representing the influence which religion exercises over the minds of men. It will be allowed to be great. It is evident of what importance it

is to an aristocracy, that is, a small number, exercising, and for their own advantage, power over the great number, to be able to turn this influence, the influence of religion, to their own purposes. It is manifest how great a support to their power they may derive from it. Now it is obvious, that the short and effectual method of being able to turn the influence of religion to their own purposes, is to obtain an influence over the teachers of religion. It is equally easy to discover a sure expedient for their obtaining an influence over the teachers of religion. It is to form them into a corporate and dependent body, with gradation of emoluments and power, from something small, to something very great; retaining the nomination to the enjoyment of those emoluments principally in their hands, and admitting the body to a share in the power and profits of the aristocracy. In the aristocracy of England, accordingly, the church, or the organised priesthood of the state, is to be regarded as a real and efficient part. Of the mode in which it acts as a portion of the aristocracy, and receives its share of the profits of misrule, the details must be left for future opportunities.

As the security for person and property, the things most dear to men, depends upon the law, to be sure of possessing the requisite knowledge of the law, is to every individual a matter of the last importance. If the law were as simple and clear as it might be made, every man of competent understanding might have all the knowledge of it requisite for his guidance and security. But where the law has been rendered exceedingly complex and obscure, nobody understands it but those who devote themselves professionally to the study of it. The class of lawyers become, in such circumstances, a class of very great importance. Men look to their knowledge as the principal ground of their security; they acquire a habit of trusting to them in almost every important transaction of their lives. In proportion as they have much to risk, that is, in proportion as they are rich; and in proportion as they are timid, that is, averse to run risks;—they fall into a state of absolute dependance upon the lawyers. It is evident from this explanation, that as it is of great importance to the aristocracy to be able to use the influence of the teachers of religion for their own purposes, it is of great importance to them also, to be able to use the influence of the lawyers for their own purposes. To this end they are obliged to admit them to a requisite share in all the advantages of the aristocracy. It is known to every body how unintelligible a mass the English law is; how extensive a sway the tribe of lawyers exercise over the actions of their countrymen; and to how considerable a share in all the distinctions of the aristocracy, and all the profits of misrule, they are

admitted. Details we reserve for occasions as they arise. The general facts, as we have stated them, are too notorious to admit of dispute. Accordingly, the share, which the Church and the Law are treated with, in the good things of the aristocracy, insures their strenuous exertions in its support; and, at all times, whatever is noxious in aristocratical opinions and prejudices has had the great majority of both those bodies for its zealous supporters: all those doctrines which have for their object to secure the interests of the great number against the usurpations of the small number, and all the individuals who promote those doctrines, have been, at all times, to the great majority of lawyers and churchmen, the objects of the most bitter persecution.

From the developments which we have thus afforded, we think a pretty clear conception of what is meant by the aristocracy of this country, politically considered, may easily be drawn. The more efficient part of it is undoubtedly that small number of leading families, probably not two hundred in all, which return a majority of the members of the House of Commons. This oligarchy is really and truly the governing power of the country. This governing power, like other governing powers, is obliged to make sacrifices to convenience; and in order to have instruments, and secure the services of those who would be dangerous enemies, is constrained to make a partnership concern, and to deal out certain minor shares: those are the shares of the monied interest, the church, and the law. Men of talent, as a class, have been sometimes represented as a constituent part of the House of Commons, and thence of the aristocracy; but, we think, erroneously. If they come in independently, by the purchase of a seat, they come in as monied men. If they come in as the nominees of this or the other great landlord, they come in as mere attornies of the aristocracy. They are servants in an office; they are not a part of the aristocracy, any more than their butlers or stewards.

We are now drawing to a close with that development which we have deemed necessary, as enabling us to characterise two publications which are addressed to the aristocracy of this country, and which, notwithstanding their agreement in this leading circumstance, exhibit so much diversity in their more obvious appearances.

There is only one particular more into the analysis of which, as a preliminary explanation, it will be necessary for us to enter. The aristocracy of this country are naturally, in their political proceedings, divided, under the guidance of their interests, into two sections. The Quarterly Review follows the one section: the Edinburgh Review follows the other. The

one of these sections is commonly known under the title of the ministerial party. The other is known under that of the opposition party. What are the interests which preside over the formation of the ministerial party are sufficiently obvious; and as they are in general correctly estimated, we are under no inducement to spend many words in explaining them.

As the benefits, periodically arising from the engrossment of the powers of government in the hands of the few and the consequent employment of them for the benefit of that few, have to be divided; and as the division in this country is confided to a fixed individual, called the King, who thus acts as the head of the aristocratical and governing body to whose interest it is more conducive to give up the division to such a functionary, than to run the risk of those destructive contests, which, but for such an expedient, it would be apt to occasion; — all that part of the aristocracy, who either are satisfied with the share which they receive, or think they have a better chance of such a share by meriting the favour of the present distributors than by any other course they can pursue, range themselves under the King's immediate advisers, and lend their influence to the promotion of all their designs. This class of motives is so obvious, and the operation of them so well understood, that we may now pass to the consideration of the interests which operate to the formation of the other section of the British aristocracy.

To all candid and intelligent readers it is unnecessary to remark, that we are here tracing the interests which predominate in the several situations which it is our object to explain It is obvious, that all enlightened legislation proceeds upon a calculation of those interests, and that it is the business of true philosophy to form that calculation exactly. It is not therefore necessary for us here to enter into the motives of a different sort, which may bear a share in ranging this or that individual in the one or the other party. One man may adhere to the ministry, because he approves of their conduct; another may join the opposition, because the conduct of the ministry appears to him to be wrong. All that is necessary here is, to caution unwary reasoners against allowing those motives which may predominate in the breast of individuals, from occupying that place in their reasonings which belongs to those motives which act upon the class as a class, and by which, as a class, they must be governed. It would be absurd to say that a comparatively small number of men formed into a class by possessing all the powers of government over the great number, and the means of using those powers for their own advantage, will not, as a class, be actuated by the

desire to render that advantage as great as possible. This being admitted, and it being clear that a man would render himself contemptible by denying it, the only care of the rational man is, to ascertain the course of action to which that desire must conduct the class; and having done so, to make it known to others. This is the course which it is now our endeavour to pursue; and our anxiety is to guard our readers against the delusion which is so often practised, of turning away the attention from the consideration of the motives which must govern the class, by holding up to attention the other motives, which always may, and very often do, actuate individuals. There is not a more fertile source of false reasoning, in matters of government, than this.

If, in the class who share among them the powers of government, there is one part who are pleased with the share which they receive of the advantages, or prefer the prospect which they have of sharing under the favour of the existing distributors; there is also, naturally, a part who are not pleased with the share which they receive, and who are willing to prefer any tolerable chance of sharing by other hands. These are they who, in this country, form themselves into what is called the opposition. The interest which actuates the conduct of this section of the aristrocacy, are somewhat less obvious, from the modifications they undergo, than those which actuate the ministerial section. The immediate object of the opposition is to effect a change of the hands by which the distribution of the advantages is made — to obtain hands through which their share will be enlarged. The means which these interests prescribe to them for the attainment of this object, afford a clue to the labyrinth of their conduct. The grand expedient for driving a minister from his situation is, to deprive him of support in the House of Commons; to lessen as much as possible the number of those who vote for, increase as much as possible the number of those who vote against him. There are minor expedients, court intrigues, and others, but this is so much the leading and established course, that we may, for the present purpose, overlook the remainder. The plan, therefore, is, to excite disapprobation of the principles and conduct of those who retain the distribution, and to excite approbation of the principles and conduct of those whom they wish to hold it in their stead. In this the Opposition are under the necessity of endeavouring to reconcile courses which are rather opposed to one another.

The primary object, of course, is, to discredit the ministry, and augment the favour of their own leaders with the aristocratical class. But in order to do this the more effectually, it is expedient to

produce as much as possible of the same effects upon the public at large, including the middling and lower classes. Public opinion operates in various ways upon the aristocratical class, partly by contagion, partly by conviction, partly by intimidation: and the principal strength of that current is derived from the greatness of the mass by which it is swelled. It is the interest of the Opposition, therefore, to act, in such a manner, or rather to speak, — for speaking is their action, — so as to gain favour from both the few and the many. This they are obliged to endeavour by a perpetual system of compromise, a perpetual trimming between the two interests. To the aristocratical class they aim at making it appear, that the conduct of their leaders would be more advantageous even to that class, than the conduct of the ministry, which they paint in colours as odious to the aristocracy as they can. On the other hand, to gain the favour of the popular class, they are obliged to put forth principles which appear to be favourable to their interests, and to condemn such measures of conduct as tend to injure the many for the benefit of the few. In their speeches and writings, therefore, we commonly find them playing at *seesaw*. If a portion of the discourse has been employed in recommending the interests of the people, another must be employed in recommending the interests of the aristocracy. Having spoken a while on the one side, they must speak a while on the other. Having written a few pages on the one side, they must write as many on the other. It matters not how much the one set of principles are really at variance with the other, provided the discordance is not very visible, or not likely to be clearly seen by the party on whom it is wished that the delusion should pass.

In this game, of aristocratical, and popular, it is sufficiently evident on which side, at last, the winnings remain. There are two sufficient reasons which determine the point. In the first place, it is the aristocracy through whose decision exclusively the object of the Opposition must be attained, — that of ejecting the ministerial party, and giving possession to them. They must, therefore, be very careful not to excite any suspicion that they are in reality less favourable to the aristocratical side of the account than those whom they wish to supplant. And, therefore, whatever the zeal of which they make show in favour of the people, it must still appear to the aristocracy, that it bears upon no points of which they have any occasion to be afraid; that it leads to the diminution of none of the advantages which the monopoly of the powers of government bestows upon them. There is another, and a perfectly sufficient reason in favour of the same tendency, that the opposition themselves are a section

of the aristocracy; a section that wishes, and hopes, to be the leading section; and which, therefore, cannot be expected to aim at the diminution of advantages which are its own.

From this development of the interests and views of the two sections of the aristocracy in this country, it is clearly seen what may be expected to be the aim and tendency of the publications, particularly periodical, which look for success to the favour and applause of the one or the other. Those on the ministerial side have, as far as the interests of the aristocracy are concerned, a more simple course to pursue. They advocate them directly, and with enthusiasm, affected, or real. The aristocracy are spoken of as the country. Whenever the interests of the country are named, it is the interests of the aristocracy that are meant. The aristocracy are all in all. Compared with them, every thing is of trifling importance. With respect to the interests of the ministerial section, the business of the writers on that side is, to beat down the pretensions both of the opposition section of the aristocracy, and of the people. The people are represented as altogether vile, and any desires which they may exhibit to see the powers of government so disposed of, that they may have some security that these powers shall not be employed for the benefit of the aristocracy at their expense, as inconceivably wicked; as contrary, above all things, to religion; also contrary to law, and to order. The opposition section of the aristocracy are arraigned on two accounts; first, as attaching blame to the ministers for factious purposes, namely, to put their leaders in, and the ministers out, without being able to show, that the conduct of the ministers is not as good for the country, that is, the aristocracy, as that of the opposition leaders would be; and secondly, a still more dreadful odium is endeavoured to be cast upon them, by representing the professions which they are obliged to make in favour of the people as acts of support to these hideous pretensions of the people about securities for good government, which tend to the overthrow of the church and the state.

The course which is necessary to be pursued, by such periodical publications as adopt the vocation of promoting the cause of the opposition section of the aristocracy, will be easily understood, after what has been already said, without many words for its elucidation. The seesaw of the party must be recommended; and the more of skill and pains is bestowed upon this object, the more of approbation may be expected. It is called the middle course. Every art is used to gain it reputation, under the title of moderation, and by the application of bad names to the two sets of opinions, between which the party oscillates, and which it is in reality putting forward by turns. The set of opinions, purely on

the side of aristocratical power, are called despotical. Those which support the demand of effectual securities in favour of the people are declared anarchical, and are commonly stigmatised by some nickname in the slang of the day; jacobinical, for instance, at one time; radical, at another. They have a method worth observing, by which they prove that the party holds a middle course; by which term *middle* they always desire to be understood *wise*. When the people blame the party as aristocratical, and produce actual declarations of opinion on the part of its leaders which go the full length of the aristocratical pretensions, the writers ask how you can misinterpret their words so far, when they can produce you other declarations of opinion which go to as great an extent in favour of the popular demands. This proceeding they reverse, when charged as democratical, on the part of the aristocracy. They do not allow that two contradictory opinions on one and the same point, destroy one another, and should be regarded as no opinion at all. They hold that two contradictory opinions are good for nothing, each of them by itself; but that, both together, they form another nice opinion, exactly in the middle way between both. . . . .

It is essential, in writing upon this plan, to deal as much as possible in vague language, and cultivate the skilful use of it. Words which appear to mean much, and may by those to whom they are addressed be interpreted to mean much, but which may also, when it suits the convenience of those who have used them, be shown to mean little or nothing, are of singular importance to those whose business it is to play the game of compromise, to trim between irreconcileable interests, to seesaw between contradictory opinions.

Language of this description is peculiarly needed in making declarations which are meant to gain favour with the people. A party which is itself a section of the aristocracy, which desires to please the aristocracy, and by means of pleasing them to become the distributors of the good things which the possession of the powers of the government bestows upon the aristocracy, risk nothing by speaking explicitly in favour of their privileges. What is requisite is to have vague terms at command, when it is necessary to speak in opposition to these privileges. Aristocratical domination, in the abstract, may be spoken of as something exceedingly hateful, or pregnant with the worst of consequences. The people may be exhorted to be on their guard against it. They may even be told that the ministers have no other object than to introduce it; and that this alone is a sufficient reason for hating them, and for using every exertion to turn them out. In the meantime, great care must be used not

to remove any part of the veil which conceals from the view of the people, the real amount of aristocratical power in this country. When any specific measure is proposed, which would really operate to the diminution of that power, — choosing the members of parliament by ballot, for instance, — it must be loudly decried, and every thing must be done to attach to it, if possible, the apprehension of evil consequences. On the other hand, if a measure is proposed which has the appearance of being calculated to diminish the power of the aristocracy, but which in reality has no such tendency, perhaps the very reverse, such as the disfranchisement of the boroughs called rotten, giving the representation to the counties, then the epithets of praise must be collected. The man who brings forward such a measure as this, must be hailed as the first of men; the man who should accomplish it, must be described as the most happy.

One important part of the business of writers on the side of the opposition section of the aristocracy, one of the qualities by which they can most effectually recommend themselves, is, being ingenious in the invention of schemes of this description; schemes which may have the appearance to the people of being calculated to add to their securities, but which would, even if accomplished, leave the power of the aristocracy untouched. Of this class of plans one example is seen in that which we have already mentioned, diminishing the number of borough members to augment that of county members. Another example is seen in the doctrine about representation by classes; by which it is attempted to persuade the people, that they have securities enough, provided every class is represented in the House of Commons; that is to say, the landed interest represented, the mercantile interest represented, the army, the navy, the law, the people represented; though it should appear that the people have no real, efficient control over one man in this composition; that they have not the choice of so much as six, out of six hundred; and that even a bare majority, chosen and influenced by the aristocracy, would determine in the long run, and on the real balance of the account the nature of the government.

Having thus seen what are the motives which operate upon the two sets of periodical writers who address themselves to the two sections of the aristocracy, we have anticipated much of the general matter which will be applicable in criticising, in detail, the Edinburgh and the Quarterly Reviews. We have already stated, that the Edinburgh Review is addressed to the aristocracy on the side of the opposition section; the Quarterly Review is addressed to it on the side of the ministerial section. We shall see in our progress how truly they have obeyed the

springs which we have represented as operating generally upon the conduct of publications produced in similar circumstances.

It will be understood that we have been speaking of the political part of these two publications; including, in the political pale, the two props of the aristocratical polity, the political religion of the country, and the law, in both senses of the term. As to the literature of the Quarterly and Edinburgh Reviews, in the more confined sense of the term,—the poetry, and other works of imagination and entertainment, the mathematics, chemistry, and so on, — these publications have lain under no peculiar bias from situation; and the goodness or badness of their articles on these subjects must be ascribed to the accidental qualities, moral or intellectual, of the writers. As far as their criticisms on these subjects may appear worthy of notice, they will be reviewed in other departments of this section of our work.

One word of a personal nature seems to be required. We have described the interests which operate to withdraw periodical writers from the line of utility, and we have represented it as nearly impossible for them to keep true to it. What! Are we, it may be asked, superior to seducements to which all other men succumb? If periodical writing is by its nature so imbued with evil, why is it that we propose to add to the supply of a noxious commodity? Do we promise to keep out the poison which all other men yield to the temptation of putting in? If we made such a pretension, our countrymen would do right in laughing it to scorn; and we hope they would not fail to adopt so proper a course. We have no claim to be trusted, any more than any one among our contemporaries: but we have a claim to be tried. Men have diversities of taste; and it is not impossible that a man should exist who really has a taste for the establishment of the securities for good government, and would derive more pleasure from the success of this pursuit, than of any other pursuit in which he could engage, wealth or power not excepted. All that we desire is, that it may not be reckoned impossible that we may belong to a class of this description.

There is another motive, as selfish as that which we ascribe to any body, by which we may be actuated. We may be sanguine enough, or silly enough, or clear-sighted enough, to believe, that intellectual and moral qualities have made a great progress among the people of this country; and that the class who will really approve endeavours, in favour of good government, and of the happiness and intelligence of men, are a class sufficiently numerous to reward our endeavours. No matter what our motives may be, the public will soon see whether our actions continue true to the ends which we profess; and that is all by which their interests can be affected; all, therefore, about which they need to care.

Of the two works which are to form the principal objects of our attention in this department, the Edinburgh, and Quarterly Reviews, we shall begin with the Edinburgh Review, both as it was the first in its commencement, and as it is by far the first in importance.

It originated at Edinburgh in the social studies of a small number of men, then mostly young, whose pursuits were literary, and who had already excited great expectation of future eminence. The reputation of the parties attracted attention; and the superiority of the performance to the mean articles which then filled the pages of the existing reviews, the novelty of mixing disquisitions of the reviewer with the notice of books, the tone of severity naturally piquant, and the wit and irony by which it was frequently enlivened, go far in accounting for the extensive circulation which it speedily acquired.

When it first appeared, and for some time afterwards, it was not decidedly attached to the opposition section of the aristocracy. At that time indeed the opposition party had only begun to effect a resurrection from that inhumation which it suffered from the aristocratical terrors engendered by the French revolution. It showed, however, from the beginning, that disposition to compromise which suited exactly the purposes of an opposition section, as soon as it renewed its strength. At first the seesaw was performed between those opinions which were necessary for obtaining the favour of the aristocracy, and those opinions which had obtained the sanction of philosophy, and which, without renouncing the character of philosophers, men could not abjure. To obtain, if possible, the good opinion of both aristocrats and philosophers, the doctrines of both were put forth. High examples, in this country, had already been set, and most successfully, of this species of authorcraft. With as servile doctrines as ever had been propagated under the guise of law, Sir William Blackstone, in his Commentaries, had mixed a portion of the liberal opinions which philosophy had not only sanctioned, but to which at that time, preceding the French revolution, it had given reputation and fashion. The other instructive example to which we allude, is that of Paley, in his Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy; where, with many liberal doctrines, to which the progress of the human mind had given birth, there is a predominating mixture of opinions, the object and tendency of which is to keep the human mind for ever shackled and debased. And to this mixture, there is no doubt that a great portion of the splendid success of these celebrated works is to be ascribed.

In proof of this observation with respect to the Edinburgh

Review, we may appeal to the first article in the first number. It is a Review of *Mounier, de l'Influence des Philosophes.* For the aristocrats, a great part of it is in the Antijacobin tone; concurring with the fashionable opinion, that of the Revolution and all its imputed evils, the cause is in a great measure to be ascribed to the philosophers. For the philosophical part of the public, again, a portion of it is employed in representing philosophy as perhaps the foremost among the causes of good. We quote but one passage:—

'That there were defects and abuses, and some of these very gross too, in the old system of government in France, we presume will scarcely be denied. That it was lawful to wish for their removal will probably be as readily admitted; and that the peaceful influence of philosophy, while confined to this object, was laudably and properly exerted, seems to follow as a necessary conclusion. It would not be easy, therefore, to blame those writers who have confined themselves to a dispassionate and candid statement of the advantages of a better institution; and it must seem hard to involve in the guilt of Robespierre and the Jacobins, those persons in France who aimed at nothing more than the abolition of absurd privileges, and the limitation of arbitrary power. Montesquieu, Turgot, and Raynal, were probably, in some degree, dissatisfied with the government of their country, and would have rejoiced in the prospect of a reform; but it can only be the delirium of party prejudice that would suspect them of wishing for the downfal of royalty, and for the proscriptions and equality of a reign of terror. It would be treating their accusers too much like men in their senses, to justify such men any farther on the score of intention: yet it is possible that they may have been instrumental in the Revolution, and that their writings may have begun that motion, that terminated in ungovernable violence. We will not go over the commonplace arguments that may be stated to convict them of imprudence. Every step that is taken towards the destruction of prejudice, is attended with the danger of an opposite excess: but it is no less clearly our duty to advance against prejudices; and they deserve the highest praise who unite the greatest steadiness with the greatest precaution. At the time when the writings we are speaking of were published, there was not a man in Europe who could discern in them the seeds of future danger. So far from denouncing them as the harbingers of regicide and confusion, the public received them as hostages and guides to security. It was long thought that their effects were inadequate to their merits: nothing but the event could have instructed us that it was too powerful for our tranquillity. To such men, the reproach of improvidence can be made only because their foresight was not prophetic; and those alone are entitled to call them imprudent, who could have predicted the tempest in the calm, and foretold those consequences by which the whole world has since been astonished.

'If it be true, therefore, that writers of this description have facilitated and promoted the Revolution, it is a truth which should detract

but little either from their merit or their reputation. Their designs were pure and honourable; and the natural tendency and promise of their labours was exalted and fair. They failed, by a fatality which they were not bound to foresee; and a concurrence of events, against which it was impossible for them to provide, turned that to mischief which was planned out by wisdom for good. We do not tax the builder with imprudence, because the fortress which he erected for our protection is thrown down by an earthquake on our heads.

'There is another set of writers, however, for whom it will not be so easy to find an apology, who, instead of sober reasoning and practical observation, have intruded upon the public with every species of extravagance and absurdity. The presumptuous theories and audacious maxims of Rousseau, Mably, Condorcet, &c. had a necessary tendency to do harm. They unsettled all the foundations of political duty, and taught the citizens of every existing community that they were enslaved and had the power of being free. M. Mounier has too much moderation himself, to approve of the doctrines of these reformers; but he assures us, that instead of promoting the revolution, it was the revolution that raised him into celebrity; that they rose into reputation, after it became necessary to quote them as apologists or authorities; but that, before that time, their speculations were looked upon as brilliant absurdities, that no more deserved a serious confutaion, than the Polity of Plato, or the Utopia of Sir Thomas More.— With all our respect for M. Mounier, we have some difficulty in believing this assertion. Rousseau, in particular, was universally read and admired, long before he was exalted into the Revolutionary Pantheon; and his political sagacity must have had some serious admirers, when he was himself invited to legislate for an existing community. Whatever influence he had, however, was unquestionably pernicious; and though some apology may be found for him in the enthusiasm of his disordered imagination, he is chargeable with the highest presumption, and the most blameable imprudence. Of some of the other writers who have inculcated the same doctrines, we must speak rather in charity than in justice, if we say nothing more severe.'

We must leave this passage, though it is plausibly worded, to speak for itself. That Raynal should be enumerated among the sober-minded writers, Condorcet among the inflammatory, must surprise any one who has read them. Though two classes of writers are here spoken of, one with praise, the other with blame, it is really not easy to say to which of them, in point of consequence, the greatest quantity of evil is ascribed.

Observe, however, the real doctrine. It is laudable to put forth such writings as those of Montesquieu, Turgot, and Raynal: this is for the philosophers. It is wicked to put forth such writings as those of Rousseau, Mably, and Condorcet: this is for the aristocrats. — Observe also the implied consequence of what is here said, the restraint upon

freedom of discussion which is covertly recommended. To put forth enlarged theories respecting government, pointing out what is really necessary to afford securities to the people, and how much, under every existing government, those securities are wanting, ought to be prohibited. "Presumptuous theories and audacious maxims have a necessary tendency to do harm." But who is to judge what theories are presumptuous, what maxims audacious? All must be permitted, or none; or government, that is, the party interested against the people, must judge. Upon what principle the classification of the writers is made, it would be absurd to attempt to divine. Any classification answered the purpose of seesaw. It was enough to have one cluster to praise, another to blame.

There is another remarkable specimen of the seesaw, in the same number.

'In a subsequent part of his pamphlet, Mr. Godwin sets the doctrine of the particular and general affections in so clear and masterly a light, and in a manner so very superior to any thing we find in Dr. Parr's sermon on the same subject, that we have great pleasure in laying the passage before our readers.

'"For, after all, though I admit that the assiduities we employ for our children ought to be, and must be, the result of private and domestic affections, yet it is not these affections that determine them to be virtuous. They must, as has been already said, be brought to a standard, and tried by a criterion of virtue.

'"This criterion has been above described, and it is not perhaps of the utmost importance whether we call it utility, or justice, or, more periphrastically, the production of the greatest general good, the greatest public sum of pleasurable sensation. Call it by what name you please, it will still be true, that this is the law by which our actions must be tried. I must be attentive to the welfare of my child; because he is one in the great congregation of the family of the whole earth. I must be attentive to the welfare of my child; because I can, in many portions of the never-ceasing current of human life, be conferring pleasure and benefit on him, when I cannot be directly employed in conferring benefit on others. I best understand his character and his wants; I possess a greater power of modelling his disposition and influencing his fortune; and, as was observed in Political Justice (p. 132.), he is the individual, in the great distribution of the class needing superintendance and supply among the class capable of affording them, whom it falls to my lot to protect and cherish. I do not require that, when a man is employed in benefitting his child, he should constantly recollect the abstract principle of utility; but I do maintain, that his actions in prosecuting that benefit are no further virtuous than in proportion as they square with that principle."'

This is going a great way for philosophy. What follows is a devout offering at the shrine of aristocratical bigotry and insolence.

'Aware of the very superior manner in which Mr. Godwin's complaint is now accustomed to be treated, we had great hopes, upon reading so far, that a radical cure had been effected: but we had no sooner entered upon his remarks on population, than this pleasing delusion was dispelled, and we were convinced it was a case for life. The great expedients which this philosopher has in store to counteract the bad effects of excessive population (so ably pointed out by Mr. Malthus), are, abortion and child-murder. In gratitude for these noble remedies of social disorder, may we take the liberty of suggesting to Mr. Godwin, the infinite importance of shaving and blistering the crown of his head, of keeping the *primæ viæ* open, and of strictly pursuing an antiphlogistic regimen. By these means we have sometimes seen the understandings of great philosophers wonderfully and rapidly improved.'

There is one doctrine, to which we shall have frequent occasion to advert, because it is a favourite with the Edinburgh Review. It is a doctrine expected to please both aristocracy and people; and ample use is accordingly made of it. The doctrine is, that irregular and tumultuary ebullitions of the people in favour of liberty, are of singular importance.

It is not from such irrational effervescence, that the aristocracy have any thing to fear. It is not a mobbing populace that can act with perseverance and consistency sufficient to overcome the defences which guard the undue powers of an aristocracy. If, then, the people can be gulled, by these false demonstrations of liberty, into a belief that they possess good government, the security of the aristocracy is increased; and the doctrine which leads to support this delusion, is a doctrine entirely to their taste.

On the other hand, by pompous talking about the public spirit of the people, about independence of mind, and so forth, displayed and generated in the turbulence of an election, it is expected that the vanity of the people will be piqued; and that they will be persuaded to believe they are something, by that which effectually proves they are nothing. The passage where we find this doctrine first set forth in the Edinburgh Review, is an early one. It is in the first volume (p. 384.), in the article on *Dernieres Vuës de Politique et de Finance par M. Neckar.*

'The only foundation of political liberty is the spirit of the people; and the only circumstance which makes a lively impression upon their senses, and powerfully reminds them of their importance, their power, and their rights, is the periodical choice of their representatives. How easily that spirit may be totally extinguished, and of the degree of abject fear and slavery to which the human race may be reduced for ages, every man of reflection is sufficiently aware; and he knows that the preservation of that feeling is, of all other objects of political science, the most delicate and the most difficult. It appears to us, that a people who did not choose their representatives, but only those

who chose their representatives, would very soon become indifferent to their elections altogether. To deprive them of their power of nominating their own candidate would be still worse. The eagerness of the people to vote is kept alive by their occasional expulsion of a candidate who has rendered himself objectionable, or the adoption of one who knows how to render himself agreeable to them. They are proud of being solicited *personally* by a man of family or wealth. The uproar even, and the confusion and the clamour of a popular election in England, have their use: they give a stamp to the names *Liberty*, *Constitution*, and *People:* they infuse sentiments which nothing but violent passions, and gross objects of sense *could* infuse; and which would never exist, perhaps, if the sober constituents were to sneak, one by one, into a notary's office to deliver their votes for a representative, or were to form the first link in that long chain of causes and effects, which, in this compound kind of elections, ends with choosing a member of Parliament.'

The first article in the second volume is a specimen of the sacrifices which are made to the taste of the aristocracy. It is almost wholly antijacobin. It is a review of the work entitled *Etat de l'Europe*, by that instrument of the Holy Alliance, Gentz. It is an elaborate display, and a general adoption, of his views, respecting the admirable governments and the prosperous condition, of the several countries of Europe, before the French Revolution; and respecting the weakness in the design, and the misery in the effects, of that great convulsion. "There was nothing in the internal situation of the European kingdoms that required such a stormy reformation, as the Revolution threatened to accomplish; and this revolution, so far from being the last link in a long chain of disasters and abuses, was, in fact, a most grievous and unexpected interruption to their career of prosperity, and can in no degree be justified by the pretended disorder and desperation of their affairs." Even in this article the other scale is not entirely forgotten. Something is thrown into it by a pointed condemnation of that popular object of attack, the partition of Poland.

A most singular species of morality is preached in the Edinburgh Review, at times: as, for instance, in the article on Belsham's Philosophy of the Mind, in the first volume.

'Mr. Belsham has one short argument, that whatever is true cannot be hurtful. It is the motto of his title-page, and is afterwards repeated, with equal emphasis, at every time of need. "If the doctrine be true," he contends, "the diffusion of it can do no harm. It is an established and undeniable principle, that truth must be favourable to virtue." (P. 312.) To us, however, this principle, instead of being undeniable, has always appeared the most questionable of postulates. In the declamation of Plato, or the poetry of Akenside, we admit it with little scruple, because we do not read

Plato or Akenside for the truths they may chance to contain; but we always feel more than scepticism, when we are assailed by it in a treatise of pure philosophy: nor can we account for an almost universal assent it has received, from any other circumstance, than the profession and habits of the first teachers of morals in our schools, and of the greater number of their successors. It was a maxim of religion, before it became a maxim of philosophy; though, even as a religious maxim, it formed a very inconsistent part of the optimism in which it was combined. The Deity wills happiness; he loves truth: truth therefore must be productive of good. Such is the reasoning of the optimist. But he forgets, that, in his system, error too must have been *beneficial*, because error *has been;* and that the employment of falsehood for the production of good, cannot be more unworthy of the Divine Being, than the acknowledged employment of rapine and murder for the same purpose. There is, therefore, nothing in the abstract consideration of truth and Deity, which justifies the adoption of such a maxim; and as little is it justified by our practical experience. In the small events of that familiar and hourly intercourse which forms almost the whole of human life, how much is happiness increased by the general adoption of a system of concerted and limited deceit! for it is either in that actual falsehood, which must, as falsehood, be productive of evil, or in the suppression of that truth, which, as truth, must have been productive of good, that the chief happiness of civilized *manners* consists; and he from whose doctrine it flows, that we are to be in no case hypocrites, would, in mere manners, reduce us to a degree of barbarism beyond that of the rudest savage, who, in the simple hospitalities of his hut, or the ceremonial of the public assemblies of his tribe, has still some courtesies, which he fulfils with all the exactness of polite dissimulation. In the greater events of life, how often might the advantage of erroneous belief be felt! If, for example, it were a superstition of every mind, that the murderer, immediately on the perpetration of his guilt, must himself expire by sympathy, a new motive would be added to the side of virtue; and the only circumstance to be regretted would be, not that the falsehood would produce effect, since that effect could be only serviceable, but that perhaps the good effect would not be of long duration, as it would be destroyed for ever by the rashness of the first daring experimenter. The visitation of the murderer by the nightly ghost, which exists in the superstition of so many countries, and which forms a great part of that complex and unanalysed horror with which the crime continues to be considered after the belief of the superstition itself has ceased, has probably been of more service to mankind than the truths of all the sermons that have been preached on the corresponding prohibition in the Decalogue. It is unfortunate that with this beneficial awe unnecessary horrors have been connected; for the *place* continues to be haunted, as well as the *person;* and the dread of our infancy is thus directed, rather to the supernatural appearance, than to the crime. But if superstition could exist, and be modified, at the will of an enlightened legislator, so as to be deprived of its terrors to the

innocent, and turned wholly against the guilty, we know no principle of our nature on which it would be so much for the interest of mankind to operate. It would be a species of prohibitive religion, more impressive, at the moment of beginning crime, than religion itself; because its penalties would be more conceivable and immediate. Innumerable cases may be imagined, in which other errors of belief would be of moral advantage; and we may therefore assume, as *established and undeniable*, that there is nothing in the nature of truth which makes it *necessarily* good; that in the greater number of instances, truth is beneficial; but that, of the whole number of truths and falsehoods, a certain number are productive of good, and others of evil. To which number any particular truth or falsehood belongs, must be shown, in the usual way, by reasonings of direct experience or analogy; and hence, *in a question of utility*, the demonstration of mere logical truth cannot justly be adduced as superseding the necessity of other inquiries. Even though the contrary of that postulate which Mr. Belsham has assumed could not have been shown from *other* cases, it would not *therefore* have been applicable, without proof, to the great questions which he discusses: for these questions comprehend all the truths that are of most importance in human life, which are thus the very truths from which the justness of the assumed principle is most fully to be demonstrated or denied.'

We shall hereafter have various occasions to examine this doctrine, and to show the applications of which it is found to be susceptible, in defiance of all the jesuitry of party. We may leave it safely, at present, when we cannot afford so many words as would be necessary for its exposure, to the reflections of our readers. The public mind has now certainly got beyond this standard of ethics. On the other side, the actions consecrated as virtues by the prevailing cant, whether they have or have not any connection with the sources of human happiness, are spoken of with a reverence truly edifying: as in the article in this same volume on M. Necker's *Réflexions sur la Divorce*, where the ancients are considered very immoral for not including all the conditions, included by us, in the marriage contract; as also in the article on Madame de Stael's *Delphine*, in the second volume, where we may remark, by the way, the singular contrast between the mode in which the same lady is there treated, and in an article in a subsequent volume, in which we shall hereafter see she is held up as nearly the first of all human beings. At the latter period, however, she was in England, and in fashion too, especially with the opposition part of the fashionable world. In 1803, about ten years preceding the laudation, the language was as follows: —

'This dismal trash, which has nearly dislocated the jaws of every critic among us with gaping, has so alarmed Bonaparte, that he has seized the whole impression, sent Madame de Stael out of Paris, and,

for aught we know, sleeps in a nightcap of steel, and dagger-proof blankets. To us it appears rather an attack against the Ten Commandments, than the government of Bonaparte, and calculated not so much to enforce the rights of the Bourbons, as the benefits of adultery, murder, and a great number of other vices, which have been somehow or other strangely neglected in this country, and too much so (according to the apparent opinion of Madame de Stael) even in France.

'It happens, however, fortunately enough, that her book is as dull as it could have been if her intentions had been good; for wit, dexterity, and the pleasant energies of the mind, seldom rank themselves on the side of virtue and social order; while vice is spiritual, eloquent, and alert, ever choice in expression, happy in allusion, and judicious in arrangement.

'To conclude.—Our general opinion of this book is, that it is calculated to shed a mild lustre over adultery; by gentle and convenient gradation, to destroy the modesty and the caution of women; to facilitate the acquisition of easy vices, and encumber the difficulty of virtue. What a wretched qualification of this censure to add, that the badness of the principles is alone corrected by the badness of the style, and that this celebrated lady would have been very guilty, if she had not been very dull!'

The second volume is, we think, distinguished, by its contributions to the aristocratical politics and morality. Among the more remarkable specimens, the article on Belsham's Memoirs of George III. has attracted our attention. We quote the two first paragraphs, to show the indignation with which the writing of party pamphlets under the guise of history is deemed worthy. We presume it will not be reckoned much more laudable to write party pamphlets under the guise of reviews.

'The preceding volumes of this history had created in our minds so little expectation of merit in those which are now presented to the world, that we cannot with propriety say that we have been disappointed. There is a fraud in the very title-page of this work; for if the reader expects to find in the "Memoirs of the Reign of George III." any thing like an history of that period, he will soon find himself dolefully mistaken. By the illiberality, party spirit, and intemperate ardour for the propagation of his political opinions, which Mr. Belsham displays, he has forfeited the title of historian, for the more appropriate, though less respectable, name of zealot, or pamphleteer. The bitter and licentious spirit in which he had indulged his pen throughout his former volumes, has now risen to a height more intolerable to the reader and disgraceful to the writer. It appears that Mr. Belsham's habits of writing, like all other evil habits, increase in virulence, in proportion as they proceed; and unless the wholesome discipline of criticism be administered, the press may, at some future day, groan under a still more highly accumulated mass of personal abuse and intolerant zeal.

'By stripping these volumes, however, of their title to the rank of history, to which they have assuredly no more claim than a book made up of political registers and party pamphlets can pretend to, we have greatly abridged to ourselves the unpleasant task of censure; and by thus bringing their merits and defects to the decision of an inferior standard, we have allowed greater latitude to the author's eccentric excursions, and greater indulgence to his violations of decency and propriety. It may be proper, however, to hint, that the former are always observable, when a low factious citizen comes under the cognizance of the law; and the latter, whenever a prime minister, a Tory, or an alarmist, is honoured by a mention in his annals.'

Observe with attention the notion relative to freedom of discussion inculcated in the following use of the term "libellous."

'After detailing the principal articles of the petition for reform of Parliament, presented by the "Society of the Friends of the People," this libellous oracle thus delivers itself:—

'"Whoever reads this celebrated petition, and still retains the opinion, that the Parliamentary representation of this kingdom needs no reform, may be regarded as in a state of mind far beyond the reach of facts or of argument."'

When it is remembered what that petition was — a petition to be allowed to prove at the bar of the House, a fact which is in reality too notorious to be denied, that a decided majority of the House of Commons is chosen by somewhat less than two hundred great families; and when the state of mind, which in the teeth of such a fact can deny the need of reform, is described as inaccessible to the evidence of facts or argument; — to hold forth such a description as libellous, that is, according to the law of England, punishable, worthy of fine and imprisonment, is to propagate a doctrine, the character of which we wish not to pronounce.

We request attention to the acts which in the following passage are presented to the reader under the title of "exertions" of government.

'We admire, too, the lofty and contemptuous style in which Mr. Belsham treats the exertions of government at that period.

'"Notwithstanding the great predominance of the spirit of loyalty, and the numberless addresses of duty and allegiance transmitted from all parts of the united kingdom, and the perfect security of the government, a mean and merciless spirit of revenge displayed itself in the prosecution and punishment of very many petty offenders, accused of the vague and indefinable crime of sedition — amongst whom were several printers and booksellers; so that it became extremely dangerous to publish any tract or pamphlet reflecting in any manner upon the measures of government: and the liberty of the press was silently and virtually annihilated."'

We should have been happy to find something in this volume,

which we could have placed in the popular, to balance the mighty weight in the opposite scale; but after turning over the pages with some attention, we have found nothing that would answer the purpose. This, be it remembered, was a period in which the aristocratical tide was running very high. When the war was just renewed with France, when the courage of volunteering, and the fear of a French invasion, were the passions of the day, aristocratical opinions alone were a marketable commodity.

It is curious to observe on what occasions the Edinburgh Review sometimes chooses to introduce a favourite portion of the aristocratical creed: the occasion, for example, of Bishop Watson's proposal for paying the national debt, where is inculcated the importance of keeping a large fund of the matter of corruption at the disposal of the crown.

'Besides, we confess that, sincere as our attachment is to the ancient privileges of the people, we cannot contemplate, without some alarm, so sudden a shock as the power of the crown must necessarily receive by the change. We can call the projected reduction of patronage by no other name than a violent change in the balance of the constitution; and this consideration alone should have no small weight with us, in these times, when the unhappy experience of our neighbours has so strongly recommended to practical statesmen that predilection, which every wholesome theory had long before encouraged, for the most gradual alterations in political systems.'

At this time much respect was professed for the old government of the Bourbons. Mr. Stephens, the author of "A History of the late War," is blamed for calling it tyranny and despotism. Such language is stigmatised as "revolutionary verbiage." In the article on the correspondence of Louis XVI., he is represented as having been always a friend to reform. It is affirmed, that designs against his crown had been avowed from the beginning of the Revolution; and his Christian charity is celebrated in the same sort of strain, commonly denominated cant, as would have become the class of fops described in the article in the first volume on Rennel's Sermons.

'A class of fops not usually designated by that epithet — men clothed in profound black, with large canes, and strange amorphous hats — of big speech, and imperative presence — talkers about Plato — great affecters of senility — despisers of women, and all the graces of life — fierce foes to common sense — abusive of the living, and approving no one who has not been dead for at least a century. Such fops, as vain, and as shallow as their fraternity in Bond-street, differ from these only as Gorgonius differed from Rusillus.'

We pass over the fourth and fifth volumes, which are in much the same spirit with the second and third, except that there seems

a disposition to avoid grappling with any important and tender subject. Political economy, indeed, obtains a due share of attention; and the abolition of the slave trade begins to be recommended, — two subjects upon which the Edinburgh Review has rendered important service. And upon these subjects, as well as upon that of Catholic emancipation, which has been laboriously handled, a remark is required.

These are precisely the description of subjects which suit a publication, pursuing the career which has been pursued by the Edinburgh Review. The hold possessed by the aristocracy upon the powers of government, was not likely to be weakened, by any opinions propagated on the subjects of political economy, and the slave trade; not even on that of Catholic emancipation; for though the anile and priest-ridden portion would certainly make a clamour, and feel apprehension for the consecrated prop, the more manly portion, having some respect for the reputation of good sense, would have little respect for matronly fears, and would neither cry down nor discard a publication which attacked them. These were subjects, therefore, on which a reputation with the liberal, the enlightened, and the disinterested part of the public, might be courted, without risking much with the aristocratical and the prejudiced.

It is curious that at this time the Edinburgh Review forced even political economy occasionally into prostitution to the aristocratical system. An instance is afforded, which we must briefly notice, even in one of the volumes which we said we should overlook.

At the period in question, the favourite object with the aristocracy was the pursuit of war, even with an expenditure which laughed to scorn every other specimen of national prodigality which the world had ever beheld. Towards a new argument in favour of this unparalleled waste, thousands were situated nearly like the Eastern sovereign in respect to a new pleasure; they were ready to give mines for it.

It will not be denied that a bold attempt was made to furnish such an argument in the following memorable passage: —

'But the evils of increasing capital, like the evils of increasing population, are felt long before the case has become extreme; and a nation, it may be observed, is much more likely (at least in the present state of commercial policy) to suffer from increasing wealth than from increasing numbers of people. Are there no checks provided by the constitution of human nature, and the construction of civil society, for the one, as well as for the other of these evils? Mr. Malthus has pointed out the manner in which the principle of population is counteracted; and we apprehend that causes nearly analogous will be found to check the progressive increase of capital. Luxurious

living, and other kinds of unnecessary expenditure — above all, political expenses, and chiefly the expenses of war — appear to us to furnish those necessary checks to the indefinite augmentation of wealth, which there was reason *à priori* to suppose would be somewhere provided by the wise regulations of nature.'

It is not the incorrect political economy which we here mean to expose. Other occasions will present themselves for that purpose. What we wish should obtain attention is, the spirit which is manifested by the declaration, that " a nation, situated as ours, is much more likely to suffer from increasing wealth, than from increasing numbers of people:" and that in such circumstances, the expenses of war are a blessing!

We shall have many occasions to point out where the Edinburgh Review has lavished the language of condemnation upon the extravagance of ministers. Can we contemplate a more perfect specimen of see-saw, than this?

In the sixth volume, and in the year 1805, (we think it material to notice the time,) a counterpoise begins to be placed in the popular scale, which had long remained so unequally supplied.

In reviewing Talleyrand *Sur les Colonies*, &c., they introduce a paragraph in favour of that which the few, by whom the powers of government are usurped, have so much occasion to dread; the prevalence of enlightened principles, persecuted, under the name of theory, by the said few, the patrons of practice, and eulogisers of " things as they are."

' The papers now before us, are evidently dictated by this train of reflection; but they have assumed a more general form, and contain a variety of discussions upon the principles of colonization. Independent of the epigrammatic force and eloquence of their style, and of their more substantial merits as sound and ingenious speculations upon a subject of equal difficulty and importance, they cannot fail to interest us in their practical applications. They were the result of actual observation in countries where the author had access to the best information, or was actually engaged in affairs. They were drawn up with a view to influence the conduct of France, under a government in which he soon after bore an active part. Subsequent events prove, that they were not without effect in shaping the measures of that ambitious power. These tracts, it should be observed, however, appear in a form purely speculative; their reasonings are general and philosophical; formed indeed upon facts, but guided by large, scientific views; by an appeal to principles at every step; and by the kind of argument that inferior statesmen deride as theoretical, while their adversaries are conquering the world by the combinations to which it leads. The views of political economy by which our author seems to have been guided, are liberal and enlightened. He knows thoroughly the best doctrines of the science, and is fully impressed with their truth. It will be difficult indeed for our readers to believe that

the writer of some of the passages which we mean to extract, is a leading personage in the present fiscal administration of France. And, however much the recollection may lead us to lament so striking an instance of talents and knowledge enslaved by sordid principles, it is comfortable to think, that there are, among the rulers of that country, some whose lights are superior to their conduct, and that the justness of their original views may one day triumph over the gross ignorance and petty ambition of their more powerful co-adjutors.'

The article on "Bailly's Memoirs" is in a tone much more in opposition to the antijacobin spirit, than any thing which occurs before. The following passage seesaws pretty remarkably with some already produced. Having spoken of the occasion which had been taken from the French Revolution to "involve in discredit the principles of political philosophy, to give strength to prejudices, and to sanction abuses," it goes on: —

'The same circumstances which have thus led us to confound what is salutary with what is pernicious in our establishments, have also perverted our judgments as to the characters of those who were connected with these memorable occurrences. The tide of popular favour, which ran at one time with a dangerous and headlong violence to the side of innovation and political experiment, has now set, perhaps too strongly, in an opposite direction; and the same misguiding passions that placed factious and selfish men on a level with patriots and heroes, has now ranked the blameless and the enlightened in the herd of murderers and madmen.

'There are two classes of men, in particular, to whom it appears to us that the Revolution has thus done injustice, and who have been made to share in some measure the infamy of its most detestable agents, in consequence of venial errors, and in spite of extraordinary merits. There are none indeed who made a figure in its more advanced stages, that may not be left without any great breach of charity, to the vengeance of public opinion: and both the descriptions of persons to whom we have alluded only existed, accordingly, at the period of its commencement. These were the philosophers or speculative men, who inculcated a love of liberty and a desire of reform by their writings and conversation; and the virtuous and moderate, who attempted to *act* upon these principles, at the outset of the Revolution, and countenanced or suggested those measures by which the ancient frame of the government was eventually dissolved. To confound either of these classes of men with the monsters by whom they were succeeded, it would be necessary to forget that they were in reality their most strenuous opponents, and their earliest victims. If they were instrumental in conjuring up the tempest, we may at least presume that their co-operation was granted in ignorance, since they were the first to fall before it; and can scarcely be supposed to have either foreseen or intended those consequences, in which their own ruin was so inevitably involved. That they are chargeable with imprudence and with presumption, may be affirmed, perhaps, without fear of contra-

diction; though with regard to many of them, it would be no easy task, perhaps, to point out by what conduct they could have avoided such an imputation; and this charge, it is manifest, ought at any rate to be kept carefully separate from that of guilt or atrocity. Benevolent intentions, though alloyed by vanity, and misguided by ignorance, can never become the objects of the highest moral reprobation; and enthusiasm itself, though it does the work of the demons, ought still to be distinguished from treachery or malice. The knightly adventurer, who broke the chains of the galley-slaves, purely that they might enjoy their deliverance from bondage, will always be regarded with other feelings than the robber who freed them to recruit the ranks of his banditti.'

This article is in itself as instructive an example as can be found, of the craft and mystery of compromise; of trimming, and seesaw. If one sentence is in favour of truth and freedom, another is in favour of prejudice and servility. To balance such passages as the former, we have others, in the following strain:—

'We are very much inclined to do justice to the virtuous and enlightened men who abounded in the constituent assembly of France. We believe that the motives of many of them were pure, and their patriotism unaffected: their talents are still more indisputable; but we cannot acquit them of blameable presumption and inexcusable imprudence. There are *three* points, it appears to us, in particular, in which they were bound to have foreseen the consequences of their proceedings.

'In the *first* place, the spirit of exasperation, defiance, and intimidation, with which from the beginning they carried on their opposition to the schemes of the court, the clergy, and the nobility, appears to us to have been as impolitic with a view to their ultimate success, as it was suspicious perhaps as to their immediate motives. The parade which they made of their popularity; the support which they submitted to receive from the menaces and acclamations of the mob; the joy which they testified at the desertion of the royal armies; and the anomalous military force, of which they patronised the formation in the city of Paris, were so many preparations for actual hostility, and led almost inevitably to that appeal to force, by which all prospect of establishing an equitable government was finally cut off. Sanguine as the patriots of that assembly undoubtedly were, they might still have been able to remember the most obvious and important lesson in the whole volume of history, that the nation which has recourse to arms for the settlement of its internal affairs necessarily falls under the iron yoke of a military government in the end, and that nothing but the most evident necessity can justify the lovers of freedom in forcing it from the hands of their governors. In France, there certainly was no such necessity.'

The following passage is a laboured panegyric upon the actual composition of the English House of Commons: with the declaration of a general principle worthy of all admiration:

'No representative legislature, it appears to us, can ever be respectable or secure, unless it contain within itself a great proportion of those who form the natural aristocracy of the country, and are able, as individuals, to influence the conduct and opinions of the greater part of its inhabitants. Unless the power, and weight, and authority of the assembly, in short, be really made up of the power, and weight, and authority of the individuals who compose it, the factitious dignity they may derive from their situation can never be of long endurance; and the dangerous power with which they may be invested, will become the subject of scrambling and contention among the factions of the metropolis, and be employed for any purpose but the general good of the community.

'In England, the House of Commons is made up of the individuals who, by birth, by fortune, or by talents, possess singly the greatest influence over the rest of the people. The most certain and the most permanent influence, is that of rank and of riches; and these are the qualifications, accordingly, which return the greatest number of members. Men submit to be governed by the united will of those, to whose will, as individuals, the greater part of them have been previously accustomed to submit themselves; and an act of parliament is reverenced and obeyed, not because the people are impressed with a constitutional veneration for an institution called a Parliament, but because it has been passed by the authority of those who are recognised as their natural superiors, and by whose influence, as individuals, the same measures might have been enforced over the greater part of the kingdom. Scarcely any new power is acquired, therefore, by the combination of those persons into a legislature: they carry each their share of influence and authority into the senate along with them; and it is by adding the items of it together, that the influence and authority of the senate itself is made up. From such a senate, therefore, it is obvious that their power can never be wrested, and that it would not even attach to those who might succeed in supplanting them in the legislature, by violence or intrigue, or by any other means than those by which they themselves had originally secured their nomination. In such a state of representation, in short, the influence of the representatives is not borrowed from their office, but the influence of the office is supported by that which is personal to its members; and Parliament is only regarded as the great depositary of all the authority which formerly existed, in a scattered state, among its members. This authority, therefore, belonging to the men, and not to their places, can neither be lost by them, if they are forced from their places, nor found by those who may supplant them. The Long Parliament, after it was purged by the Independents, and the assemblies that met under that name, during the Protectorate of Cromwell, held the place, and enjoyed all the form of power that had belonged to their predecessors; but as they no longer contained those individuals who were able to sway and influence the opinion of the body of the peop'e, they were without respect or authority, and speedily came to be the objects of public derision and contempt.

'As the power and authority of a legislature thus constituted is perfectly secure and inalienable on the one hand, so, on the other, the moderation of its proceedings is guaranteed by a consciousness of the basis upon which this authority is founded. Every individual being aware of the extent to which his own influence is likely to reach among his constituents and dependants, is anxious that the mandates of the body shall never pass beyond that limit within which obedience may be easily secured. He will not hazard the loss of his own power, therefore, by any attempt to enlarge that of the legislature; and feeling, at every step, the weight and resistance of the people, the whole assembly proceeds with a due regard to their opinions and prejudices, and can never do any thing very injurious or very distasteful to the majority. From the very nature of the authority with which they are invested, they are in fact consubstantiated with the people for whom they are to legislate. They do not sit loose upon them, like riders on inferior animals; nor speculate nor project experiments upon their welfare, like operators upon a foreign substance. They are the natural organs of a great living body; and are not only warned, by their own feelings, of any injury which they may be tempted to inflict on it, but would become incapable of performing their functions, if they were to proceed far in debilitating the general system.

'Such, it appears to us, though delivered perhaps in too abstract and elementary a form, is the just conception of a free representative legislature.'

There is a return to the malignant language of antijacobinism, in the review of the "Continuation of Belsham's History of Great Britain," in the same sixth volume.

'The events which took place in the Neapolitan territory, after the French armies had been driven from Italy by the victorious Suvaroff, are narrated with considerable spirit; but in a manner which betrays the author's decided predilection for the Revolutionists, and his detestation of all by whom the interests of the Royal party were espoused. His narrative is faithfully taken from the "*Sketches*" of the excellent Helen Maria Williams; of course he becomes quite impassioned, and by far too noisy, for the propriety of history. That the Neapolitans were incapable of enjoying a free government, he is, however, obliged to admit: it follows, therefore, that the project of a republican constitution was as absurd as it was wicked; and that the only remedy against greater evils, was the re-establishment of the government which had been unwarrantably pulled down. But although we are not disposed to weep with Mr. Belsham over the prostrate democracy of Naples, we are not therefore inclined either to justify or palliate the excesses of those by whom it was overthrown. It must, however, be recollected, that the Royal government, in a justificatory memorial which it afterwards published, strongly disavows the charge of proscription; but our author neither adverts to this or any other document,—having gone no farther, apparently, in search of authorities, than to the said Sketches of Miss Williams.

'From these excursive details our historian then returns to objects more immediately connected with British annals; but it is only for a little while that he stops to shed the lights of history upon our dark and disordered political system; for he soon starts away to expatiate upon topics which seem to have greater charms for him. Meantime, he adverts to the expedition to Holland in 1799; the account of which is done up from the disaffected newspapers of that time, in Mr. Belsham's own happy manner. It seems, indeed, not to be so much the intention of our historian to give a just account of the objects of that expedition, and the real causes of its failure, as to sneer at the military talents, and ridicule the despatches of the British commander-in-chief.'

Think of "disaffected newspapers," and "the military talents of the British commander-in-chief"! It seems as if a page of a ministerial daily paper, had slipped into our hands.

From the sixth to the ninth volume, there is nearly a blank with regard to the great branch of politics, the securities for good government. In the ninth volume, there is an article which goes over a great part of the field of government, and which, beside the usual characteristic of being on both sides of the question, is one of the most remarkable specimens of the use of words without ideas, and of forms of expression covering ignorance with the semblance of knowledge, that we could at present point out, fashionable, and popular, and of course prevalent, as this mode of composition is. We present the following passage in proof of our remark: —

'It has sometimes struck us, that the bias which is found in some theoretical writers upon legislation in favour of established systems, and in others towards changes, may partly be accounted for by the character of the country and government for which their labours were designed. In the ancient republics, the sovereignty was generally exercised by the whole body of the people, liable to the natural turbulence and instability of all democracies, and, in those of Greece, to a certain constitutional levity in the national character. The beautiful fabrics of civil polity might be swept away by the surge of a moment, whenever the factious, who loved sedition, or the ambitious, who aimed at tyranny, should rouse the madness of the multitude. Against these perils of innovation it was difficult to devise a barrier compatible with the supremacy of the public will. The legislators of antiquity were not, however, deficient in their endeavours to secure the stability of their institutions. The proposer of a new law among the Locrians, we are told by Demosthenes, *wore a rope about his neck;* if it failed of adoption, his life was an instant sacrifice to the sanctity of the established constitution. Less violent, yet powerful, checks were imposed by the laws of Athens and Rome. The people, jealous as they were in the extreme of their legislative rights, submitted to a previous negative in the Nomothetæ of the one, and in the senate of the other. At Rome, indeed, this corrective of

innovation was, in a great degree, done away by the plebiscita, which passed by a vote of the tribes, without the authority of the senate, and acquired, at a pretty early period, the complete force of what were more strictly called laws. But there was yet another tie by which the prudence of ancient legislators bound together the systems they had framed. This was superstition. They called in a force to which the physical power of the multitude must yield, and appealed to an authority by which its acknowledged sovereignty might be lawfully controlled. For them the voice of the gods was raised in oracles; for them the mysterious symbols of fate were displayed in auguries; to them the divinities of woods and fountains taught more than fallible wisdom could have discovered. The worship, the ceremonies, and processions of antiquity, were mingled with the laws of civil regimen, and cast over them a veil of reverence and regard that made innovation sacrilege. None but the patrician families could tend the sacred chickens of the augural college. The privilege may not seem invaluable. But if it was declared that these chickens refused to eat, an assembly of the people was that instant dissolved, their clamours silenced, their leaders appalled, and not a wreck left behind of the clouds that hung over the public tranquillity. And this distinction was the last to fall before the gradual progress of the plebeian claims.

'In absolute monarchies, on the contrary, the genius of the constitution, and commonly the prejudices of the people, resist with a sort of inert force every species of innovation. Theoretical writers are therefore led to throw their weight into the opposite scale, and to counteract that 'froward retention of custom' which baffles all their schemes of public improvement. The abuses likewise of such governments are commonly much more flagrant, and the grievances more substantial, than in those of a republican form; and while these naturally rouse the indignation of enlightened and patriotic men, the dangers of that turbulent fermentation, which is apt to attend political change, seem generally far less, where the prince, and not the people, administers the remedy. During part of the last century kings aspired to be philosophers, or listened at least to those who bore the name; some looked for power, and some for reputation, in the destruction of ancient usages. The fancy of the theorist was inflamed; his projects became more extensive and less gradual, when he had but to persuade a single man of their possibility and excellence. It may be noted, that although innovations are rare in absolute monarchies, yet when they do take place, they are likely to be almost as sweeping and as sudden as in democracies themselves. For these forms of government, as Mr. Burke has well remarked from Aristotle, have striking points of resemblance in their arbitrary nature and their disregard of private rights. The promulgation of a legislative code by a single edict, changing at once, upon however specious principles, the ancient customs of a nation, associated with all their notions of right, especially as to property;—prejudices which it is so dangerous to disturb; interwoven with the plans of so many individuals for their domestic happiness; familiar, by long habit, to the popular under-

standing, and accommodated, in all those petty occasions which cannot be foreseen, to the exigencies of social life; — is a piece of infatuation and tyranny which none, one would think, but a prince in the barren ignorance of the purple, or a 'bookish theorique' in the presumptuousness of speculation, could approve. Yet Filangieri admires the celebrated project of Catharine, her philosophical code of Russian laws, and the absurd mockery of delegation from the dispersed and ignorant boors of her vast empire. 'She left to her kingdom the choice of its delegates, and consequently of its legislators. Under such circumstances, not a single peasant could doubt of the value of the new code, or could hesitate a moment on the preference between it and the ancient system.' The total neglect into which we understand this code to have fallen, is an answer to such an absurdity. We are far from charging Filangieri with that infatuated abhorrence of existing institutions which distinguished the early times of the French revolution. In certain passages he appears aware that reformations cannot be hastily taken up or suddenly executed. But the general bias of his schemes is, to make all provision against the sluggish spirit which adheres to every thing that is old, and very little against the turbulent spirit which grasps at every thing that is new. His institutions are laid out for a free government; but he lived under arbitrary power, and naturally thought most of the evils which he saw around him. From this error, and from one very common with speculative men, that of attributing more wisdom, and virtue, and influence, to the imaginary magistrate, than a real individual will ever possess, we find positions advanced, from which we shrink as wild and dangerous, and projects brought forward which appear visionary and absurd. Let the following be a specimen.

' " The first step to be taken is to create in the public a wish for the proposed reformation. A change in the constitution of a country is not the work of a moment; and to prepare the way for it, the inclinations of the people should be gradually led towards it. They should be made fully sensible of the inefficacy of their established laws, and be convinced their hardships and oppressions are owing to them. The ablest writers should be employed to state the errors and inconveniences of the old system, and the propriety as well as the necessity of abolishing it, and adopting a more advantageous one. When these efforts are successful, and the public wish is united with the force of government, one of the greatest obstacles is surmounted, and there is no reason for any further apprehensions from a passionate and ungovernable attachment of the multitude to their ancient usages. * * * * * When this first step is taken, another naturally follows. Having prejudiced the public opinion against its ancient laws, it should be inspired with a confidence in the proposed ones; and the arguments intended to produce this necessary predilection, ought to be plain and striking, and, in some degree, flowing from the public sentiments," &c. (Vol. I. 57.)

We invite our readers to try, as a useful exercise, what ideas they can extract from this passage: or what explicit principle of

approbation or disapprobation for any species of institution. The seesaw here is so rapid, that, as in the swift succession of the prismatic colours, the mixture becomes confusion. The ancient republics are "beautiful fabrics of civil polity," but nevertheless such wretched fabrics, that "they might be swept away by the surge of a moment, whenever the factious who loved sedition, or the ambitious who aimed at tyranny, should rouse the madness of the multitude." There is a class of writers who love change, and a class who hate it, seemingly for its own sake. We are sorry the writer did not inform us where they are to be found. From habit, and from the love of ease, all men are averse to change, where the prospect of some considerable good is not presented to them. Under a long-continued system of misrule, those who profit by it are averse to change from self-interest, those who suffer by it from bad education. Men of no description are anxious for a change, but from the hope of advantage. Is the prospect of advantage not a legitimate principle of action? Why does the Edinburgh Review endeavour by vague imputations to throw discredit upon that which is the source of every benefit to man? Every improvement is change. Why, instead of language which deserves no better name than that of aristocratical slang, did it not give us some principle by which to distinguish the advantages which are yet to be pursued, and which ought to engage all our ardour, from those which are more imaginary than real, and which may not be worth what must be risked in the pursuit of them?

We quote the following passage for the sake of contrasting it with an opinion, the support of which is exceedingly laboured in the next volume.

'The predominant character of the British system of government, though it is essentially republican, is certainly rather adverse than favourable to innovation. It partakes, indeed, rather of the nature of an aristocracy, on a very large and liberal basis, than of any other polity; and the genius of an aristocratic commonwealth is of all others the most hostile to any change. Though the direct share of the monarch in legislation has become nominal, that of the House of Peers is very real and effective; and, on looking narrowly into the spirit which has generally actuated that assembly, we shall perceive, that new projects in legislation have encountered a very marked discouragement within its walls.'

Hear now what is said, at p. 413. of vol. x. —

'The balance of the constitution now exists, in a great degree, in the House of Commons; and that assembly possesses nearly the whole legislative authority.'

The following is the same idea more expanded —

'The advantages of this arrangement are, as we have already intimated, — that the collision and shock of the three rival principles, is either prevented or prodigiously softened by this early mixture of their elements, — that by converting those sudden and successive checks into one regulating and graduated pressure, their operation becomes infinitely more smooth and manageable, and no longer proceeds by jerks and bounds that might endanger the safety of the machine, — while its movements, instead of being fractured and impeded by the irregular impulses of opposite forces, slide quietly to the mark, in the diagonal produced by their original combination.'

'We have stated already, that the prospect of these advantages probably operated, in part, to produce the arrangement which ensured them; but it was dictated, no doubt, by more urgent considerations, and indeed, as we think, by a necessity which could not be resisted. The great object to be accomplished, was not so much to save the House of Commons from the mortification of having their bills stopped by the Lords, or rejected by the Sovereign, as to protect these two estates from the hazard to which they might be exposed from the direct exercise of this privilege. By the vast and rapid increase of wealth and intelligence in the country at large, the consideration and relative authority of that branch of the government which stands most in connexion with it, was suddenly and prodigiously enlarged. The very circumstance of its being open to talent and ambition, ensured a greater proportion of ability and exertion in its members; and their numbers and the popularity of their name and character, all contributed to give their determinations a degree of weight and authority, against which it would no longer have been safe for any other power to have risked an opposition. No ministry, for a hundred years back, has had courage to interpose the royal negative to any measure which has passed through the Houses of Parliament, even by narrow majorities; and there is no thinking man, who can contemplate, without dismay, the probable consequences of such a resistance, where the House of Commons had been zealous and nearly unanimous. It is needless to say, that the House of Lords would oppose a still feebler barrier to such a measure of popular legislation. In order to exercise their constitutional functions with safety, therefore, it became necessary for the king and the great families to exercise them in the lower house, — not *against* the united commons of England, but *among* them; and not in their own character, and directly, — but covertly, and mingled with those whom it was substantially their interest and their duty to control.

'It is thus, as it appears to us, that the balance which was in danger of being lost through the increasing power and influence of the lower house, has been saved by being transferred into that assembly; and that all that was essentially valuable in the constitution, has been secured by a silent but very important change in its mode of operation. This change we take to be, that the influence of the crown, and of the old aristocracy, is now exerted in that house by means of members sent there to support that influence; and that, in that

house, as the great depository of the political power of the nation, and the virtual representative of the whole three estates, the chief virtue and force of the government is now habitually resident.

'This last conclusion, we are persuaded, will not appear either rash or hazardous to those who consider the exclusive power which is now almost formally yielded to the House of Commons, with regard to the supplies; and the admitted impossibility of going on in the ad-administration of the government, without the support of a decided and permanent majority of its members.'

To the last sentence is appended the following note: —

'See Hume's Essay on the Independency of Parliament; the very basis of which is, that the House of Commons absolutely commands all the other parts of the government, and may, when it pleases, swallow up the rest, and engross the whole power of the constitution.'

To this theory of the constitution, and the consequences which these reviewers deduce from it, namely, that the usurpation which has been effected upon the people's rights to place and displace, and exercise an efficient control over, the members of the house of commons, is salutary and desirable, we shall take a future opportunity of replying. On this, above all subjects, delusion is fatal; proportional pains will therefore be requisite both to discover true principles, and to make them clearly seen by the public. The little which we can afford to add to the present article, must be employed in exhibiting a few specimens more of that leading feature in the character of the Review which has occupied our attention in several of the more immediately preceding pages.

We shall pass on to a period when the Review thought expedient a much higher language on the side of the people, than it had ventured on before. The whole of the article entitled "On the Rights and Duties of the People," in the twentieth volume, though much of the language is still vague and slippery, may be given as a specimen of the new lengths which it was not scrupled, at this particular time, to go in opposition to aristocratical interests.

According to the following passage, though it had, in the previous paragraph, been allowed, that the principle of representation is the grand secret for good government, yet it is maintained, that for the people to let the powers of government out of their own hands, even to real representatives, is attended with imminent danger.

'With all these blessings, however, and they are as undeniable as they are important, the plan of delegated authority is liable to several objections — not, indeed, such as greatly to detract from its merits — but such as are well adapted to keep our jealousy awake to its abuses. It may be enough to mention one, into which indeed

almost all the others resolve themselves. The delegation of the greatest of all trusts, that of government, necessarily implies a surrender of the function itself, and with the function much of the power — and leaves the people, in some degree, at the mercy of those whom they choose for their trustees, during the whole term of the appointment. Hence the danger of those trustees abusing their delegated authority in such a manner as to weaken the control of the people over them — and, by rendering themselves more powerful and less accountable, to make the resumption of the trust more difficult. It is quite manifest, therefore, that there is nothing of which the Constitution, in a state like England, ought to be more jealous, than any step towards independence on the part of the representatives — any attempt of theirs to acquire a substantive and separate authority — either an existence not created, or attributes not bestowed by the people. From so self-evident a maxim we may deduce all the arguments in favour of parliamentary reform — all the observations which place in the strongest light the abuses in our representative system — the principles which render the septennial act by far the greatest mockery of popular rights, and breach of common good faith that ever was committed by the governors to the governed — the grounds upon which the exclusion of so many of the community from all share in the government, and the usurpation of the elective franchise by the few, are demonstrably shown to be a mere subversion of the very purpose and meaning of representation.'

The main object of the article is to maintain the utility of meetings of the people in large bodies, to declare their opinions on public measures and men. The following is a curious passage: —

'It is quite true that the adoption or rejection of specific measures ought in no case to be left with the bulk of the people. But it is equally true, that the people have a right to deliberate on specific measures — to discuss them individually and in bodies — to express the result of those deliberations, and to tender to the Legislature and the Executive Government their opinion, their advice, nay, the free expression of their wishes upon all matters of public import. This is the sacred inalienable right of the English people — it is theirs as they are freemen — it is theirs as they are both the fountain and the object of all government — it is a right, the invasion of which we conscientiously hold to form an extreme case — a case, perhaps, more easy than safe to discuss; and one which all lovers of their country, and friends to the peace and good order of society, must fervently pray against ever living to see practically moved. This right, however, was actually violated by Mr. Pitt — by the very man who did not scruple to invade the first principles of the representative system on the opposite quarter, by taking the sense of the country on a particular measure. He was the first minister who ever dared abridge the rights of Englishmen to discuss their own affairs.'

The people of England, according to this paragraph, ought to have taken arms against the government, and to have appealed to Heaven, when their rights were invaded as they were by Mr. Pitt.

After various observations to shew the importance of meetings held by the people to overawe their representatives, however purely elected, comes the following picture of the actual state.

'We have all along been reasoning upon the supposition that the parliament is really, and not in name only, a representation of the people — that its members are chosen by the nation at large — that its deliberations are the result of discussions among delegates appointed by those whose business they are to manage — that the choice of them is free, and the trust so often renewed, as to give the elector, by the mere act of election or rejection, some control over the deputy — that the representative body consists of persons sent, on the part of the nation, to resist the encroachments of the crown and the aristocracy, and not in any considerable number, of persons chosen by the crown and Aristocracy to play into their hands, and betray the people under the disguise of their trustees. But how greatly is the force of the argument increased by the actual state of the representation? Who shall say that a parliament, chosen as ours really is, requires no looking after? Who shall tell us that the crown requires no watching from the people themselves, when their regular watchmen are some of them named, and more of them paid, by the crown itself? Who shall be permitted to question the necessity of the people deliberating about their own affairs in their own persons, when such vast masses of them are wholly deprived of the elective franchise, and destitute of any semblance of representatives to speak their wishes, or to transact their business?

'The history of last session, fruitful as it is in lessons of political wisdom, offers none more striking than the one which it reads to us upon this important subject. The most weighty interests discussed in parliament were those of the manufacturing districts. The bread of hundreds of thousands was in question; and the two houses were occupied for many weeks in discussing their grievances. Those persons composed the population of Birmingham, Leeds, Manchester, Sheffield, Wakefield, Halifax, Boulton, Bury, Glasgow, and other places. Not one of those towns, some of them containing 100,000 inhabitants, has a single representative in parliament, except Glasgow; — and Glasgow is *represented* (if the abuse of language may be tolerated) by its corporation uniting with three other corporations, and the whole four sets of magistrates chusing one member; but so that the other three at all times (and two of them every other parliament) may return the member, and leave Glasgow wholly out of the question. Now, in what manner could those great and most important bodies of men have made themselves heard but through the public meetings, which they wisely and constitutionally held to discuss their grievances? In no other way could they have each obtained a hearing, or established a correspondence with

a temporary representative: — But surely in no other way could they have gained the point, which they did so nobly carry with the legislature and the executive government. In specifying these towns, we have enumerated the greater part, by far, of the manufacturing interests of England; — and they are all without local representatives in parliament. Is it asking too much, to demand that they may use freely the only means left them of sharing in the public councils — of influencing the measures for which they pay so dearly in all ways — and assemble from time to time in order to communicate with each other, and with the government, upon the matters so imminently affecting them? In truth, while so many vast branches of the community are wholly deprived of all share in the representation — while so many members of parliament owe their existence to private nomination — while the electors, who exercise their franchise the most amply, have only an opportunity once in six or seven years of changing their delegate — and while the enormous patronage vested in the crown, strews with tempting baits the whole floor of the House, and besets every avenue to it with promises and threats — he must be a stubborn lover of despotism indeed, who can deny that the people betray their own cause, and have themselves to blame for the mismanagement of their affairs, if they cease to discuss and speak out their own minds upon all fit occasions. Such a parliament *must* be *aided* by the watchful eyes of the country. If the people slumber themselves, let them not vainly hope that their *representatives* will be very vigilant, or very successful in the public cause, whatever they may be in their own.'

On the other hand, here is a passage in the very same number (xl.), which, though it is somewhat misty and oracular, nevertheless contains a view of the *beau idéal* in government, well calculated to administer consolation to the holders of aristocratical power.

'The great point, then, is to ensure a free, an authoritative, and an uninterrupted communication between the ostensible administrators of the national power, and its actual constituents and depositories; and the chief distinction between a good and a bad government consists in the degree in which it affords the means of such a communication. The main end of government to be sure is, that wise laws should be enacted and enforced; but such is the condition of human infirmity, that the hazards of sanguinary contentions about the exercise of power is a muchg reater and more imminent evil, than a considerable obstruction in the making or execution of the laws; and the best government therefore is, not that which promises to make the best laws, and to enforce them most vigorously, but that which guards best against the tremendous conflicts to which all administrations of government, and all exercise of political power is apt to give rise. It happens, fortunately indeed, that the same arrangements which most effectually ensure the peace of society against those disorders, are also, on the whole, the best calculated for the purposes of wise and efficient legislation. But we do not hesitate to look upon their

negative or preventive virtues as of a far higher cast than their positive and active ones; and to consider a representative legislature to be incomparably of more value when it truly represents the efficient force of the nation in controlling and directing the executive, than when it merely enacts wholesome statutes in its legislative capacity.

'The result of the whole then is, that in a civilized and enlightened country, the actual power of the State resides in the great body of the people, and especially among the more wealthy and intelligent in all the different ranks of which it consists; and consequently, that the administration of the government can never be either safe or happy, unless it be conformable to the wishes and sentiments of that great body; while there is little chance of its answering either of these conditions, unless the forms of the constitution provide some means for the regular, constant, and authentic expression of their sentiments,—to which, when so expressed, it is the undoubted duty and obvious interest of the executive to conform. A Parliament, therefore, which really and truly represents the sense and opinions—we mean the general and mature sense, not the occasional prejudices and fleeting passions—of the efficient body of the people, and which watches over and effectually controls every important act of the executive magistrate, is necessary, in a country like this, for the tranquillity of the government, and the ultimate safety of the monarchy itself,—much more even than for the enactment of the laws; and, in proportion as it varies from this description, or relaxes in this control, will the peace of the country and the security of the government be endangered.'

This description corresponds to what one might call a good Whig parliament; which, though it would turn out the ministry, and put in their opponents, would be much more careful to prevent any radical change, than it would be to make good laws.

The contradictions involved in this description deserve particular attention. "The main end of government, to be sure, is, that wise laws should be enacted and enforced." The best government, however, is a government which has an end more highly valued than its main end.

Was obscurity studied, or were the ideas of the writer far from clear, when he said, "We do not hesitate to consider a representative legislature to be incomparably of more value when it truly represents the efficient force of the nation in controlling and directing the executive, than when it merely enacts wholesome statutes in its legislative capacity?"—The illustration of this topic will be completed by specimens from the succeeding numbers of the Review, in our next publication, when other characteristics of the work will come under review.

2. *The Quarterly Review*, No. LVIII.—*Faux's Memorable Days in America.*

OUR brief notice of the recent travels through the Anglo-American United States had just been printed off, when the Quarterly Review for December made its appearance; and as it contains a long article on "Faux's Memorable Days," a fitter opportunity could scarcely have presented itself for estimating the candour, knowledge, and integrity of that Review,—and for developing the process by which it fabricates a representation calculated to flatter the passions and prejudices of those who entertain an instinctive hatred of responsible and economical government.

The writer seems absolutely delirious with joy at finding in Mr. Faux's journal, what any intelligent and reflecting person might easily have anticipated, and what we have distinctly admitted in our introductory remarks on emigration; viz. that every one who emigrates to or resides in a newly settled and thinly peopled country must, though assured of an adequate subsistence, submit to great physical inconvenience and privation,—that his security for person or property will not be of so high an order as in some older established communities, the slender means of the new society not admitting of an efficient judicature and police, and the absence of neighbourhood rendering character of comparatively little importance,—and that without assiduous industry he can never attain a situation of tolerable comfort.

In order that persons disposed to emigrate might know precisely what amount of inconvenience and peril they would have to encounter, we have extracted from Mr. Faux the most aggravated and best authenticated instances of both kinds of annoyance, rendering them occasionally more prominent by italic type; and, allowing for all these detractions from the advantage of ceasing to feel anxiety on the score of subsistence, or the actual pangs of hunger, we have indicated the class of persons who alone can better their situation by emigration to such a country.

After the general admissions contained in our outset, it would have been superfluous to have loaded our pages with multiplied instances in detail; but had we been disposed to do this, so many of those mentioned by Faux rest upon mere hearsay or the assertions of loose talkers, that the number of authentic facts would not have been considerably increased.

Now how has the writer in the Quarterly Review constructed

his article? Thirty-two pages, — the whole of this lengthy performance, — has he nearly filled with extracts from Faux, containing the details of individual instances of ferocity, violence, knavery, boasting and vulgarity, disappointment, failure, despondency, bad soils, bad climates, bad food, discomfort, dirt, and barbarism, — all on the debtor side of the account, without hinting at the existence of a single item on the creditor side. In Mr. Faux's journal the good and evil are pretty equally blended; descriptions of kindly soils, of successful and satisfied industry, of generosity, liberal feeling, and integrity, and of the good effects of an economical form of government, are neither unfrequent nor ill attested; indications are given of the cause of failure in many cases of disappointment: but of all this, not one word from the writer in this Review, — it would not have suited his purpose; which, from his sneers at the "Land of Freedom," and irrepressible expressions of hatred towards republican government, we may fairly assume to be, an endeavour to persuade the reader that the evils, physical and moral, inseparable from every infant state of society, are altogether the result of American institutions, or rather of the absence of a certain institution; for in the want of an established church, the Quarterly reviewer discovers the cause of every offence committed in the United States. (p. 369.) Without religion, says he, there can be no morals; without an established church there can be no religion!—at least, none that will suit this gentleman. The only religious people are those who take upon trust all that their parish priest delivers, — who, without bestowing a single thought on religion or the evidence adduced in support of it, say their prayers, go to church, nod through half the service, and pay tithes without a murmur. Those who investigate a little, — who differ from what said parish priest chooses to lay down, — who doubt the Athanasian creed, or any of the thirty-nine articles, — who are depressed with the fear of eternal flames, or elevated with the hope of eternal pleasure, — these are all, according to the charitable and expanded views of the Quarterly Review, infidels or fanatics! (p. 369.) Whatever may be the effects of religion in general as a sanction for morals, this writer himself affords a striking instance, that "that pure and reformed branch of it," the established church, is not competent to compel the observance of truth among its acquiescent votaries. *He* is no doubt an eminently pious and churchgoing man, and he is sufficiently instructed to be aware that there are many modes of making a mendacious statement besides the simple process of mendacious invention. *Suppressio veri est expressio falsi.* There is the *false by omission*, as well as the false by substitution; and of all modes of falsehood, the *false*

*by omission* is the most deceptious, because it contains to a certain extent the elements of truth.

Now a more base and mischievous falsehood than that conveyed by the totality of the article now under consideration, it is impossible to conceive; base, because in the face of repeatedly conflicting statements contained in the very book referred to, the reader of the article is induced to believe that the book contains none but unfavourable representations, and he is told (p. 368.), that the reviewer has given "but the smallest portion of the unfavourable account of the American population;"—mischievous, because by every species of insolence and contempt, endeavours are made to exasperate against each other two nations who have the strongest interest in preserving the relations of friendship.

So much for the candour and integrity of our Tory scribe! Now for his knowledge, and the value of the materials with which he has filled his thirty-two pages.

Who — unless it be one whose intellect has been blinded by existing abuses — is ignorant of the leading principles which assign the various degrees of trustworthiness to the various species of evidence; of the difference between primary and secondary evidence, between direct testimony and *hearsay?* What child does not know that in passing from mouth to mouth every story either gains or loses so much, that after a certain number of transmissions it is often difficult to recognize the original narrative? Now at least one half of the facts selected with such care by the Quarterly Review from Faux's journal, rest, not upon Faux's own observation and direct testimony, but upon no better evidence than mere hearsay, and that of the weakest and most unsatisfactory kind, — the babble of loose talkers, tavern companions, and disappointed projectors. Great reliance is placed by the Review on general assertions hazarded at random, collected from few or inconclusive particulars, and mixed up with the foolish opinions of foolish individuals; and yet, after having been at the pains to devote four pages to the rendering contemptible and ridiculous an individual whose opinions Faux details at the greatest length, the writer concludes his article by ascribing to the opinions of others, so repeated by Faux, greater credit than to the statements and opinions of Faux himself, whose integrity and understanding are highly vaunted at the beginning of the critique.

The Quarterly reviewer extracts the story of "a poor fellow who was found lying in the street" (at Charlston) "in a hot broiling sun 110° by the thermometer, with both legs broken and dreadfully bruised, having been robbed of all he had: he had lain there all night, equally unnoticed by the nightly watch and the open-day humanity of the citizens; and had not an old Prus-

sian colonel offered a dollar to have him removed as a nuisance, he would have been suffered to roast and be devoured by the flies."

*We* omitted to select this story for extraction, not only because we deemed it somewhat improbable, but because Faux does not say that he saw the sight himself, and the narrative is accompanied with one or two minute circumstances which cast an air of doubtfulness over the whole; — for instance, the person who ordered the sufferer to be removed, is said to have called out to two slaves, "Here! July and August!" do so and so. Considering the heat of the day, it struck us as somewhat singular, that the slaves should be so appositely named July and August, in such happy succession. The same circumstance probably struck the candid reviewer as a ground for distrust, for he cautiously omits it in his extract.

The following story is also extracted in the same spirit: —

'I saw an execution lately defeated by that boasted spirit which they call liberty or independence. The property under execution was put up to sale, when the eldest son appeared with a huge herculean club, and said, "Gentlemen, you may bid for and buy these things, which were my father's, but by G— no man living shall come on to this ground with horse and cart to fetch them away. The land is mine, and if the buyer takes any thing away, it shall be on his back.'"

*We* omitted to select this story as one of the examples to show the degree of insecurity the emigrant might have to encounter, not because we deemed it improbable, — for in our introductory remarks we had admitted and accounted for the weakness of the judicial arm in remote and thinly inhabited districts, — but because the story does not rest on the authority of Faux, but was related to him by one Squire Liddiard; of whom we know nothing, except that by his own account he was precisely the sort of person who ought not to have emigrated to the Western States, — a London merchant, with a counting-house near the Exchange and a citizen's box at Blackheath.

Such are the stories, and so evidenced, on which the reviewer grounds his implied proposition, that the American people are so debased, and their institutions so pernicious, as to render existence among them absolutely intolerable, and our "excellent constitution in church and state" the only thing which can secure the happiness of man. These stories bear the date of 1819.

Three *years* have not elapsed since an aged pauper, in the middle of this metropolis of London, was thrust from parish to parish, from officer to officer, each contesting the liability to ad-

minister relief, till the last on whose hands he was thrown left him famishing with cold and hunger in the open streets. The wretched sufferer, unable to crawl further, laid himself down at night in a public thoroughfare near Drury Lane, where thousands passed by him regardless of his dying groans. The next morning he was found a stiffened corpse, and a coroner's jury brought in a verdict of "Died by Starvation!"

Three *months* have not elapsed since two individuals, one of them with the rank and education of a gentleman, tempted by the prospect of gaining a few pounds, made beforehand every preparation for the murder and interment of one of their familiar companions; enticed him into the vehicle which contained the sack for the concealment of his corpse; dispatched him within a few miles of this same metropolis, by beating his skull to pieces; and having deposited him in a pond close by the house at which the deceased and themselves were to have met for a convivial entertainment, sat down to supper as if nothing extraordinary had happened!

Three *weeks* have barely elapsed since a drama founded on this horrible assassination, was performed at a public theatre in this same metropolis; in which drama was produced on the stage, before a crowded and applauding audience, the identical vehicle and horse which had conveyed the miserable victim on his journey to eternity!

Three *days* have barely elapsed (Jan. 3. 1824) since, in the same county which was the scene of the preceding outrage, a special constable, James Grainge, has actually been murdered in an attempt to enforce legal process; the party who resisted being a man of education, and assisted by a beautiful woman of twenty-six!*

The story of the dying pauper is at least as afflicting to humanity, and a little better authenticated than the jocose appeal to July and August at Charlston; — and the story of James Grainge carries into effect what Squire Liddiard's story only threatens.

Now suppose A. B., an American traveller through England, had stated, among other things, the four preceding facts; suppose he had also stated the recent murders of Mr. Mumford, of Mrs. Donatty, of Mr. Smith at Greenwich, of the Marrs, of the Bonars, and as many others as he could pick up in coffee-houses and stage-coaches; suppose he were to state the number of juvenile offenders every year committed to prison within the precincts of London, the number of houses annually set on fire

* See the Newspapers for the 2d of January, 1824.

about the time of the half-yearly payments of rent, the number of paupers and amount of poor-rates, the number of bankrupts, the number of insolvents, and the amount of assets available to their creditors; suppose he had also stated such appearances as he might have observed of occasional prosperity, comfort, and cleanliness, — appearances of fertile soil, unbounded capital, and transcendent industry and skill; —

What would the Quarterly reviewer have said if a North American democratic reviewer, reviewing A. B.'s travels, should make a detailed extract of all the disparaging circumstances, omit all the favourable ones, and then exclaim, or leave the reader to imply, "These are the blessed effects of monarchical and aristocratic institutions! This is the land where King, Lords, and Commons are so happily balanced, that each plays into the hand of the other! This is the land of legitimate sway, 'attempered liberty,' and borough influence! This is the land of the established church! Federalists and sentimentalists, before you cross the ocean to gaze at empty pomp and factitious dignity, before you surrender your understandings to admire the antiquities of your half-civilized ancestors, listen to A. B. Mark well the facts we have laid before you, and then choose your dwelling, if you dare, among a people so heartless as to leave a fellow-creature to perish in a crowded street,—so cruel, as to view with approbation, at a play-house, objects which would most forcibly bring to their imagination all the details of an aggravated murder; — settle, if you dare, in a land where neither person nor property are secure,— where assassinations are the topic of the day, and the arm of the law is resisted by weapons of death!"

Would the Quarterly reviewer admit, that such a representation as this contained one spark of candour, integrity, or *truth?* Would he admit, that a reviewer who should so exclude every favourable representation in regard to England, — who should ascribe to institutions, incidents inseparable from the condition of man in the present state of society, — would he admit, that such a reviewer possessed one spark of feeling, honour, or principle? And yet this is precisely the process which, with a fiendlike exultation, this writer has pursued with regard to America.

But before we have done we shall bring home to him, yet more clearly, blind malignity against a people whose only offence, beyond the failings to which it is subject in common with his own countrymen, is the offence of having an economical and responsible government.

It is notorious, that a great proportion of those who leave this country, either for Chili or the United States, are of the lowest and most ignorant class; it is equally notorious, that they com-

monly labour under the delusion of expecting that, when they arrive in the promised land, they shall be exempt from the common lot of humanity, the necessity of labouring for subsistence; and that they frequently waste in idleness and drinking the hours and money with which they might shortly better their condition.

No man knows this better than the writer in the Review himself: he admits it expressly in page 366.; and yet he has extracted from Faux every expression of discontent from every disappointed emigrant, without in the least adverting to the cause of each individual's disappointment, though, in a variety of instances, Faux has clearly traced it to the imprudence or incapacity of the sufferer.

In a laboured article "On the Condition of the Negroes in our Colonies" (p. 476. in this same number), the Quarterly attacks Mr. Wilberforce for rejecting all apology for the treatment of slaves in the West Indies; and contends that they are, in many respects, better off than the labouring classes in England. (No. LVIII. pp. 479. 485.) But no sooner does he come to the United States,—where, as we have demonstrated (ante, p. 113.), the treatment of slaves is infinitely less severe than in the West Indies,—than our reviewer altogether alters his tone: "Though many of the planters treat their slaves well, and allow them as much indulgence as is consistent with their situation, yet negroes being, in the eye of the *American* law, a degraded class, and denied the enjoyment of equal rights, their wellbeing is entirely dependent on the personal character of their owner; and however humane their treatment may be, *we cannot agree with farmer Faux in his conclusion*, that their condition in any, much less in many, respects is better than that of paupers in his native land."

If they are a degraded class in the eye of the *American* law, are they not equally so, and that within the writer's knowledge, in the Anglo-West Indian law? If their condition in the West Indies is better than that of an English pauper, what should make it otherwise in America, where, according to his own admission, "many of the planters treat their slaves well, and *allow them as much indulgence as is consistent with their situation?*"

Our reviewer's hatred, however, is not confined to America or Americans; his own countrymen become the objects of attack for no other offence than that of preferring a residence on the other side of the Atlantic: and how is this attack conducted? Not content with filling four whole pages in the endeavour to render ridiculous and contemptible Mr. Thomas Law *, a man who, through a long and eventful life, has sustained the most ir-

* A brother of the late Lord Ellenborough.

reproachable character, this writer, with all the charity and good faith so peculiar to a moralist of the Quarterly Review, proceeds to sneer away his reputation for integrity and principle by mendacious and unfounded insinuations,—as, that he quitted England for America because he was mortified at not being a peer. Again, "This gentleman," says this writer, "accumulated (it is not said by what means) an immense fortune in India." True, it is not said by what means, for the history of his Indian life would have been grossly irrelevant in a book of travels through America; but we can take upon ourselves to say by what means he did *not* accumulate his fortune: he did not pander to the passions and prejudices of an insolent and craving aristocracy, by detailing as many as he could find recorded of those crimes and disorders which could not but have place to a certain extent in a community of ten millions, and then, with an utter disregard of truth and principle, exhibit this catalogue to the world as a representation on which men should form their opinions as to the character and condition, and the effect of the political institutions of that same community.

But we have not quite done with this reviewer. As if it were possible for any civilized society, however well organized, to exist without contribution for common purposes, as if it were not notorious to the whole world, if not to the Quarterly Review, that the several states in America receive for local purposes a revenue analagous to our county and poor's rate, and that this revenue is raised by taxes imposed in the legislature of each state,—the general government expenses of the whole United States being defrayed chiefly by the customs,—this writer, on extracting from Faux, that land in the Illinois belonging to Orator Hunt's brother was uncultivated, and selling for the *payment of taxes*, appears absolutely dancing in a transport of joy. "Avast reading, there!" he cries. (p. 365.) "Overhaul that article again! as Old Trunnion says. *Taxes*, did you say? *Taxes*, in this last retreat of suffering humanity, and the land selling to pay them!"

Yes, *Taxes!* With any man in his senses, the question is, not, whether there are *taxes*, but what is their *amount*. And this is a piece of information which, with regard to America, the Quarterly Review never will *dare* to give: still less will it dare to contrast it with the taxation endured by Great Britain. Probably the reviewer would have suppressed his mirth and transport had he anticipated that the false insinuation it was meant to convey, would have induced us to lay at once before the eyes of mankind this fearful contrast, which we should otherwise have

deferred for a season. Let him read what follows, and then call in, not Hawser Trunnion, but the Attorney-general to his assistance; for if, as Lord Ellenborough expressly laid it down, any thing is a libel which may *hurt the feelings* of any individual (meaning, of course, a dignified individual), nothing, we conceive, can be more libellous in the eyes of one of the ruling few than the columns of figures we shall forthwith *deploy*.

As we have before had occasion to state, the expenses of the *general* government of the United States; — of the army, navy, public offices, public officers; of congress; of the interest and liquidation of the public debt, and of all extensive undertakings affecting the States at large, — are defrayed, in time of peace, by a revenue derived almost exclusively from the customs and the sale of lands in the new territories of the Union.

So far, and for such extensive purposes, we have nothing beyond indirect taxation, and that to how small an amount we shall presently show.

Besides this, there is raised by direct taxation in each individual state a local revenue, called the state tax, analagous to our county and poor's rate; which revenue is applied to the following, among other purposes, which comprehend, in addition to those before stated, almost all the possible expenses of local and general government. — Judicature, including the salaries of judges, expenses of courts, rewards to prosecutors, and expenses of trial: gaols: elections: public printing and stationery: schools: roads *, bridges, and fishery-encouragement: expenses of the state parliament. — The revenue for these purposes is raised in some instances by a tax on land (exceeding in no case four-pence an acre, and in many districts not exceeding one penny); in others by a capitation tax on all males above sixteen; in others by assessments on carriages, or other articles not of primary necessity; and in the older states, by the sale of lands, and by the interest arising on monies belonging to the state. (See Statistical, Political, and Historical Account of the United States, by D. B. Warden, late Consul to Paris.)

Now our county and poor's rates, in addition to the maintenance of the poor, cover scarcely any expenses but those of gaols, bridges, and that part of the expense of judicature which is occasioned by the building and furnishing of courts, rewards to prosecutors, and some of the expenses of trial.

In addition to our county and poor's rates, we are also saddled

* These are in some places maintained by contributions of labour, or by compositions in lieu thereof.

with tithes; — paying about the fourth of the value of all the landed property of the country for the support of an established church; a blessing with which brother Jonathan has learned to dispense.*

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* The Quarterly Review, in a laboured article on the ecclesiastical revenues, has endeavoured to prove, among other things, that tithes do not operate as a tax on the general consumers of corn, by raising the price of the article.

If, the writer argues, tithes were abolished, land of the lowest quality, which now pays no rent, — the produce being equal only to the payment of tithes in addition to the expenses and ordinary profits of cultivation, — this land would pay in rent what it now pays in tithes. But the reviewer keeps out of sight this important circumstance, that if tithes were abolished, all that portion of land would be brought into cultivation which now not only cannot pay rent, but cannot even after the first seven years pay tithe in addition to the expenses and ordinary profits of cultivation. In such case, the nearest means of supply being increased, the price of corn would fall.

The reviewer thinks he has gained a great point in asserting that there are no cultivated lands in Britain which do not pay some rent; but he is ignorant that with regard to this, the true question is, not whether the *land* pays rent, but whether *the last application of capital* to the land pays rent. Thus, suppose lands 1, 2, 3, 4, successively decreasing in fertility, it commonly happens that before 2, 3, 4, or the inferior lands are cultivated, capital can be employed more productively on those lands which are already in cultivation. It may perhaps be found that by doubling the capital already employed on No. 1., though the produce will not be doubled, it may be increased three-fourths; and that this quantity exceeds what could be obtained by employing the same capital on No. 3. In such case, says Mr. Ricardo, "capital will be employed in preference on the old land, and will equally create a rent; for rent is always the difference between the produce obtained by the employment of two equal quantities of capital and labour."—"The capital last employed pays no rent."

But admitting, if the reviewer pleases, that tithes do not raise the price of corn, and consequently do not operate as a tax on the consumer, it still remains that the clergy of the established church are supported by a modification of property the most pernicious that ever was devised by the barbarity of ignorant and superstitious ages.

It is admitted, on all hands, that tithes operate as a constant source of irritation between parson and parishioner, and as a constant check upon agricultural enterprise and improvement. They do not, it is true, prevent the person who employs his capital on land from obtaining in the long run the same rate of profit as every other capitalist, but they divert from land a great portion of capital, which,

But, to the point.—Direct taxes for the expenses of the general government in America we have seen there are *none;* tithes

but for the institution of tithes, would infallibly be employed on it, and employed to the promotion of abundance.

A farmer, for instance, has taken 100 acres for a term of seven, fourteen, or twenty-one years; he is willing to lay out 100*l.* or 1000*l.* in draining, manuring, or irrigating; the improved and increased produce will just repay his expenses, with the ordinary profits of capital, but it will not do this and pay tithes too: the parson is inexorable,—of course quite regardless of himself, but he has "a duty which he owes to his successors,"—he refuses to relinquish his tithes even for a period, till the farmer shall have been indemnified for his expenses; and the farmer, who has not piety sufficient to raise the parson's income to his own loss, abandons the projected improvement. This is no imaginary or uncommon case, and within our personal experience we could point out repeated instances in which the process we have just described has literally been gone through.

Now, as the institution and maintenance of property in general can be supported on no other ground than that it is productive of general good, the most corrupt and ignorant legislatures have never hesitated from time to time to abolish such modifications of property as have been proved to be clearly pernicious to the community at large. Thus Henry VIII. suppressed the monasteries; Charles II. abolished feudal wardships, and the oppressive remnant of feudal services; and yet the feudal guardians had as good a right to certain proceeds out of the estates inherited by their wards, as the established clergy to a portion of the produce raised by their parishioners. Not only have legislatures been in the habit of abolishing modifications of property inconsistent with the general good, but it has been and is their daily practice after allowing some compensation (generally inadequate) to the individual injured, to invade property on no other ground than that on the occasion in question, the advantage to the public is so great as entirely to counterbalance the loss and inconvenience to the individual; and this in cases where the property invaded, instead of being of an objectionable kind, would, but for the projected advantage to the public, have been enjoyed consistently with the general interest of the community at large; as where the park or farm of an individual, is, against the will of the owner, appropriated by act of parliament to a canal, a road, or a fortification.

As to the time and mode of abolishing pernicious modifications of property, and the compensation or substitution to be made to the holders of it; these are questions for the enlightened and humane legislator, which at present we are not called on to discuss. However the reviewer's main argument in favour of tithes, is the advantage which he says a parish derives from the residence of a person educated as our parochial clergy usually are. As to the existence of this alleged advantage we are directly at issue with him, and shall take an early opportunity of showing that no such advantage as that

there are *none;* and the figures below will prove that the state or local taxes covering so many more objects than our county and poor's rates, do not equal those rates by nearly three quarters their amount.

The states and counties have been taken at random, the one from Warden's book, the other from returns made to Parliament, and are offered merely as a sample.

| United States. | Population in 1810. | Revenue. | | English Counties. | Population in 1811. | Population in 1821. | Average Amount of Poor & other Rates in 1813—14—15. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Dollars. | | | | | £ |
| Massachusetts. | 472,040 | 306,333 | | Devon..... | 396,100 | 447,900 | 283,429 |
| South Carolina | 415,115 | 313,026 | | | | | |
| Maine..... | 228,705 | 209,257 | | Cornwall. | 223,900 | 262,600 | 120,568 |
| New York ..... | 959,049 | 317,745 | | Middlesex | 985,100 | 1,167,500 | 663,103 |
| Virginia..... | 974,622 | 414,133 | 1811 | | | | |
| Connecticut... | 261,942 | 79,192 | 1811 | Essex..... | 260,900 | 295,300 | 328,631 |
| Pennsylvania.. | 810,091 | 601,344 | 1815 | Lancaster. | 856,000 | 1,074,000 | 433,419 |
| Delaware..... | 72,674 | 72,163 | 1811 | Bedford... | 73,600 | 85,400 | 74,782 |
| Kentucky ..... | 406,511 | 105,180 | | Kent. ..... | 385,600 | 434,600 | 407,459 |

It must be distinctly borne in mind that the whole of the above revenues, arising to the several States, is not made up of direct annual taxes, but that a considerable portion of each is acquired by the sale of lands and the interest arising from monies belonging to the state. So that it may fairly be affirmed that the whole amount of direct taxation falling in any shape upon any given amount of population in the United States, does not equal a fourth of the poor's rates and county rates alone, paid by an equal amount of population in Great Britain.

Now for the comparison of the expenses of the general government.

The whole expense of the civil government, including the salaries of the President and Vice-President, *wages of the members of the Senate and House of Representatives;* the diplomatic and miscellaneous expenses, including pensions; all the public offices, post office, mint, light-houses, surveys of land, the government of those parts called territories, and every other expense what-

---

described, exists;—admitting, however, that it does exist, it furnishes no argument in support of tithes. The residence of a parochial clergy would be much more effectually secured (as in Scotland) by the payment of a salary on condition of residence, than by the perception of tithes from two or three parishes, one of which only can be inhabited at the same time by the same percipient.

ever, which does not belong to the army and navy, — were estimated for the year 1822 at 1,664,297 dollars, or 353,613*l.**

By the British finance accounts for the year ending the 5th of January, 1821, the sum actually paid was 6,797,399*l.*; this sum, like the 353,613*l.* in America, includes all the items which do not belong to the military or naval departments. Thus the civil government here costs very nearly twenty times the amount of the civil government in America, — in other words, it costs the nation as much to be governed for one year, as it costs the Americans to be governed for twenty years; and yet America is, beyond all comparison, better governed than Great Britain and Ireland. But we do, in fact, spend more than thirty times as much as the American United States for our civil government. In the finance accounts before alluded to, the charge for management, that is, the expense attending the collection of the revenue, is set down at - - - £3,267,633

There are other sums also paid out of the gross receipts of the revenue, from which, when we have deducted drawbacks and discounts, there will remain upwards of - - 1,500,000

To which add, as before - - 6,797,399

And the annual expense will be £11,565,032

Which is nearly thirty-three times the amount of the annual expenditure in America. But it may be objected, that in America there are also charges for management: to which we reply, certainly; and that some of them are included in the 353,613*l.* which the civil government costs; and that a sum greater than all the charges of management in America, is raised in several ways for the government here at home, which is given away in pensions and payments of various kinds, and never comes into the annual finance accounts. So that the money thus raised may be set off against the expense of management in America.—Another objection which may be made is, that each of the state governments defrays its own expenses. But here again the balance will be in favour of America, the county rates, and other assessments and payments for local purposes at home, being probably several times the amount of all the state governments in America; we will, however, take them at the same sum, and then the account will remain as before stated, namely,

That the charge for the civil government here amounts to - - £11,565,032

In America to - - - 353,613

* The dollar has throughout been calculated at 4*s.* 3*d.*

or very nearly one THIRTY-THIRD the sum we are compelled to pay.

But to show still more plainly the profligacy of the system here at home, we will make a few comparisons in detail.—On the 16th of March, 1819, was "published by order of the House of Commons, a paper, No. 114., being an account of the total expense of the following offices, *viz.*: — Privy Council, Treasury, Secretaries of State, and Messengers in the Lord Chamberlain's department:"—

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Privy Council office — Clerks, Messengers, Coals, &c. - - - | 27,373 | 17 | 11 |
| 2. Treasury ditto - - - | 103,139 | 17 | 6 |
| 3. Secretaries of State - - - | 122,880 | 5 | 0 |
| 4. Messengers in the Lord Chamberlain's office | 2,000 | 0 | 0 |
| | £255,394 | 0 | 5 |

This is a most monstrous sum for only three of the public offices, and the porters, or, as they are called, the messengers of a fourth office; but enormous as it is, it by no means shows the actual sum these offices cost. It is not many years since a sort of exposure took place in the trade department of the treasury, when it was discovered, that clerks of 800*l.* a-year kept magnificent houses, regular sets of servants, and three or four carriages, spending, in fact, the revenues of noblemen from the fees they obtained; it is enough, however, for our purpose, to take the expense of these offices at the sums furnished by ministers themselves: let us then see what our brethren in America pay for having the business done for which these offices are appointed. The whole expense for every thing which in any way relates to the Treasury, the Secretary of State, and the Exchequer of the United States, including the expense of distributing 11,000 copies of the laws passed at the preceding Congress, was 48,035*l.*, not one-fifth part of the charge for the three offices here; and if we could ascertain the expenses of the Exchequer in addition to the three offices, as well as the pensions and sinecures, it would probably come out that the whole charge was more than a dozen times the amount paid by the people of the United States.

The expenses of the Houses of Lords and Commons cannot be accurately stated; but the finance accounts give us some items. In the session of 1822 there were voted —

| | |
|---|---|
| For salaries to the officers of both houses - | £22,800 |
| Fittings and furniture for ditto - - | 22,500 |
| Expenses of ditto - - - | 19,055 |
| Printing for ditto - - - - | 64,677 |
| | £129,032 |

In the United States of North America each of the representatives in both houses receives eight dollars, or 36*s.* 6*d.* per diem wages, during the time they are going to, remaining at, and returning home from Congress, as was formerly the case here. Supposing the Congress to sit for three months, or that the member is occupied one hundred days on the public business; then as the number of representatives in the two houses is 237, the amount of their wages will be 189,600 dollars, or 40,290*l.*; and this is possibly the best laid out money which a people can expend, and which we of course do not expend on those who, instead of being the servants of the people, are their masters, and ought not, of course, to receive wages. On this point, then, there is nothing to which we can compare it.

The American government, however, furnishes an explicit account of all its expenses under the following heads, *viz.*: —

| | | | Dollars. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Senate and House of Representatives, their officers and attendants - - | 314,866 | } | 125,266 |
| Deduct wages to the members - - | 189,600 | } | |
| 2. Firewood, Stationery, PRINTING, and ALL OTHER *contingent* expenses of the two Houses - - - | | - | 49,000 |
| 3. Library of Congress and librarian's salary - - - - | | - | 1,950 |
| 4. Purchase of books for the library - - - | | | 1,000 |
| | Dollars | | 177,216 |
| | In pounds sterling | | £37,608 |

Not one-third of the expenses which are paid here for the same objects, probably not one-fourth, when it is considered that the *stationery*, and many other items of expense, are charged to accounts not included under those for the Houses of Lords and Commons.

In our profuse way of doing business, the printing alone, it will be seen, amounts to nearly twice as much as the whole expense of the two houses in America; and if the stationery be added, to much more than twice as much.

One example in the way of printing may suffice.—In America all the public acts of the Congress are printed at length in the principal newspapers, for which the government pays at the rate of two dollars a column; and no less than SEVENTY newspapers actually insert the acts and receive the pay. The acts of Congress are printed in the octavo form on coarse paper, and they usually occupy about *one hundred pages.* Appended to these are the public treaties and other matters relating thereto; an immense number of copies are printed, of which the secretary of state for the current year causes *eleven thousand copies* to be distributed to the proper persons throughout the United States: the printing of these acts makes one of the items in the forenamed account.

The printing of each 1000 copies of the American acts cannot cost more than 30*l.*

We, however, disdain this beggarly-looking useful mode, and our acts are accordingly printed in folio on writing paper. Those of the last year occupy 1446 pages, and cannot have cost so little as 1200*l.* for a thousand copies.

Another pretty specimen of the way in which an irresponsible assembly can vote the public money, may be taken from what is called the Civil List; which is principally composed of the KING'S household, and allowances to the other members of the royal family,

| | |
|---|---|
| And amounted in 1821, to - - | £1,064,877 |
| Not, however, including further allowance to those members of the royal family, pensions, &c. of | 439,229 |
| | £1,504,106 |

But besides this enormous sum, this most monstrous charge, for what may be with more strictness called the civil list, there are other expenses which make the whole amount to 2,878,892*l.*; which is more than the whole expense of the American government, civil, military, and naval.

A considerable portion of this charge of nearly three millions is called the ordinary charge of the civil list; but besides the ordinary charge, there are enormous annual charges out of the ordinary course. In 1818 an account of these charges was printed by order of the House of Commons, in two papers, Nos. 48. and 49. of that session. The title of these papers is, "Expenses of a civil nature which do not form part of the ordinary charge of the civil list." Look at these, John Bull, and if they do not make you sick at heart, and if your gall does not rise as your sickness comes on, your apathy is extraordinary. They are comprised under the 14 following heads: —

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Salaries, &c. to officers of the Houses of Lords and Commons | 6,293 | 6 | 8 |
| 2. Expenses of the two Houses | 1,043 | 14 | 5 |
| 3. Monuments erecting | 3,965 | 5 | 0 |
| 4. Conveying governors and other persons of distinction to their places of destination | 3,597 | 13 | 6 |
| 5. Allowances to admirals of duty on wine drunk at their tables | 605 | 11 | 0 |
| 6. Salaries and expenses at the receipt of the exchequer | 552 | 6 | 8 |
| 7. *Contingent expense at the treasury and Secretaries of State's offices* | 54,147 | 15 | 6 |
| 8. *Deficiencies of fees made good in the same offices* | 37,673 | 13 | 9 |
| 9. Works and repairs of public buildings | 50,938 | 4 | 7 |
| 10. Furniture for certain public offices | 15,592 | 9 | 5 |
| 11. VARIOUS PUBLIC SERVICES | 177,938 | 19 | 10 |
| 12. Extraordinary disbursements of ambassadors | 64,016 | 14 | 1 |
| 13. Outfit for secretary of legation at Stockholm | 214 | 16 | 6 |
| 14. Presents to ministers at foreign courts | 33,565 | 16 | 7 |
| | £450,146 | 7 | 6 |

Thus we see that the *extraordinaries*, as they are called, of the civil list alone, cost 96,533*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* more than the whole civil government of America.

The *extraordinary* disbursements of ambassadors alone cost us 64,016*l.*

While the *whole* cost of all sorts of foreign ministers, ordinary and extraordinary, cost the United States 148,500 dollars; or 31,556*l.*

And yet the diplomatic business of the United States is better performed than that of any other nation whatever.

On the 3d of May, 1822, the House of Commons printed a paper, No. 285., containing an account of the whole of his Majesty's diplomatic service from 1793 to 1822; from which it appears that the charge for 1821 was - £265,962

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| That of America, as before | £31,556 | |
| Add to this agents for claims for spoliations at Paris and London | 850 | |
| And for relief and protection of American seamen in foreign countries | 8,500 | |
| And the total expense will be | | £40,906 |

Less than *one-sixth* of the money expended by the government here, much less efficaciously for good purposes, but infinitely more mischievously for bad purposes. The bare charge for diplomatic services costs us more than two-thirds the amount of the whole expense of the civil government in America. Would a House of Commons freely elected by the whole people permit such things as these to exist? Would they ever have sent a minister jobbing to the empty palace at Lisbon, and paid him upwards of 14,000*l.* for a sea-airing to his family?

In the finance accounts for the year 1821 are the following items: —

| | |
|---|---|
| Charges of management, customs - - | £1,069,280 |
| Ditto——————— excise - - | 1,133,919 |
| | £2,203,199 |

| | |
|---|---|
| But the whole cost of the American government, including the civil government, the army, and navy, is - - - - - | £2,010,220 |
| Or, - - - - - - | 192,979 |

less than the cost of *management* of the two engines of exaction and patronage, the customs and excise, here at home.

On the 27th March, 1821, the House of Commons printed a "Report from the Committee appointed to prepare the Militia Estimates." It consisted of two parts, viz.: —

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Estimate, charge of DISEMBODIED *militia*, Great Britain, for 1821 - - | 269,519 | 12 | 2 |
| 2. Ditto, Ireland - - - | 125,388 | 18 | 11 |
| Total charge of DISEMBODIED *militia* | £394,908 | 11 | 1 |

Being 41,395*l.* more than the whole of the civil government of the United States in all its branches.

For the present we purposely exclude all mention of our army, navy, and debt.

So much for *taxes* in America, as to which we will now leave the Quarterly reviewer to his own reflections. With respect to all the details about provincial courts of justice, we are quite willing to admit that public courts and public officers in remote and thinly-peopled districts may have some of the vices, though none of the useless parade and dignity attached to their fellows in England. We have no time to pursue the subject further, but recommending to this writer and all his tribe

the diligent perusal of the President's last address to Congress, we shall conclude with the following striking passage from the introduction to Mr. Warden's statistical work: —

"Doubtless the government of the United States is not exempt from the errors and imperfections that adhere to all human institutions. But compare its public conduct with that of the old governments of Europe. How calm and reasonable is its language; always addressing itself to the understanding and the solid interests of the people, never to their passions or prejudices. It seeks no aid from superstition, supports no gainful impostures, and uses none of that disgusting cant with which the old governments of Europe varnish over the degradation of the people. It is a stranger to state craft and mystery. All its acts are done in the face of day. It promotes knowledge, religion, and learning, without the preference of particular sects, and without debasing them by falsehoods beneficial to the ruling powers. It is the only government in the world that dares to put arms freely into the hands of all its citizens. From Maine to Mississipi, it commands a prompt and ready obedience without any other weapon than a constable's staff. In a word, it secures property, satisfies opinion, promotes the development of industry and talent with a rapidity hitherto unexampled; and with the smallest sacrifice of individual rights and property on the part of the people, it accomplishes all that the most expensive and powerful governments pretend to."

## Art. XII. MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

*Cruise's Residence in New Zealand.** — The author of this book, in the most unaffected and unpretending manner, has given us a striking and entertaining sketch of the very interesting tribes who, in relation to us, have their heads where their heels should be; or, in other words, the *antipodes* of Great Britain, the natives of New Zealand. Savages, the natural men, have all the corporeal attributes in great perfection; the pleasures, and the pains, and the accomplishments of the senses, are carried to a pitch of excellence which leaves us poor debilitated invalids far behind, and raises them to a level with our dogs and foxes. Suppose a human being endued with an athletic frame, strong affections, uncontrollable passions, quick intelligence, gross habits, a warm love of blood, and an acute relish for human flesh, and we may form an idea of the nations of whom Captain Cruise has given us a great many pleasant and instructive anecdotes. The manners of the New Zealanders are, in many instances, extremely singular, or, rather, they vary very much from ours; such, for instance, is the pleasure they take in joining noses; for it seems that we have been hitherto mistaken in supposing that the meeting of lips, in which we on this side of the globe have taken such delight, time immemorial, has any foundation in the immutable laws of nature. Kissing goes by noses in New Zealand; and when a little more civilised than they can boast to be at present, they will probably write books (as philosophers have done here,) entitled *Basia*, or, perhaps, *Nasia*, to prove that their practice is more cleanly, convenient and agreeable. Little seems to have been effected in the way of civilisation; it is a slow work of time — the soil must be prepared before the seeds are sown, and then covered up for a season before the springing even of the first gentle shoot. The first preliminary towards doing good, is to learn the exact condition of the objects of the intended benevolence. Before we can make any progress in spreading the blessings of civilisation in a nation, it is necessary accurately to know the materials upon which the change is to be wrought. In this point of view Captain Cruise's little volume possesses a high value; it is full of instruction respecting the real character and condition of the people. We can safely recommend it both as a useful and an entertaining book. It is handsomely printed, though we could have spared some of the margin and have saved some of our money. If *authors* derived the benefit of the high price of their own works, we should not grumble; but they are too generally printed and published *for* other people.

*The Stranger's Grave.*† — This is a mournful tale, simply and powerfully told. It describes the unconscious growth, origin, and guilty progress, and fatal termination of the loves of a youthful pair, who, by the mother's side, bear to each other the relation of uncle and niece.

* Journal of a Ten Months' Residence in New Zealand, by Richard A. Cruise, Esq., Captain in the 84th Regiment of Foot. Longman & Co.

† Longman & Co. 12mo.

The strongest objection (if it be an objection) which can be made to the work itself, is already made by the mention of its subject. If the author be exonerated from censure on that score, there is little else which can call forth any other expressions than those of strong and unqualified praise. For the selection of such a subject, however, and for all which that selection involves, the author is justly held responsible.

The sanction of high authority may be pleaded in his behalf. Attachment of a more properly incestuous character, and therefore more criminal in itself and more revolting in its exhibition, was a favourite theme with the poets of antiquity, and with our own early dramatists. Modern writers of talent, of genius even, amongst the choicest which France, Germany, and England have produced, have, by their practice, added their suffrages to those of their predecessors. As the objection must be chiefly resolvable into a presumed immoral tendency, a still more important testimony than that of the manufacturers of fiction may be adduced in that of the teachers of moral and religious truth. That sacred history should contain the record of some connections of a similar description, was doubtless necessary to the perfection of the narrative, or to the purposes for which that narrative was constituted a part of the Bible. The necessity could scarcely extend to the regular public reading of such passages, which is a matter of ecclesiastical arrangement, and implies an opinion on the part of the fathers of our church that they may be perused without danger, and even to edification.

Yet is there an opposing authority to which an author owes some deference, and that is public taste and feeling. Besides that classical literature stands, and must stand, above all criticism, and in spite of all objections, it belongs to a very different and much smaller class of readers than an English novel. One reason for its restriction, at least in translations, and as to females, is the very fact in question. By this also has the popularity of the modern writers, to whom we referred, been injured, and the delight which they might have afforded been proportionally diminished. It constitutes, we apprehend, the sole reason why many dramas of Ford and Massinger, and other kindred spirits, cannot be revived with any prospect of success. And with regard to the theological part of the defence, it may be replied, that our religious instructors act under the authority from which the sacred volume emanated; that they rely on the historical truth, and the moral and devotional accompaniments of the narratives; and that such are not the passages more particularly indicated by them, or by parents in general, for youthful perusal and study.

The capabilities of these subjects for tragic effect are certainly great; too great for them to be entirely proscribed: at the same time that so much has already been made of them, and there is such a feeling (not altogether unreasonable) against them, as to render the judgment of an author somewhat questionable in preferring them to the countless variety which is open to his choice. Shakspeare never had recourse to them; probably from the consciousness of power to exercise a sufficiently despotic sway over the passions with-

out the aid of topics whose very mention excites some degree of horror. The writer before us has ample talent for framing a deeply interesting tale out of much less objectionable materials.

Nor was it necessary for him to draw the full-length portrait of a passion of this description, which is introduced much less offensively when the parties are supposed to be ignorant of their relation to each other, as in the Œdipus; or when it is rather surmised by the reader than delineated by the author, as in Byron's Manfred. To exhibit the circumstances by which two innocent hearts are predisposed for a forbidden and almost unnatural attachment, its advance to a fearful strength, its varying conflicts with every good principle, and final triumph over all, is a task which he has so well executed as to leave nothing to complain of, unless it be that he imposed it on himself.

We have told the worst of this little book, which has nothing in its language that can offend even the fastidious; nor in the sentiments, or the conduct of the tale, but what the most rigid must be satisfied with. The characters are only in outline, but they are well grouped; and the disastrous consequences of the criminality of the lovers are imagined with sufficient probability, and narrated in that unadorned and unobtrusive style which leaves them to sink into the heart by the force of their own pathos. The taste and feeling of the writer, and his acquaintance with human nature, are inferences which will be deduced on a second reading. The tale itself will take care of the first.

*Italian Tales.** — Cruickshank (that is to say, *George* Cruickshank, for there are two of the name, who are brothers) is certainly the first artist in his way of the present day; and much credit is due to the publisher of this work for drawing him from mere caricaturing and inferior occupation to illustrate books of gallantry and humour. It is not so easy, as may be generally supposed, to arrive at excellence in this line. It requires a prodigious fund of observation; a keen insight into folly; an intimate acquaintance with the peculiarities of individuals; a knowledge of humour and wit, and how they operate upon different constitutions; some notion of the passions; besides the ordinary accomplishments of drawing and composition, which are common to every painter. The first comic artist with whom we are acquainted is assuredly Hogarth; and he, though he seldom invaded the ground of history or tragedy, must be considered as one of the very first painters who have done honour to art. It is true, that with a knowledge of the theory of grace, he failed most decidedly in the practice; and that, with all his merit, he was inferior, on the whole, to the topmost spirits in art, — to Michael Angelo and Raffaelle, and Corregio and Rembrandt, — and perhaps to Titian and Rubens; yet it was not so much in *power* that he was wanting, as in the quality of mind which leads to particular objects. He had as much mastery over his subject as his greater brethren; but his pictures will always remain inferior to theirs by so much as reason and observation are below imagination. Nevertheless he was a great painter;

* Charles Baldwyn.

and in in his way, we believe, is admitted to be unrivalled. We would not be understood to say that Cruickshank is equal to Hogarth, or that, in fact, he is not many grades below him. He has not, as yet, shown either the invention of Hogarth, or his dramatic talent, or that marvellous discrimination of character which places him, rather than any other artist, by the side of Raffaelle himself. Nevertheless, if we were required to point out the artist who was next to Hogarth, in point of comic merit, we might find great difficulty in preferring any to the young artist, *George* Cruickshank.

He has illustrated these Italian tales, generally speaking, happily; and, in one or two instances, with a grace which (without imitation) approaches the beauty of Stothard's compositions;— we mean particularly in the print of the "Pomegranate Seed." With respect to the stories, some of them are pleasant enough, some are really humorous, and some, it must be confessed, little better than incidents. The great merit of the book lies decidedly in the plates; although the tales are told simply, and sometimes a *naïve* humour shines through the somewhat quaint phraseology, which, itself, reminds us of the early translations of Boccaccio. Yet few of the stories, however, may compare with those of the great Italian. Nevertheless, the "Teacher Taught," is an exemplary matter, and carries, moreover, a moral, which we recommend all readers (with or without wives) to attend to. The story of the unfortunate Grasso ("Who am I?") is facetious, and reminds us, pleasantly too, of our old friend, Christopher Sly, and also of an older friend, Abon Hassan, the "sleeper awakened." It would not be easy to instil into a man the Pythagorean doctrine in a more laughable manner. The "Pomegranate Seed" is unsatisfactory, and prodigiously improbable to boot; but the beautiful figures of the young countess and her ladies would make amends for thrice the sins of the story. Upon the whole, we recommend the book sincerely to the notice of our readers.

*Mitford on Christianity, &c.* — With none of its redeeming merits, the present volume abounds with the characteristic faults of the author's History of Greece. The same hard and intricate style, even in a worse degree, without any of that accurate learning which is one of the chief recommendations of Mr. Mitford's principal work. To the variety of opinions existing amongst the professors of Christianity, Mr. Mitford imputes many of the doubts, and much of "the indifference, observable among many bred to the profession of that religion; and, before the French revolution, enough manifesting its rapid growth in open avowal, Europe over; more especially among the higher orders, and most where the Roman is the religion of the state; checked then by the enormities practised in the name of philosophy, but as the horror of these, with time, producing gradual oblivion, has faded, it may be feared growing again."

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* Observations on the History and Doctrine of Christianity; and, as historically connected, on the Primeval Religion, on the Judaic, and on the Heathen public, mystical and philosophical: the latter proposed as an Appendix to the Political and Military History of Greece. By William Mitford, Esq. 12mo. London, 1825.

To solve the doubts and to obviate the indifference described in the foregoing sentence, which we offer at once as a specimen of his style and an explanation of his purpose, Mr. Mitford has published these remarks. We confess we doubted more than once in the perusal of the first fifty pages, how far the author was in earnest. Whilst professing to explain the minutest discrepancies of Scripture, he is constantly perking in our faces its more serious difficulties, without appending any reasonable answers. With incautious readers Mr. Mitford will scarcely fail "to raise more doubts than he solves." His method is exactly calculated to produce that effect. For instance, when he wants a proof of the goodness and justice of the Deity, he invariably resorts to the examples of chastisement related in the Old Testament, in preference to the promises of the New. He affects considerable satisfaction in reflecting that the singular blessings of *wheat-corn*, and the art of writing, must necessarily have been vouchsafed by the immediate interference of Heaven; although, in the same page, he alludes to the alarming sophisms of Epicurus, and proposes a solution so inadequate as to provoke a doubt how far he understood the propositions. Mr. Mitford will at least be esteemed an unprofitable advocate of revelation by all whose judgments are not previously bribed by the subject to fall in with any favourable statement, however nugatory.

We are struck throughout with the same unremitting endeavour to depreciate the value of every attempt to improve the condition of mankind, which is so conspicuous in the History of Greece. This, in a writer who has never looked at politics as a science, is natural enough. Here, however, he has advanced a further step. In the second volume of the History he rather insinuated than asserted the usefulness of the institution of slavery: in the present book he openly defends it; for such, in fact, is the amount of all the vague phrases with which the declaration is accompanied. We will first observe, that at page 86. of the Fourth Part, he talks of "the slaves necessary to the well being of the Athenian people, *as negroes to our West Indian colonists.*" So far, perhaps, even this is susceptible of being explained into a harmless meaning, or, rather, into no meaning at all. But what shall we say to the following illustration of his great principle,—which, by the bye, he prints in small capitals, as though it had the merit of novelty, — that "Man, with reason for his guide, was placed in this world for trial?" The argument, if not strikingly ingenious, is at least original. "That slavery, authorised by the Old Testament, is forbidden by the New, cannot be shown; and, if trial is the purpose for which man has his existence in this world, THE ALLOWANCE OF SLAVERY, FAR FROM BEING ADVERSE, IS AN ADDITIONAL MODE FOR BOTH SLAVE AND MASTER!" (p. 113.)

Mr. Mitford, in the present book, has drawn largely on his former reputation; but we can assure him that a greater name than his would have been unable to shield from ridicule propositions so extravagant as these. The natural and factitious obstacles in the way of human improvement are too numerous already; and disclaiming, as he does, all connection between politics and religion, it is scarcely fair in

Mr. Mitford to introduce a perverted doctrine of the latter as a sanction to the most atrocious of all the abuses of the former. We have only to add, that the price of Mr. Mitford's Observations on the Primeval Indian and Heathen public, mystical and philosophical Religion, the latter apropos of the Political and Military History of Greece, and the whole as connected with Christianity — is *nine shillings.*

*Tytler's Life of Sir T. Craig.* * — The title of this book ought to have been reversed; instead of the life of the celebrated author of the treatise on the feudal law being made the principal subject, it should have run thus, "Biographical Sketches of the most eminent Legal Characters, since the Institution of the Court of Session, &c. including an Account of the Life and Writings of Sir Thomas Craig." In truth, Sir Thomas Craig occupies but a very small portion of his own book, and very little more than some of the other jurists whom the author has introduced. He who looks for a full and learned disquisition on the great works of this eminent legal antiquary, to become familiar with their excellences and acquainted with their defects, will certainly be disappointed; nor will the interest or information which the volume contains on other persons and topics be a sufficient indemnity for the omission. The enumeration of names and the respectful mention of honourable families, with a brief memorial of the time at which this person and that person came into the world, and according to the common lot of nature went out of it, is not quite sufficient to insure popularity. Yet Mr. Tytler with such materials, eked out with some well-known portions of Scotch history, and a rather dull analysis of the author's Latin poems, has manufactured a thickset, solid-looking duodecimo. If there had been more comprehensiveness of design and greater amplitude of detail, the author would probably have produced a more entertaining and instructive work. The style is in general good, although occasionally deficient in correctness, and his narrative is sufficiently clear and spirited. The reflections, however, with which it is interspersed, we beg to inform Mr. Tytler, are not of that value which entitle them to be made. The best sketches are those of Lord Chancellor Thurlstoune and the Earl of Haddington; both are entertaining.

*Corfe Castle, or Keneswitha.*† — This is a fair-looking novel, with a neat vignette of the remarkable fortress which gives name to the work. The scene is laid in the eleventh century, and is intended to present a picture of the Saxon manners and the incursions of their northern enemies, the Danes. In this part of his task the author has succeeded better than in the construction of his plot or the delineation of his characters. He has evidently studied our Saxon history, and his book contains some information illustrative of that period; but the story he has invented to render it more agreeable, is clumsily told in

* An Account of the Life and Writings of Sir Thomas Craig of Riccarton, including Biographical Sketches of the most eminent Legal Characters since the Institution of the Court of Session by James V. till the Period of the Union of the Crowns. By Patrick Fraser Tytler, Esq., Advocate, F.R.S. & F.S.A. Edinburgh, 1823.

† Hurst, Robinson, and Co. 8vo.

a mononotous and incumbered style: towards the conclusion indeed it grows insufferably tedious. One reason of this is, that after having brought us to the point where it ought to have terminated, he very unseasonably commences a new series of adventures which have all the appearance of a fresh story. Amongst other curiosities of the Saxon times, the author indulges us with a very long, particular, and dull account of the ceremony of initiation to a club of Saxon Freemasons. If we look to the descriptive parts, we shall find that he is not a whit the more happy in those than in the rest. In the description of Corfe Castle, one of the most singular and striking objects in the kingdom, he has recourse to a dry enumeration of wards, &c. extracted from a history of the county, instead of giving an animated picture of it himself. The characters in the book too, although very much praised and admired by their contemporaries, continually disappoint us. They are so vague and undefined that we can form no intimate acquaintance with them, with the exception of the black-mailed warrior, who wields his battleaxe with the same mighty power and is enveloped in the same temporary mystery, as a black-mailed knight in a less recent work not unknown to fame. In short, if the author will write, we recommend him to apply himself to writing history instead of novels; for although he is a man of some talents, he has neither fervour of imagination nor knowledge of character sufficient to people the world of fiction.

*The Spae-wife.** — Such a being as "poor Anniple the Taen-away," is a treasure to the votaries of romance. Well supported, she would have been akin to Undine, the most glorious creation of fancy, next to Ariel; and as it is, may be reckoned fairly worth the White Lady of the House of Avenel. Pity that the author should, in some degree, have marred his own work; and by the agency and behaviour which he assigns to Anniple have not only interfered with our faith, which is always ready to answer the largest demands provided the bill be well drawn, but what is still worse, have puzzled us to know what she thought of herself. She might have done her spiriting, without the conscious cunning of insanity or imposture. She ought always to have spoken like one of a world without souls.

To conceive better than he executes; to sound too loud a note of preparation; to continue an effort, frequently a very vigorous one, and up to a certain point completely effective, till it becomes too obvious, — are indeed the besetting sins of the author of the Spae-wife. They have been very visible in some of his former productions, particularly in Ringan Gilhaize, and might be copiously exemplified from his present publication. He can avoid them, as the Annals of the Parish, that delightful effusion of *bonhommie*, bear witness. Here the historical importance of his tale and characters seduces him into an ambitious style, in which he is much less at home. His speech seems as if it had been rising into song, but stopped half way in a chaunt. His Pegasus spreads and rustles his wings, and after all only goes off in a canter. The reader's eye informs him that the

* Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh. 3 vols. 12mo.

book is in prose; but there are many passages during which the hearer is listening for the rhymes, and wondering that they recur at such long intervals. There is much beautiful description of scenery, especially of the enchanting neighbourhood of Loch Lomond; but too often the author will not leave it alone when it is beautiful. He "paints the lily," and lays it on with a trowel. The narrative is overdone in a similar way, when the more striking incidents of the tale are to be told. There is a tone of exaggeration, like that of a French bulletin announcing a great victory, or a court newspaper recording a royal fête. He describes like a sonnetteer, and narrates like an Irish orator. For instance, a lady runs away from the court of James I. at Perth, to meet her lover, attended by a faithful highland youth, just as the conspirators were proceeding to the assassination of that monarch: the uproar comes swelling on the gale after them.

'The Lady Sibilla for a moment drew her bridle and looked back.

'"On, lady, on!" cried Nigel.

'A turn of the road brought the town in view, and they beheld lights borne along and flaring at many windows, and shapes and shadows of hurrying men gliding on the walls of the houses.

'"On, lady, on!" cried Nigel.

'The sounds of panic and consternation rose louder and wilder. Bells rung as with a frantic vehemence, and drums were beating to arms, and trumpets clamouring the alarum.

'"On, lady, on!" cried Nigel.

'"I cannot proceed," exclaimed the lady Sibilla, almost sinking from the saddle.

'"On, lady, on!" was all that Nigel could reply.

This might do; but so it goes "on," for four whole pages, till the lady gets off, and Nigel recovers breath enough to vary and lengthen the burden of the song.

Another vexatious trick of this writer is the portraiture of dark or violent passions which prepare us for some extraordinary course of action, or some single deed of daring, and then evaporate, to our great disappointment. It makes one angry to be so hoaxed. There are a lord and a lady in this tale, — whether they be the hero and heroine is a point on which we are not quite clear, — who are put forward so that we felt it a duty to be interested very deeply about them, and who, notwithstanding all our expectations, do very little besides running away together in the last chapter. We thought ourselves used very ill by them, particularly by the lady, of whom we had great hopes that she would turn out a terrible one. Her lover, if he be the hero, might plead privilege perhaps; for the despot of modern romance has practically decreed that the hero's office shall be a sinecure, at least compared with what it used to be. In the great Scotch novels the hero is generally pretty nearly the most insignificant fellow in the book. So far as he is concerned, therefore, it becomes us to submit. And the imitator is sufficiently successful, after all the drawbacks we have made, for us to submit cheerfully. Indeed our chief objection is, that he spoils his own good things; that

writing as he does, with great power and beauty, he sometimes indulges in exaggeration, and sometimes becomes affected so as to break his own spell when the reader was completely under its influence. Where this is avoided, the Great Unknown himself could scarcely present a more impressive scene to the imagination. That we give no abridgment of the story, is to be taken by our readers as a hint that they must peruse it themselves. That we give no extracts, is not because we do not wish it.

*The Last Days of Spain.** — This little pamphlet, though full of errors and anachronisms, is entitled to the authority which it claims; it is the production of an eye-witness.

The agitation and distress with which the author contemplates the catastrophe of Spanish freedom, have produced a strange confusion of names, seasons, and events. The facts which the author knew are hardly to be distinguished from those he surmises; and the weight of the whole is lessened by a pretended acquaintance with motives and projects either not conceived, or cautiously concealed.

The truth is, and it is beginning to be generally felt, that the Spanish Revolution fell into hands incapable of wielding the great and glorious instruments which it created for the regeneration of the Peninsula and of the world. Those who obtained its first glorious triumphs — brave and generous, but injudicious, short-sighted men — gave the power they had obtained for the people into the hands of a faction, whose pretensions to superior sagacity they had so often asserted for themselves, that they at last seemed to be believed. They were eloquent men, and therefore supposed to be wise. They had travelled, and it was fancied they had gathered all knowledge in their wanderings. They had talked to very weariness of the horrors of the French Revolution, and pretended to be able to stop the current of that of Spain just when it reached an appropriate and decorous height.

They stopped it in truth; and a ban be upon them! For had the torrent been allowed to flow, it would have covered that land, which is now a scene of shame and sorrow, with peace, and joy, and festivity. There was a moment when the Revolution was spreading widely and proudly over the whole soil of Spain: the peasants came forward to take their share in the enactment of the laws; the power of the priesthood was daily diminished; improvement was busily at work through all the ramifications of society. Then it was that a cry of terror was raised. "You are doing too much, you are going too far!" were the words of delusion; yet never was there a triumph so untarnished as that of the Spanish Revolution in all its early stages. Compare this struggle for the wellbeing of ten millions with any contest for the ascendancy of a single man. Why has it failed? Neither aggression from without, nor treachery from within, were in themselves sufficient for its overthrow. We repeat, the people had not been sufficiently interested in the Revolution.

* An Historical Sketch of the Measures taken by the Continental Powers in order to destroy the Spanish Constitution. By an Eye-witness. Partridge.

It is the poor artifice of impoverished thought to say the Spaniards were not ready for beneficial change; which, if it mean any thing, means this, that the greater the necessity for good government, the less the chance of obtaining it. When oppression reaches its *maximum*, endurance ceases to submit; opinion obtains the mastery: it may be again subdued, but it has added to its strength by its short success, and the *maximum* of oppression, which leads to revolt, is lowered. The struggle may have heretofore been spread over ages; but civilisation has given a marvellous impulse to all that is intellectual. The fruits which once could hardly blossom in a century, may now ripen in a year; and if there be a country in which the retrospect of the past gives good hope for the future, that country is Spain. Is it no triumph for the cause of liberty to reckon thousands and tens of thousands of intelligent, and courageous, and devoted partisans of constitutional government in a country which, half a century ago, saw nothing but an uncontrolled despot and his obedient slaves? Is it no triumph to have seen *Spaniards* abolish the Inquisition, destroy the system of tithes, break up their monastic institutions, establish schools, reform prisons, humanise their penal code, put an end to the privileges of primogeniture? Is this nothing?

*Charlton, or Scenes in the North of Ireland.**—In this age of historical novels it is perhaps no great praise of Mr. Gamble to say that his is not the worst, or even one of the worst, of that extensive species. He has been unhappy in his subject. The author of Kenilworth may deal as he pleases with the days of Queen Elizabeth and the Pretender, and incur no great risk of detection if he occasionally *make the facts bend* to meet his political prejudices or the convenience of the plot. But we are too well acquainted with the circumstances of the Irish rebellion. The calamities of that period are too recent, and attested with too horrible a certainty, to permit his requisite licence to the *historical* novelist. Mr. Gamble's story wears in consequence an air of constraint which is fatal to this species of composition. Whenever his incidents rise to the interest of romance, they lose their probability; and when they are on a level with the attested facts of history, they lose their interest. This is a dilemma incident to the nature of the case; and one which would have proved as fatal to a more eminent genius as we fear it has been to Mr. Gamble. The domain appropriate to the novelist is the history of remoter periods—itself, for the most part, as romantic as a fairy tale. The common sense of mankind is concerned in the memoirs of more recent times, and cannot be insulted by the intrusion of fable into matters of serious moment.

The author is accustomed to his art, and writes with ease, though without much grace or elegance. His attempts at wit at times are tolerably successful; but his whole style and manner—whatever he may think to the contrary (see Preface)—are palpably formed on the *Northern* model, and not unfrequently degenerate

* By John Gamble, Esq., author of Irish Sketches, &c. 3 vols. 12mo. Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy.

into so close an imitation, as to suggest comparisons which can in no way be favourable to the author. After all, the book is above mediocrity, and will probably find a ready sale in a market which it seems impossible to overstock with such materials, be their quality what it may.

*St. Johnstoun, or John, Earl of Gowrie.**—Another imitator of the Prince of Novelists. But though he may have made use of the same kind of materials, he has moulded and disposed them into many striking and agreeable portraitures, which bear evident marks of the man of genius and observation; and if they were original — if the star of the north had not lighted the way to the shrine where the author was to worship, his praise would have been great, his reputation lasting. As it is, he can only be called a successful imitator; one who has, with the assistance of a guide, penetrated into the depths of the heart, and drank largely of the same well of human feeling. He possesses an easy power over his subject; his diction is flowing and agreeable, and his story, though slight and simple, is interesting; but his characters, though consistent and well drawn, have nothing new, bold, or original, about them. In those situations, however, which call for the display of feeling, he is natural, spirited, and charming. The noble Gowrie is, like most of the leading personages in novels, somewhat tame; but the Master of Ruthwen is a fine, graceful, spirited sketch, full of young feeling, the sport of the varying passions which distract the heart of man in the May-day of his age. Agnes is a little saint; the Jesuit is a failure; and James the Sixth, who acts a conspicuous part in the tragedy which closes this work, is exhibited in more disgusting colours than any in which we have ever seen him. In Nigel he is invested with something like a royal air; but in St. Johnstoun he appears without any thing of royalty but the name. Euphan, a popish old woman, is described with a bold and sweeping pencil. The scene between her and James is, indeed, dramatic, grand, and imposing; it is in the very spirit of the author of Waverly: and in her meeting with her only surviving son, whom she supposed dead, there are touches of genuine pathos. The author's descriptive powers are of a high order; they are truly pictorial; his scenes, and the subjects under his description, are palpable to the mind's eye; we see them in colour, shape, and gesture, in dress, speech, and action, as if they were all present to the eye of sense. This is no mean praise.

*Schmidtmeyer's Travels in Chile.*†—It is highly probable, from his name, that Mr. Schmidtmeyer is not an Englishman. At any rate he shall have the benefit of the doubt; and he may think himself well quit, if it serve to excuse his style, which is surely the worst ever penned by an ill-educated foreigner. For the book itself he can offer no apology. The little information it contains is scarcely worth our notice; nor are we the more easily induced to put up with the scanty supply because it has been taken, in many instances,

* Edinburgh, Maclachlan. 3 vols. 12mo.

† Travels into Chile over the Andes, in the Years 1820 and 1821, &c. By Peter Schmidtmeyer. 4to. pp. 366. Longman and Co. 1824.

" from the works of scientific travellers and writers who had the best means of obtaining authentic documents, — and particularly from Baron Humboldt."

Mr. Schmidtmeyer's book admits of no regular analysis. He has no sooner landed at Buenos Ayres, at the fifteenth page, than he sets about a general account of the two continents of North and South America, with occasional observations on the three remaining quarters of the globe. His method of description is thus happily hit off by himself: — " Skipping from Europe to Asia, from Asia to Africa, and back again to Europe by way of America — standing with his feet resting on Popocatepelt and Mount Blanc, his hands on Dhawalagiri and Chimborazo, viewing Corcovado and the New Southern Lands;" and lastly, " turning about, and looking for a north-west passage or the magnetic pole." (p. 209.) The purpose of Mr. Schmidtmeyer's voyage was to travel across the continent to Mendoza, if not as straight as the crow could fly, at least as much so as the road would allow. This end he accordingly accomplished; but whilst waiting for the travelling apparatus at Buenos Ayres, he amuses the reader by a detailed account of every thing relating to every part of the American continent, with the single omission of that which he came to visit, and proposes in his title-page to describe. Besides a vast quantity of matter, all of which " we read in Humboldt's," and which could only lose its interest in Mr. Schmidtmeyer's English, we have disquisitions without end on every subject of human science — medicine, meteorology, and geognosy; politics and political economy; morals, divinity, and literature. We are gravely told, that America was discovered by Christopher Columbus, a Genoese, but received its name from the Florentine Americus Vesputius; that the serpents of Paraguay are of no contemptible dimensions, since Dobrizhoffer has not scrupled to relate a story of several men, who, mistaking one for the trunk of a tree, quietly sat down upon it, and remained many minutes in that posture before they got up again; and finally, that the south-west wind of the pampas is somewhat violent, since Azara relates an instance of a hurricane " tearing off the head of a horse which was fastened by the neck!" All which marvels are repeated with seeming confidence, although the author was not ignorant of the *cuentos de fraile*, as much the curse of the Spanish colonies as of their mother country.

After dragging us through 120 pages of such matter, and a chapter on the states of La Plata, which occupy together nearly half the volume, the author begins his journey. As he met with no adventures in his progress from Buenos Ayres, to Santiago, to relieve the dullness of the route or to show his contempt for regular arrangement, to which he exhibits on all occasions an invincible repugnance, he introduces an occurrence which took place on his return; when it seems he was put into great jeopardy by a sudden irruption of a royalist horde, headed by Carrera, who were laying waste the country right and left in the name of the legitimate king and the Virgin. Having dispatched a chapter, entitled " Mendoza

and Goitres," videlicet, of and concerning the city of Mendoza, and the goitres, with which four-fifths of its inhabitants are afflicted, we reach the pass of the Andes. This is the best portion of the book. The passage over that part of the cordillera called the *Cumbre*, the summit of the ridge, is easy travelling, in comparison with certain places in which even the mules with their instinctive skill sometimes lose their balance and are precipitated. An instance of this kind our author witnessed on his return, "when the mule which was going immediately before him with two boxes, struck one of them against a stone, missed her hind step, and rolled down some hundred feet. The mule died shortly after the accident; and when the author reached the spot where she lay, he saw the skeletons of several mules, which had perished in the same manner." He adds, however, that "the bad path did not continue above a mile and a half; and that two men, with a single day's work, might render the road very safe."

The description of Chile is extremely vague and unsatisfactory. Mr. Schmidtmeyer, who seems, amongst other disqualifications, to have been imperfectly acquainted with the Spanish language, hastened from town to town, surveying every thing with a cursory and superficial glance, and accordingly relating what he saw without method or correctness. In some of his descriptions of the domestic manners and amusements of the inhabitants of the towns, he rises above his usual mediocrity. But we look in vain for that minute delineation of the nature and capabilities of the country, and the political and private state of the people, which forms the principal value of works like the present. In his general estimate of Chile and its inhabitants we are inclined, from authentic information, to agree. As the passage is the best in the book, we shall extract it almost entire.

'There are, perhaps, few people and lands better formed for improvement, and for the exhibition of good national qualities, than Chile and its inhabitants; but the natural advantages possessed in that country are held in check. . . . . The country has a fine form, an advantageous situation, a most healthy climate, and a very fertile soil; but the occupiers have no encouragement for extending and improving its cultivation. . . . . The Chileno is naturally intelligent, docile, and of a temper remarkably even and cheerful: he is capable of much activity, if excited to it; but when young, the road to rational improvement is not open to him; and when grown up, unless born within the small circle of the wealthy, he is held too low in the ranks of society to feel the effect of that great lever by which human faculties are best set in motion and excited,—emulation. The advantage of allowing agriculture and commerce to run their course with freedom and without heavy burthens, have not yet travelled to Chile, and the trade by which the products of its lands, of its mines, of its manufactures, and of foreign countries, are circulated there, is heavily laden with duties and shackles, not only in its course with foreign nations, but even among the Chilenos themselves." (p. 100.)

*Adventures of Hajji Baba.* * — This is a Persian Gil Blas, certainly not quite so full of genius as the amusing work of Le Sage, nor yet falling below it to an unmeasureable distance; something is wanting in the writer, as much or more in the nation to whom his hero belongs. Persia is the best scene for a light-hearted adventurer, after Spain; but it is in vain to look elsewhere for the same rich materials of romance as are to be found in the manners, pursuits, occupations, and government of the latter most remarkable country. Like Gil Blas, Hajjî Baba is tossed about from rank to rank with all that suddenness of elevation and depression which can only happen in a despotic government, where the fortunes of all men depend upon the will of one, and where, for the quick dispatch of business or pleasure, the tedious forms of law and justice are dispensed with. These rapid changes present every advantage to the novelist, and from his intimate acquaintance with the manners of Persia, the author of this book has been able to avail himself of them to a very great extent. Indeed, such is this writer's familiar, almost native knowledge of the people he describes, that we may assert with some confidence, that there are not ten men in the country who are, from their local experience, qualified to have produced the adventures of Hajjî Baba. We may add too, that such is our opinion of the talent displayed in them, that on that account alone we should not be inclined to increase that number very considerably, were we required to say how many were capable of writing them at all with the same easy humour, the same felicitous strokes of satire, the same vigorous delineations of character. The defects of the author are similar to those of his great prototype — he is incapable of pathos; he passes over the finest opportunities of affecting the feelings, and fails whenever he attempts to use them. His hero is a worthless unfeeling knave, who, were it not for his invincible good nature, would inspire us with no feelings but those of disgust and contempt. Indeed the whole book is calculated to produce similar feelings for the entire species, were it not that the cause of the degradation of this particular nation is constantly kept before our eyes. A bad government is the source of all the vice and folly, the baseness, heartlessness, and egregious vanity of a Persian. We can truly say, that it is seldom that a book leaves Mr. Murray's shop, which is likely to give birth to better notions respecting the nature and ends of national government.

Hajjî Baba is not a book to make extracts from; — it is an entire piece of uniform texture, invariably well wrought, but seldom distinguished by parts more remarkable than the rest. However, we will enable our readers to form some idea of it, by quoting a pretty long passage, which describes Hajjî's first employment by a Persian doctor, into whose service he has just entered.

'Requesting me to approach nearer to him, and in a low and confidential tone of voice, he said, looking over his shoulders as if afraid of being overheard, "Hajjî, you must know that an ambassador

* Murray. 3 vols. 12mo.

from the Franks is lately arrived at this court, in whose suite there is a doctor. This infidel has already acquired considerable reputation here. He treats his patients in a manner quite new to us, and has arrived with a chest full of medicines, of which we do not even know the names. He pretends to the knowledge of a great many things of which we have never yet heard in Persia. He makes no distinction between hot and cold diseases, and hot and cold remedies, as Galenus and Avicenna have ordained, but gives mercury by way of a cooling medicine; stabs the belly with a sharp instrument for wind in the stomach; and, what is worse than all, pretends to do away with the small-pox altogether, by infusing into our nature a certain extract of cow, a discovery which one of their philosophers has lately made. Now this will never do, Hajji. The small-pox has always been a comfortable source of revenue to me; I cannot afford to lose it, because an infidel chooses to come here and treat us like cattle. We cannot allow him to take the bread out of our mouths. But the reason why I particularly want your help proceeds from the following cause. The grand vizier was taken ill, two days ago, of a strange uneasiness, after having eat more than his usual quantity of raw lettuce and cucumber, steeped in vinegar and sugar. This came to the Frank ambassador's ears, who, in fact, was present at the eating of the lettuce, and he immediately sent his doctor to him, with a request that he might be permitted to administer relief. The grand vizier and the ambassador, it seems, had not been upon good terms for some time, because the latter was very urgent that some demand of a political nature might be conceded to him, which the vizier, out of consideration for the interests of Persia, was obliged to deny; and, therefore, thinking that this might be a good opportunity of conciliating the infidel, and of coming to a compromise, he agreed to accept of the doctor's services. Had I been apprised of the circumstance in time, I should easily have managed to put a stop to the proceeding; but the doctor did not lose an instant in administering his medicine, which, I hear, only consisted of one little white and tasteless pill. From all accounts, and as ill luck would have it, the effect it has produced is something quite marvellous. The grand vizier has received such relief, that he can talk of nothing else; he says, 'that he felt the pill drawing the damp from the very tips of his fingers;' and that now he has discovered in himself such newness of strength and energy, that he laughs at his old age, and even talks of making up the compliment of wives permitted to him by our blessed Prophet. But the mischief has not stopped here; the fame of this medicine, and of the Frank doctor, has gone throughout the court; and the first thing which the king talked of at the *selam* (the audience) this morning, was of its miraculous properties. He called upon the grand vizier to repeat to him all that he had before said upon the subject; and as he talked of the wonders that it had produced upon his person, a general murmur of applause and admiration was heard throughout the assembly. His majesty then turned to me, and requested me to explain the reason why such great effects should proceed from so small a cause, when I was

obliged to answer, stooping as low as I could to hide my confusion, and kissing the earth — " I am your sacrifice: O king of kings, I have not yet seen the drug which the infidel doctor has given to your majesty's servant, the grand vizier; but as soon as I have, I will inform your majesty of what it consists. In the meanwhile, your humble slave beseeches the Centre of the Universe to recollect, that the principal agent on this occasion, must be an evil spirit, an enemy to the true faith, since he is an instrument in the hands of an infidel; of one who calls our holy Prophet a cheat, and who disowns the all-powerful decrees of predestination."

' " Having said this, in order to shake his growing reputation, I retired in deep cogitation how I might get at the secrets of the infidel, and particularly enquire into the nature of his prescription, which has performed such miracles; and you are come most opportunely to my assistance. You must immediately become acquainted with him; and I shall leave it to your address to pick his brain and worm his knowledge out of him; but as I wish to procure a specimen of the very medicine which he administered to the grand vizier, being obliged to give an account of it to-morrow to the shah, you must begin your services to me by eating much of lettuce and raw cucumber, and of making yourself as sick to the full as his highness the vizier. You may then apply to the Frank, who will, doubtless, give you a duplicate of the celebrated pill which you will deliver over to me."

' " But," said I, who had rather taken fright at this extraordinary proposal, " how shall I present myself before a man whom I do not know? Besides, such marvellous stories are related of the Europeans, that I should be puzzled in what manner to behave; pray give me some instructions how to act."

' " Their manners and customs are totally different to ours, that is true," replied Mirza Ahmak; " and you may form some idea of them when I tell you, that instead of shaving their heads and letting their beards grow, as we do, they do the very contrary; for not a vestige of hair is to be seen on their chins, and their hair is as thick on their heads as if they had made a vow never to cut it off: then they sit on little platforms, whilst we squat on the ground; they take up their food with claws made of iron, whilst we use our fingers; they are always walking about, we keep seated; they wear tight clothes, we loose ones; they write from left to right, we from right to left; they never pray, we five times a day; in short, there is no end to what might be related of them; but most certain it is, that they are the most filthy people on the earth, for they hold nothing to be unclean; they eat all sorts of animals, from a pig to a tortoise, without the least scruple, and that without first cutting their throats; they will dissect a dead body without requiring any purification after it, and perform all the brute functions of their nature without ever thinking it necessary to go to the hot-bath, or even rubbing themselves with sand after them."

' " And is it true," said I, " that they are so irascible, that if perchance their word is doubted, and they are called liars, they will fight on such an occasion till they die?"

' " That is also said of them," answered the doctor; " but the case has not happened to me yet; however, I must warn you of one thing, which is, that if they happen to admire any thing that you possess, you must not say to them, as you would to one of us, ' It is a present to you, it is your property,' lest they should take you at your word and keep it, which you know would be inconvenient, and not what you intended; but you must endeavour as much as possible to speak what you think, for that is what they like."

' " But then, if such is the case," said I, " do not you think that the Frank doctor will find me out with a lie in my mouth; pretending to be sick when I am well; asking medicine from him for myself, when I want it for another?"

' " No, no," said the Mirza; " you are to be sick, really sick, you know, and then it will be no lie. Go, Hajjî, my friend," said he, putting his arm round my neck: " go, eat your cucumbers immediately, and let me have the pill by this evening." And then coaxing me, and preventing me from making any farther objections to his unexpected request, he gently pushed me out of the room, and I left him, scarcely knowing whether to laugh or to cry at the new posture which my affairs had taken. To sicken without any stipulated reward was what I could not consent to do; so I retraced my steps, with a determination of making a bargain with my patron; but when I got to the room, he was no longer there, having apparently retreated into his harem; and therefore I was obliged to proceed on my errand.'

*Prose by a Poet.**—This is an amiable and amusing little work—full of goodnature, fancy, and, what perhaps the author himslf does not suspect, humour. Though inclined to quarrel with the title, we had not read far before we were assured that the writer was not merely a *soi-disant* poet. Nay, we moreover discovered, not only that he was a *bonâ fide* poet, but we had no difficulty, on proceeding a little further, in detecting, under this general designation, the excellent author of " the Wanderer in Switzerland." The purest feelings of philanthropy have always distinguished that amiable man; and they never, perhaps, were displayed more conspicuously, or more amiably, than in these very entertaining and instructive essays. To our tastes, this " Prose" bears a high value, from the knowledge which the poet possesses respecting the situation of many classes of the poor, and for the strong sympathy which he excites for their miseries and deprivations. It seems that he resides in a large manufacturing town, and that he has extensive means of information. We beseech him to neglect no opportunity of instructing the public concerning the real state of that class, as to whom the opulent ranks of this country know as little, or indeed less, than they do of the poor of Naples or Madrid. In the meantime we will give the author's sketch of the general life of an old woman.

' A female child is born in a poor man's family; and there is joy there, even on such an event, for nature will be glad at that time, however melancholy the prospect of futurity. If the infant be hardy

* Longman & Co. 2 vols. 12mo.

enough to survive a few years of bad nursing, coarse fare, and perhaps cruel usage from rude parents, or sordid relatives, among whom she has been left an early orphan, — no sooner is she able to carry a child than she begins to learn to nurse; her little arms are strained to clasp a baby half as big as herself, and her feeble knees totter beneath a burthen which she kisses with transports of unfeigned affection, while it almost bears her down. Thus, from the very lap she is taught by the sweetest feelings of nature, as well as by premature toil, the lessons of love, and the habit of sacrificing self-will and self-indulgence to the wants and the caprices of others; she scarcely ceases to be an infant before she is initiated in the practical duties of a mother. Yet she is happy, because the sun shines, the shower falls, the rainbow shoots, and the birds sing for her; sleep is sweet, and play is pleasant, and food delicious; she has not yet found out the secret of being discontented with what she has, and coveting what she has not.

'As her younger sisters grow up under her, they gradually relieve her from the delightful though oppressive employment of nursing; but it is only to give her the opportunity of undertaking harder and less amiable tasks. She now becomes her mother's assistant in housekeeping, that is, the household drudge of all the family: she cooks, and scours, and bakes, and washes, and works, when she ought to be improving her mind at school, or exhilarating her spirits and invigorating her limbs in healthful sports with companions of her own age. Almost the only solace of her painful pre-eminence at home, in this stage of life, is that, as her mother's deputy, she can exercise a petty authority over her juniors on the hearthstone, and scold and slap the little ones when they are obstreperous, or she is ill-humoured. Presently, however, she is tall enough to be put out to service; a place is found for her in some family, little superior in wealth or information to her own; and here she experiences how much truth there is in that proverbial saying among persons of her class, — "There's no end of women's work." The hardier sex, from the master to the youngest apprentice, labour and rest at intervals. The servant girl is up earliest in the morning; she is on foot all day; even the Sabbath scarcely affords a breathing space to her; and till she is permitted to retire at night, she knows no respite from active drudgery, except the few minutes of her meals: but those meals are hearty ones; her couch may be straw or eider-down, for aught she knows or cares, for her slumbers are sound and her dreams are golden; she thrives, and is cheerful amidst all her toils and privations. The flowers come in April, the nightingale sings in May, and love in due season awakens in her breast all the hopes and the fears, the jealousies, anxieties, and entrancements, that agitate more refined and susceptible bosoms; for love is a leveller, and his influence is equally overpowering in whatever heart it prevails. Our young maiden, in her own expressive language, is sure to have "a sweetheart," with whom the wooing interludes, amidst her weary service, make toil delightful, if not for its own sake, yet for his. Meanwhile, though pinioned to time and place in her duty, like a wren sitting on nine

eggs, every one of which must be hatched; yet as even the brooding mother flits occasionally from the nest "to pick a scanty meal," and then returns with double ardour to her task, — so our indefatigable maiden seizes the hasty opportunity whenever it occurs, if it be but for a moment, to steal out and exchange a word or a look with the youth of her choice, and feel as if there were something in life worth living for to the poorest of its possessors. And so there is.

'Preliminaries are soon arranged, where being thrice asked at church is all the legal formality required; they are married, and she has a home of her own, such as it is; — but she is charmed with being mistress of herself, and heedless of the future. Her husband lives with her a few years, and they are as well off as other folks; their children are multiplied, so are their troubles; — trade fails; her partner is unfortunate or improvident; his health is broken, and he dies before his time; or he falls into bad company, his morals are debauched, he goes for a soldier, or runs away nobody knows whither; and she is left, in middle age, a widow, or a widowed wife, with a numerous offspring, the oldest of which is hardly fit for apprenticeship. These grow up around her, — if they are not dispersed by the overseers, — according to her own character, in habits of industry or sloth, subsisting frugally on their honest earnings, or miserably on parish allowance. One by one, however, they leave her: the sons are scattered abroad; some settle in humble occupations, others are rovers, and enter the army, or seek their fortunes at sea; the daughters in their turns engage in domestic service, or in manufactories, from whence, in the course of nature, (as it is in low life) they are duly married off; and while she is growing old, her immediate successors are transmigrating through the same stages of poverty and trial, to the same consummation of wretchedness as she and her husband passed before them, and through which their descendants are doomed to follow them. Every year they are further removed, and estranged from her, or have additional burthens and expences of their own to bear. Thus every year she is more deserted; and her helps fail just in proportion as her strength declines, her infirmities increase, and assistance from others becomes indispensable to her wellbeing.

'At length, worn down with bodily exertions and long suffering; broken in spirits, and bowed under a weight of years; without a relative beneath her roof, — if she have yet a roof to shelter her, — except perhaps a grandchild or two, whose parents are in the grave, and whom she has to nurse and feed, when she herself ought to be nursed and fed like an infant, — she lingers out to the latest period of decay in penury and sickness, with just food enough to make her feel unceasingly the yearnings of hunger, and clothing enough to make the lack of more a grievous discomfort. Yet so mysteriously and mercifully mingled is the cup of life, that there is sweetness at the end of the bitterest draught, and the very dregs of it are drained with delight by those to whom "the evil days are come, and the years when they say we have no pleasure in them." These few general outlines, with little comparative variation, might be filled up

with the features of each particular case in "the short and simple annals" of thousands of poor old women breathing at this day the air of heaven, and loving the warmth of the sun, if they cannot see his beams, — so as to form perfect biographical resemblances of all.

'The aged and unprovided females of the present day are also in less favourable circumstances than, it may be hoped, those who are treading in the steps of womanhood after them, to the same extremity of helplessness, are likely to be placed in when they arrive there. Formerly there were few Christian and benevolent institutions for the spiritual and temporal welfare of the poor; no societies among their superiors for bettering their condition, and more effectually helping them, by teaching them to help themselves. Such genuine charities are now both numerous and flourishing throughout the land. Those, therefore, of the feebler sex, who now form the advanced guard in the march of human life, and already verge on the confines of the grave, having passed that limit beyond which mortal strength is declared by the voice of inspiration to be "labour and sorrow,"— those who are thus circumstanced, at this time, have fewer resources and consolations than their successors are either wisely preparing for themselves, or by anticipation enjoying through the beneficence of others. There is, therefore, the greater need to urge with importunity the practice of that part of "pure and undefiled religion," which is "to visit the widows in their affliction;" seeing that a few more seasons will utterly sweep away the living race of old women, and hurry them beyond the reach of wrong or compassion from their fellow-creatures.

'But independent of casual disadvantages, these sufferers, in their lowest state, have a peculiar claim, on account of their sex, on the veneration and gratitude of both sexes; — a claim on their own, springing from the purest sympathies of a sister-nature; a claim on ours, founded on the strongest obligation that can bind one being to another, — the obligation of birth. When the Almighty had taken Eve from the side of the man whom he had created, and brought her unto him, Adam said, "This is now bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh." The debt which the first woman thus owed to the first man, her daughters have been repaying through all generations. Every son of Adam has been born of a woman, and beholden for his very substance to a mother; from the fountain of whose blood his veins were first filled, and from the pulsation of whose heart vital motion was first communicated to his own: — of every one, therefore, who assumes to be an hereditary lord of this nether creation, woman may say as literally as Adam said to Eve, — "This is now bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh." — "*Man that is born of a woman!*" is so beautiful, and tender, and solemn an expression, that in the whole compass of language, there is not another, connected with terrestrial existence, that awakens deeper feeling, that associates so many affecting ideas, or comprehends more of what is lovely, and awful, and dear, in alliance with our social nature; while it touches with personal application every individual of the species.'