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CONTENTS OF No. LXXXI.

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No. LXXXI.

ART. I. 1. *Reflections on the Nature and Tendency of the present Spirit of the Times.* By the Rev. G. BURGES. 8vo.

2. *A Comparative View of the Principles of the Court and the Country Parties in Modern Times.* 8vo. London, 1821.

3. *Le Roi est Mort—Vive le Roi!* Par le VICOMTE DE CHATEAUBRIAND. 8vo. Paris, 1824.

THERE is no better way of making any one sensible of his failings, than exhibiting the same failings in another person; and even nations, whose self-sufficiency and vanity far exceed that of individuals, may sometimes be prevailed upon to contemplate their own faults and prepared to correct them, by seeing their effects upon the people of other countries, when they would be too angry to listen to any reproofs of themselves. As there is, in the present age, a disposition, extremely prevalent with a party among us, to inculcate the most slavish maxims under the flimsy pretext of holding up loyalty, and recommending a sort of religious veneration for all establishments; and as there can be no doubt that the effect of their doctrines being generally received, if it is not the very object they have in view, would be to destroy the fundamental principles of the English constitution, it is fit that the people should, from time to time, be put on their guard against such wiles; and warned against suffering themselves gradually to adopt the language of despotic governments, and to substitute the feelings of servile flatterers, abjectly cringing before an arbitrary master, for the manly attachment to their country and its institutions, which becomes the citizens of a free state—subjects of a limited monarch, who is as much as themselves amenable to the law of the land. It is true, that the party we allude to may be thought to have come a century, or rather two centu-

ries too late—with their 'legitimacy,' their 'rightful sovereigns,' their 'chivalrous devotion to the crown,' their 'consecrated thrones and celestial altars.' There is no great fear, indeed, that such boyish tropes should ever usurp the place of that rational preference for limited monarchy, which has, upon the whole, cast the balance in its favour as against a commonwealth, chiefly because the latter is more likely to end in an absolute government. Yet the direct power, and the weight and influence of those who hold, and by their tools would propagate, the very worst opinions, is so great, from the stations they occupy in the country, and their places in the administration of its affairs, that their unceasing efforts in society, and through the press, cannot but be attended with some little success; and a tone of sycophancy towards mere Royalty is sometimes observable, which seems wholly at variance with the spirit of the age. The efforts of the High Church party, too, always the most bitter enemies of liberty, and indeed of all improvement, are steadily pointed in the same direction; because they justly believe that whatever tends to make the crown despotic, must lead to the extirpation of religious liberty, and the joint domination of priestcraft and kingcraft. It may therefore be worth while to show those whom the parties in question would fain seduce into the worship of despotism, how very creditable a figure its most pious adorers make in the eyes of reasonable men; and for the reason already given, as well as because this piety is far more fervent in France than elsewhere at the present moment, we may advantageously turn our eyes towards the lively emotions of religion and loyalty lately exhibited in the capital of that country.

Louis XVIII., though, as a private gentleman, he might have passed for a good humoured man, of some information and classical attainments, (nay even for a person of some talents, until he unwarily wrote a book), was certainly one of the least distinguished kings that ever sate on a throne. It is not that more insignificant princes have not reigned in ordinary times, but that he showed an eminent defect of all great qualities in trying emergencies. His emigration; his long life, or vegetation abroad previous to the sudden reverse of fortune which befel the French arms; his restoration by foreign force; his inglorious expulsion thereafter, when the mere sight of a great man's face, and the sound of his voice, drove all that was Bourbon instantaneously out of the country; his far more inglorious re-entry in the rear of the enemy's troops, by whom that country had been conquered and ravaged; his enduring the sceptre for years while the enemy's soldiers garrisoned his

territories; his later years passed in favouring all manner of attempts to defraud the people of the constitution to which he and his family pretended they owed their restoration —Such were the claims of the Monarch to the respect and the gratitude of Frenchmen; while the man was commended to their veneration by a life in which, for a considerable time past, the rational had nearly merged in the animal nature; and it was notorious that the state to which he was at last reduced by the most hopeless and shocking infirmities, rendered his death a release, in a degree exceeding almost any case ever before known. Over this prince—this individual—but above all this patient, whose deplorable condition was as well known as his advanced age, and about whose physical state, at least, the most loyal of devotees could not affect to raise a doubt—there have been chanted rhapsodies of lamentation and of love that would have appeared extravagant to all rational minds had Henry IV. been suddenly snatched from his people in the fulness of clemency and success, or Louis XIV. at the height of his splendour and his fortunes. 'Every one (says a journal) has learnt, with the utmost grief, 'the sad event which covers France with mourning.' This affliction was thus communicated to the soldiers of the garrison at Paris by their commandant, an officer, we will venture to say, not to be equalled in any army for steadiness of countenance, whatever may be said of him in other respects. 'Soldiers! his Majesty Louis XVIII. has just closed his *glorious* 'life. The King has ordered public prayers. It is his Majesty's, Charles the Xth's, intention that the troops should be 'present. Your standards, drums, and trumpets, are to be co-'vered with black crape; the officers are to wear black crape 'on their arms, and on their swords, till further orders. Soldiers,' he added, *with a loud but tremulous voice*, 'after having 'given your tears for him, whom it has pleased God to take to 'himself, let us give our hearts, and our arms, and our blood, 'if necessary, for his Majesty Charles X. These words were 'answered by unanimous cries of "Vive le Roi!" "Vive 'Charles X.!" from the soldiers, of course, but whether with the 'loud and tremulous voice' or not, we have no means of ascertaining.

It is the custom, when a king of France dies, to show the body for some hours, as they do in Russia and elsewhere; a custom originating in the tricks so often practised or suspected within the walls of 'legitimate' palaces; and arising from the liability which their inhabitants have to go out of the world by other than natural deaths. Multitudes go to see, as a matter

of course, in a populous city, where there are always thousands of idly curious people. But even such an indifferent act as this must be turned into something tenderly sentimental, by the indefatigable chronicler of the court.

'An innumerable crowd came to-day to the Chateau *to bestow a last look* on the coffin which contains *the King France has just lost.* More than sixty thousand persons came to offer this last homage; besides those who had cards, there were more than 1200 equipages in the Place du Carousel, and the adjacent parts. At three o'clock the multitude was admitted. Not the smallest accident occurred.' It should seem, however, that the excess of grief was somewhat assuaged by the idea that the body yet remained in Paris. But the time was to arrive when even this consolation should be withdrawn; and who shall then presume to imagine the depth of woe into which the orphan people must be plunged! An ingenious device happily comes to their relief; by an opportune recourse to the constitutional fiction, by a sort of 'confounding of the persons,' a revival of the dead king is, as it were, operated. The manner in which these glad tidings are announced, must be allowed to be in admirable harmony with the subject matter.

'This day (September 23d) the capital will be widowed of its 'King, *who will not be restored to it, under new circumstances,* (that is, in the shape of another and a different man) 'till 'Monday next. A funeral procession will advance this day 'through our walls, escorted by our tears; three days hence 'a Royal procession will return to us, saluted by the acclamations of our love. The immortal city will regain *immortal 'Royalty*—France and the Bourbons are imperishable.' Nor is it the least notable part of this happy receipt for the cure of loyal affliction, that the nostrum is one of universal application; for the dead King may be one of the Antonines, and succeeded (as indeed they were) by a Commodus; and yet he will revive in this successor, according to the cheering tenor of Royalist logic. It is another crumb of comfort afforded by the same rational system of legitimacy, and, with a kind consideration, afforded on the same day, that the appointment is announced of the Duke de Bordeaux, aged at least three years, perhaps four, to the Colonelcy of the Swiss Guards. How feelingly does this felicitous combination bring home to the thinking mind, the genius of '*immortal Royalty!*' How exquisitely fitting is it that foreign mercenaries, kept in spite of nature to overawe 'imperishable France,' should, in spite of nature, be commanded by an infant! Truly the 'Bourbons

'are imperishable,' if such things excite the gratitude of France.

Let us now hear the clamorous, the unruly grief of the organ of the Ultra party—the genuine lovers of Royalty for its own sake, and determined enemies of all popular rights. The overwhelming intelligence that an old man of seventy, who had never distinguished himself by any one act of his public or private life, had died, and was succeeded by an old man of sixty-eight who had distinguished himself as much, is thus communicated to an undone and sorrowing world.

'*The terrible catastrophe*, which the ardent wishes of a whole people hoped in vain to avert, has been this instant accomplished. The King has ceased to live! Another son of St Louis has ascended to heaven. Let us pray for him; *let us weep for ourselves*, for his whole life was lavished on us. His last words were for his family, for his people, for all his children. Grief interdicts us even the praises which gratitude would dictate on the tomb which opens, on the benefits accumulated upon France by the Monarch who has just been ravished from her love. We would praise the King—the Legislator, but words fail us—we can only lament the father.

'The agony endured long—Louis supported it as he had borne misfortune. Never did a Monarch, never did a man know better how to support the heavy burthen of age, adversity, of infirmities, of the Throne. He has quitted the earth for ever; but not a French heart will forget that he restored peace to our fields, children to our mothers, liberty to our laws, and, more recently still, glory to our standards. O Louis! thy last moments might be softened by the reflection, that nothing more remained to be done for our France, for ever secured under the immortal sceptre of the Bourbons.

'The night conceals from us as yet the aspect of this afflicted capital. We pray, we weep, in the secrecy of our hearts. To-morrow our temples will be opened. *Let us go thither, Frenchmen, to derive strength to support the immense loss we have suffered.* Let us go to pray for the precious days of the King, who does not die, and who is restored for the consolation of France in the person of a magnanimous heir.

'*King Louis XVIII. is dead, Live King Charles X.!*'

We trust no one can for a moment suspect us of believing that there is a word of truth in this most base piece of folly and sycophancy, excepting the single statement, that 'the King has ceased to live.' That the whole, or any part of the French people, wished ardently, or at all, to avert the terrible catastrophe, is as contrary to the notorious fact, as that his last words were for his people, or that his exploits had left nothing to do for France. The contempt of fact, however, is not more remarkable than that of reason—the people are urged to pray for the King's life—why? Because 'he does not die.'

It was to be expected that, upon this occasion, calling for all the efforts of the undertaker's art in all its branches, M. de Chateaubriand, one of the chosen priests of Libitina, should step forth, tired in the most gorgeous livery of woe; not that we would be understood to confine his genius to funerals, when we remember how great he also is in the matter of christenings. Indeed, it is rather from a recollection of his extraordinary skill in this last department, that we are led to form a nigh estimate of the refinements to be expected upon the present occasion. He who provided water from the river Jordan to baptize the young Napoleon withal, must surely have some cedar deal from Lebanon, if not a rafter of Solomon's Temple, to make a coffin for 'the King who saved France' from Napoleons, old and young. Let us not harbour a doubt on this subject; but in the mean time, and before the funeral can be got ready—before the Royal remains can be prepared for interment—nay, before any steps can be taken for the purpose, out comes a pamphlet by this celebrated artist, in less than twenty-four hours after the King's decease. The title is—'*Le 'Roi est Mort, Vive le Roi!*'—which must not be translated, '*The King is dead, Huzza!*'—but rather, we suppose, according to the Irish anecdote of one in a branch of business somewhat akin to M. Chateaubriand's—'*The King is dead, long life 'to him!*' The opening of this Tract is of a piece with the title.

'The King is dead! Day of terror! when this cry was heard the last time in Paris thirty years ago.—The King is dead. Is the Monarchy to be broken up? Is divine vengeance again ready to fall on France? Whither can we fly? Where hide ourselves from terror and anarchy? *Weep, Frenchmen, you have lost the King who saved you*—the King who restored you peace—*the King who made you free!* but do not tremble for your fate. The King is dead, but the King lives! THE KING IS DEAD—LONG LIVE THE KING!'

It required all the firmness of countenance which the habits of a court acting upon a happy natural constitution can bestow, to call Louis XVIII. the King who saved and liberated France; but the following passage very greatly excels the one now cited, rich as that is in the beauties of Royalism.

'The first service which the inheritor of the *fleur de lis* performed for his country, *was to get rid of the European invasion.* The capital of France was *never conquered* under the legitimate race. Bonaparte had conducted foreigners to Paris with his sword. Louis the 18th sent them away with his sceptre. A whole nation yet animated, yet intoxicated with the glory of arms, saw with surprise an old Frenchman come and place himself naturally at its head, like a father who returns to his family after a long absence, and never supposes that any body can contest his authority.'

Each assertion here is a glaring misrepresentation of a known fact. It was to place this man and his family on the throne that foreign armies invaded France, and brought the King and the other Bourbons in their baggage-waggons, the battle having been wholly fought for them by others. The foreign armies remained in the country for years. The father who came so naturally to place himself on the throne, was forced upon the people by foreign bayonets. And as for Paris never having been occupied by foreigners 'under the legitimate race,' we presume that Charles VI. was nearly as legitimate as Charles X.; and we never yet heard it denied, that his imbecility, and the quarrels of his equally legitimate kinsmen the Dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, one of whom murdered the other immediately after taking the sacrament in pledge of his sincere reconcilement, and in token, we presume, of the union between the throne and the altar, were the causes of the kingdom, capital and all, being conquered by Henry V., a prince who was very far from being as legitimate as themselves. The assertion, that freedom is the gift of the late King, is, however, the one which occurs most frequently, and is the most wide of the truth. Can any reader observe, without amazement, this author, a week or two after he had filled the shops and stalls of Paris with invectives against the last act of Louis's life, the abolition of the liberty of the press, now describing him as 'the Sovereign who established liberty on the ruins of revolution,' —the man who 'secured us independence abroad after having given us liberty at home,'—'who, being at liberty to grant nothing on his return to France, gave us liberty for misfortune'— nay, actually assert, 'that the French are one of the freest people on earth?'

In the midst of all these courtly mistatements, it is refreshing to find a single thing that wears the appearance of a fact. After describing the malady that seized Louis's lower extremities, in consequence of the cold to which he was exposed in flying before the French armies, our author very justly observes, that 'his disease was partly the work' of the French. In truth it was wholly owing to them and the frost together; and we marvel it should never have occurred to him that this allusion brings naturally to mind another fact, namely, that the whole French people, with the exception of some few hundreds, in those days, were determined enemies of every thing like a Bourbon. Possibly the hundreds may now be changed into thousands, if even that is not too great an allowance, as far as regards free choice and a predilection for the family. A desire to escape the repetition of the scenes through which France has passed during the last thirty years, no doubt,

keeps them quiet under a Bourbon, as it would under any other existing sovereign; but to secure any thing like a firm footing in the esteem of the people, must be the work of time and of a wise and liberal policy. Far otherwise thinks, at least writes, the Courtier, whose pages are before us. No exaggeration is too gross for his palate; and he construes the effects of vulgar curiosity in bringing together the multitude, into symptoms of real affliction for the King's decease. But first, he lays it down, that the characteristic of the Bourbons is to make finer ends than any other family in the known world; which makes it the more singular, that during the wars so long carried on for their individual benefit, they showed but little disposition to do what they so much excelled in.

'For a long time it has been the lot of the bravest people to have at their head a race of kings, who die the best. From the example of history, we shall be authorized to say proverbially, "Die like a Bourbon," to signify every thing magnanimous displayed by a man in his last hour. Louis XVIII. did not depart from this family intrepidity. After receiving the Holy Viaticum in the middle of his court, the eldest son of the Church blessed, with a trembling hand, but with a serene countenance, the brother once more summoned to a deathbed—the nephew, whom he called the son of his choice—the niece, twice an orphan, and the widow twice a mother.'

The nonsense of this is its principal recommendation; But, suppose the author should screw up his nerves to assert, that while Louis was ill, the people were eagerly reading the bulletins to descry some ray of hope,—that they were all dissolved in tears,—that they crowded near the palace, but spoke in whispers, lest they might disturb the patient,—that, in the excess of their sorrow, they had recourse to religion for consolation, and filled the churches to seek that assistance from above, without which they could not bear their load of grief—should we not then pronounce, that, of a truth, there is nothing so degrading, so debasing to human nature, as the spirit of pure monarchy, toryism, ultra-monarchy, call it what you will,—that spirit which bows to kings as such, regards them as the objects for whose benefit power is established, not the depositaries of authority in trust for the people, and venerates them as the end of political institution, instead of respecting them as the means? Incredible as it may seem, M. de Chateaubriand has actually brought himself to paint in these colours the state of the Parisians, at a time when it must have been almost physically impossible that any one tear should be shed for the dying King, or any heart beat, except through idle curiosity, to know whether the event had taken place which was to number with the dead an old man who had been dying for months. He has literally described the people, not merely as if they were suffering under

the momentary expectation of some great public calamity, but as if each individual were in a state of personal affliction; and his sketch of their state of mind would perhaps be reckoned somewhat extravagant, certainly fully adequate to the occasion if a sudden pestilence had broken out, and carried off the favourite member of each family in Paris.

'The people, however, displayed *unequivocal signs of their sorrow.* Essentially monarchical and Christian when they are left to themselves, they surrounded the palace *and filled the churches*; they gathered the least news with avidity, read and commented on the bulletins *seeking in them some rays of hope.* Nothing could be more affecting than that multitude who spoke in whispers about the Tuileries. *Fearing to disturb the august patient,* the dying king was watched over and guarded by his people. Often forgotten in prosperity, but *always invoked in adversity,* religion increased the respect and the tenderness, by its prayers and its solicitations. It chanted before the image of the living God that Canticle of Ezekiel which French genius has adopted from the inspiration of Holy Writ, that *Domine, salvum fac Regem,* which our love to our king has rendered so popular. *Tears ran down every face,* when the different bodies of magistrates passed on foot, going to Notre Dame, in order to implore Heaven for him from whom all justice in France emanates. It was remarked particularly, that at the head of the Chief Court was that illustrious old man, who, after having defended the life of Louis XVI. before the tribunal of man, was going now to ask the life of Louis XVIII. of a Judge who has never condemned the innocent. This Sovereign Judge, in calling to the place of repose our suffering King, *fatigued and satiated with life,* is preparing to pronounce on him a sentence of deliverance, and not of condemnation.'

Having, in the close of this inimitable passage, taken upon himself to disclose Louis's treatment after death, in a manner which would be reckoned impious in any but a friend of the 'throne and altar,' we are surprised to find the author revert to the very subordinate consideration of the funeral. 'Soon 'he will be placed in those subterraneous abodes, the solitude 'of which his piety has begun to repeople.' The reader is at first puzzled—nay, possibly he may feel alarmed—at so equivocal a panegyrick upon a deceased king, as that he was going where he had sent so many before him; but it turns out that this is only one of the feats performed by that extremely bad taste too prevalent among modern French writers, but of which M. Chateaubriand may be allowed to be the most eminent example, and which absolutely prohibits the saying any thing, however plain or insignificant, in a simple, intelligible manner. Without some explanation, the sense of the passage could

really not have been discovered by the common run of guessers of riddles. The author therefore adds a solution; it makes his meaning barely intelligible, but in a form of speech infinitely conceited and ridiculous. 'Soon he will be placed in those 'subterraneous abodes, the solitude of which his piety has be-'gun to repeople. When he arrived in France, he found the 'tomb of the Kings deserted, and their throne vacant; restorer 'of all our legitimacies, he has given, *by a brotherly division*, 'the former to Louis XVI., and he leaves the latter to Charles 'X.' Fired by the sound, &c. No sooner has he named this name, now become so very interesting, than he bursts forth into an unmeasured praise of the new King, the best comfort for the loss of the old one; and finding in him all imaginable good qualities (except those of a warrior, which, with a most discreet recollection of the history of the war, he wholly passes over), he calls upon his countrymen to 'bless a tutelary here-'ditary succession,' to which is owing the certainty of another king being always ready as soon as one dies, or, as this author is pleased to phrase it, 'Legitimacy brings forth her new king '*without pain.*' Really, on reading this, we are tempted to think that the Noble Viscount's memory is as tenacious, and his feelings about as acute, as those of a set of church-bells, which (like himself), upon royal demises, ring alternately a mournful and a merry peal; for he who now denies that there is, or can be any pain attendant upon a change of kings, had, only the moment before, been dissolved in such cruel woe as only the comforts of the Church could assuage, and they but very imperfectly.

The burthen of his song to Charles X. is an urgent exhortation that he would be crowned at Rheims, according to the ancient customs of the monarchy. To this operation, and every part of it, our author attaches the utmost importance. He dwells upon select portions of it with enthusiasm; and fondly runs over the names of the Royal Family who are to take part in it, lauding them all with equal devotion, down to the poor infant, the Duke of Bordeaux, whom he calls the '*Child of* '*Europe*'—'*the new Henry*'—that is, he has already discovered in him a second Henry IV. But there must positively be a coronation; all the kings of the third race have been crowned except Louis XVII. and Louis XVIII., and a certain John I. who died before he had time for the ceremony. Not only must there be a coronation, but it must be at Rheims; for there, says he, all these monarchs, except Henry IV., were crowned. With great submission to M. Chateaubriand, there was another exception, Louis the Fat (we do not mean the late King,

but Louis le-Gros), who was anointed at Orleans. To encourage His Most Christian Majesty, the saying of a certain Archbishop Aldaberon, is cited to Hugh Capet, 'the founder of the race.' Our author does not add how he came to be its founder—because that would have shown that the third race came in upon what we should in England call revolution principles, the Carlovingians having been set aside by the peers and the people. He recites with much complacency the prayer and the promises made at the coronation, omitting one which he says was introduced in the thirteenth century, and is not in harmony with present customs. This promise, however, we must remind M. Chateaubriand, is nearly of the age of St Louis, the best times of Royalism; and what right he, on his principles, can have to discard it, we cannot comprehend. He will not even tell his readers what it is. We take the liberty therefore to subjoin it; nor shall we, as good believers in things established, which have the experience of six centuries in their favour, and especially which concern the union of the 'throne and altar,' be satisfied with its omission at Rheims. 'Also I will seriously endeavour to extirpate all Hereticks, so branded by the 'Church, out of my land, and the government subject to me.' It seems a part of the ancient ceremony is letting fly birds into the church. Our author exclaims upon this—'a simple 'symbol of the liberty of the French.' However, it is positively laid down in the ceremonial, that they are let fly from the lobby into the church. Our author can only make this a symbol of deliverance by an addition of his own—namely, that the church doors are at the same time thrown open. We rather wonder that he has left out the most singular part of the whole proceeding, and upon which his predecessors have dwelt with the greatest fondness,—we mean the touching for the King's evil. M. Menin, councillor to the Parliament of Metz, has written a learned work upon the subject of French coronations. As he published it during the Regency, he magnifies Louis XV. much, but the Duke of Orleans more. The former, being fully five years of age, is exceedingly praised for 'the religion, piety, 'love to the memory of the deceased King, and affection to his 'people, shown in his Lettre de Cachet to the Parliament of 'Paris, dictated by wisdom itself.' But the government of the Regent is pronounced to be 'a perfect one,' and the choice of him 'a certain presage of happiness to the publick;' although the work is written as late as 1722, when the regency had drawn to a close. M. Chateaubriand himself, could hardly go beyond this. We therefore marvel the more, that from the book of so congenial a spirit, he did not take the leaf respecting the evil;

he has indeed omitted the very highest attribute of Royalty. Hasten we, therefore, to supply the deficiency in the words of his learned predecessor. 'The third day after the coronation, 'our Kings, *whose piety does not in the least degenerate*, are ac- 'customed to go, according to an ancient usage, from Rheims 'to Cartigny, to visit the church of St Marcoul, and there to 'touch those that are afflicted with the King's evil, who always 'appear in that place in great numbers on such an occasion.' 'This miraculous power of the Kings of France,' adds the learned and enlightened Councillor of Metz, 'to cure by their touch 'a malady almost incurable by human remedies, is a gift of 'Heaven that has no cause but the will of the Almighty, ex- 'pressing thus, by sensible wonders, his extraordinary love for 'the eldest sons of his Church, and giving them the admira- 'tion and respect of all nations of the universe, above all the 'Kings of the world.' He then gives an account of the first cure by Clovis, who received the gift in return for his conversion to Christianity, and tried it with success on his favourite. But lest it should be thought that the gift is obsolete, and that therefore M. Chateaubriand was entitled to pass over it, we must add the Councillor's gratifying testimony to the supernatural powers of the Third Race. 'It is observed that these cures 'have been more frequent under the third race of our Kings, 'than under the two former, whether it be that the Kings of 'the third line excelled the rest in piety and righteousness, or 'that the distemper is now more universal.'

According to M. Chateaubriand, and indeed the whole school of '*Church and King*,' which allows of no improvement, nor values any thing excepting in proportion as it has antiquity on its side, 'our present constitution is only the renovated text of our old franchises.' We therefore presume, that it is by a mere oversight that he omits another part of the ancient coronation ceremony—the opening all the prison-doors of the sacred and kingly city of Rheims. 'This operates,' says M. Menin, 'as a general pardon to delinquents, whatever they be;' he terms it an 'act of clemency worthy of the majesty and power of our Kings;' and affirms it to be a 'custom of equal antiquity with the monarchy itself.' It is wonderful with what delight this learned and loyal person dwells upon the usage at Henry II.'s coronation; he says, 445 were released, 'among whom were murderers, robbers, coiners, and others,'—(no mention is made of any persons confined for sedition or heresy.) This privilege of the prisons at Rheims is of course well known; and M. Menin says, that 'for some days before the coronation, an infinite number of criminals never fail to get into them.' At

Louis XIV.'s coronation, about 10,000 were discharged by this royal road to freedom—this legitimate gaol delivery. At the next coronation, however, in 1722, there appears to have been a sad falling off in 'the power and clemency of the third race;' only 600 were set at liberty, and an inquiry seems to have been made into their cases. The origin of this truly rational and expedient practice, he traces to remote antiquity. Saul signalized his success over the King of the Ammonites, by pardoning, says he, all capital offenders. The fact is, that Saul's example is much more worthy of imitation; for the pardon he gave in honour of his victory, was to those who had taken part in the war against himself. (1 Sam. 11.) The precedent of the Roman Emperors is also cited; and no doubt legitimacy may derive much support from that quarter. * We cannot, however, help thinking that the flight of the birds, which M. Chateaubriand is so greatly comforted with, bears reference to the clearing of the gaols, though good Catholicks may possibly object to one part of the allegory. The prisoners, when let loose from their cage, took refuge in the church.

We have already noticed the risk which a writer upon the Liberal side would run, were he to make as free with sacred subjects as the Legitimates. M. Chateaubriand's conclusion is a further illustration of the remark, and must be allowed to be in his highest strain of exaggeration. He is never satisfied if he cannot deify the objects of his flattery, be they Bourbons or Buonapartes; and as the young Napoleon's birth was likened to the coming of the Messiah, the death of Louis XVI. must be compared, in plain terms, to the Crucifixion. †

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* The reader cannot have failed to remark the similarity of the language and topics of the Royalist school in all ages. M. Menin, only that he is more learned, and writes more plainly and far better, is in spirit the Chateaubriand of the pure and virtuous Regency—of which he chants the praises, without the candour of another of its panegyrists, (in the *Vie Prince de Louis XV.)*, who says, that it must be admitted to have had two faults; and when we look attentively to them, they turn out to be total want of publick faith, and a gross private immorality.

† We fear it must be admitted, that our own High Church Divines furnished the example of these comparisons, so offensive to all who have any real feelings of a religious nature, or even any sense of common propriety, and so well suited to men whose only principle is base subserviency, and whose idols are the powers that be. The following passage is taken from a sermon preached before Charles II. by the Bishop of Down. 'The person now murdered (Charles I.) was not the Lord of Glory, but a glorious Lord,

'Charles X. after having received his power from the hands of religion, would appear still more august in quitting, consecrated by the holy unction, those fountains where Clovis was regenerated. It is of immense consequence for our country, under its present circumstances, that a King tranquilly dying in the midst of his subjects, transmits his heritage to his successor. The latest event of this kind was fifty years ago, for Louis XVI. cannot be included. The holo-

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'—Christ's own Vicar, his Lieutenant and Vicegerent here on 'earth, and therefore by all laws, divine and human, he was pri-'vileged from any punishment which could be inflicted by men. 'Albeit he was an inferior to Christ, as man is to God, yet was his '*privilege of inviolability far more clear than was Christ's;* for Christ 'was not a temporal prince; his kingdom was not of this world; 'and therefore, when he vouchsafed to come into this world and to 'become the son of man, he did subject himself to the law; but our 'gracious Sovereign was well known to be a temporal prince, a free 'monarch, and their undoubted sovereign, to whom they did all owe 'and had sworn allegiance. The Parliament is the great council, 'and hath acted all and more against their Lord and Sovereign than 'the other did against Christ: *the proceedings against our Sovereign 'were more illegal, and in many things more cruel.* The true religion 'delivered unto us in Scripture, and professed in the true ancient 'and Catholic church, doth teach us to honour and obey the king, 'as God's minister set over us; and that the *injuries of kings, though 'ever so great*, are to be endured by their subjects, who have no 'other remedy, and are to use no other arms against their king, than 'to pray unto God *for him*, who hath the hearts of kings in his hand, 'and may turn them when he thinks fit.' These impieties were extremely common in the pulpits of the High Church down to the end of Queen Anne's reign. Indeed they derived some countenance from the Liturgy of the Church of England, which denominates Charles, 'the Blessed'—and 'the Blessed Martyr' of God—compares his conduct to that of Christ; ascribes his preservation in the oak to a miracle. Nor was this tone of slavish loyalty, and we may say blasphemy, confined to the clergy. 'From the creation' (says General Wigley, in a letter to Ormond) 'to the accursed day of this 'damnable murther, nothing parallel to it was ever heard of. Even 'the crucifying our Blessed Saviour, if we consider him only in his 'human nature, *did nothing equal this*, his kingdom not being of 'this world; and he, though unjustly condemned, yet judged at a 'lawful tribunal.' No man can deny the consistency, at least, of these Tories or Ultras—the worshippers of pure Legitimacy. Had they lived in the time of Herod and Pontius Pilate, it is plain that they would have acquiesced most loyally in all the proceedings of the government; have prayed for the former when he massacred the innocents, and bowed to the sentence which put Jesus to death.

caust of the martyred King had no funeral pomp, and was followed by no coronation; the new reign did not begin at the foot of the altar, and there was then in France some part of that darkness which covered Jerusalem at the death of the just. May God grant to Louis XVIII. the immortal crown of Saint Louis! May God bless on the head of Charles X. the mortal crown of Saint Louis!—The King is dead. Long live the King!'

We have seen the grief of the French at its height, or rather the description given by the Royalist faction, of a grief which never existed among that enlightened people. An equally extravagant account is given of their unbounded joy the moment after, and with absurdities nearly equal, and inconsistencies somewhat greater. When Charles X. enters Paris after the funeral, he is met at the gate by the Prefect, who would fain reconcile the necessary contradictions of deep sorrow for the best of kings, who, according to the worthy magistrate and M. Chateaubriand, had left nothing to be done for his subjects, or wished by them; and ecstacies of delight at the succession of a king better than the best, who in a trice has changed the face of affairs, and by a kind of *plusquam-perfecting* operation, greatly improved upon perfection.

"Sire—The aspect of your Majesty comes to dissipate the funeral veil which covers these walls. *This immense population wept for their father*, to-day they recover their King—*and, as in times past, they have wholly surmounted their grief.* Beloved Sovereign, you will see them faithful and unanimous, manifesting their joy. You have reigned for *some days*, Sire, and the dignity of the Royal Family is *already extended.* The great thought of the State fortifies itself even in the centre; repeated acts of clemency and goodness signalize the happy commencement of your reign. Enjoy, Sire, your first benefits; enjoy the scene offered to your view. *Confidence has entered the heart;* credit is extending; *every thing takes a new life:* and opinions are united, mingled in one sentiment of hope and love, as on the ever memorable day when the Capital received you, Sire, and carried you to the Palace of your ancestors.'—'Our ancient *monuments seem to pride themselves* in adding another king to the ancient dynasty which founded them, to the long list of the kings your ancestors, all of whom were pleased to embellish and to promote the prosperity of their capital. Proud of being the cradle of the most noble and *most glorious family of the universe*,—proud of possessing its new King, Paris may aspire to the character of Queen of Cities, by its magnificence, as its people will be before all others in their fidelity, their devotedness, and their love. Accept, Sire, these keys, the marks of its submission and its respect; allow us to lay them at your Majesty's feet, as we there lay the homage of the *transports and of the unanimous sentiments* of this immense multitude, who have hastened forth to see their King. Vive le Roi!'

We will not say that the worthy magistrate is outdone, for that would require a miracle, but he is equalled, by the most reverend prelate, who 'takes up the wondrous tale' when the eldest Son of the Church arrives at Notre Dame. Like the Prefect, the Archbishop is somewhat troubled with the suddenness of the transition from unutterable woe to inexpressible rapture: but his Grace's theory seems (if we rightly follow it) to be, that the joy was there all the while, but only impeded in finding a vent, by the tears through which it had, as it were, to bubble up; in the course of which operation it was itself condensed, and formed a substance of which the vulgar name is tears of joy. We cannot help viewing this doctrine, however ingenious, as savouring more of the profane learning of the age, than becomes the 'first pastor of the Most Christian King,' —as a kind of tribute to modern improvements unworthy of a supporter of the venerable obscurity of Legitimacy,—a great pillar of darkness, like the high priest of the Gallican church. The doctrine with which his Grace is, or ought to be familiar, might have reminded him, that the transmutation of fluids is with his craft an every-day operation, and suggested, that one kind of tears could with ease be changed into another. There is nothing in the reverend prelate's address more remarkable than his ready assumption, that, up to the moment of its delivery, nothing whatever had been done for religion, even by Louis XVIII. 'the restorer of all legitimacies,' whose piety they had been just extolling, and whose immediate and certain salvation M. Chateaubriand had ten days before announced, with a further prayer for his accession to the immortal crown of Saint Louis.

'SIRE,—*All hearts* hasten before the King at his return to his capital; grief and respect *can no longer* restrain the joy and the transports of your people. Tears give place to other tears, and acclamations succeed to deepest silence. Sire, it is love which weeps, and it is love which now rejoices. Before mounting to the palace of your fathers—before there taking that repose which will also be ours—your Majesty *comes this day*, in the most splendid manner, *to raise religion, beaten down* by the same blow which struck his Most Christian Majesty. It is your will, Sire, that it should be the first to receive that consolation which you bring to all. May it bless you! Enter into its sanctuary—come and give it your Royal hand—and receive from *its faithful mouth* the promise of *its Divine gratitude*. For us, Sire, who are its ministers and your subjects, we beg of you, Sire, on the threshold of this temple, to receive with favour the respect and the vows which I, at this moment, am so happy and so honoured in offering to your Majesty, of your First Pastor.'

We suspect, that if his Most Christian Majesty does not make haste to heap favours on the Church, 'its Divine grati-

tude' will be withholden, and 'its faithful mouth' may prove clamorous. The Archbishop seems, warily enough, to make the promise of love somewhat conditional; he plainly expects more from him than had been bestowed by his brother; and adds, in a strain of fervour, pretty distinctly intimating the presence in his mind of 'that lively sense of favours to come,' in which peculiarly consists the gratitude of those who

> Adore their Maker, and respect their God;
> And wait, good men, all earthly things forgot,
> In humble hope of Enoch's happy lot.

—that they will not fail to remind him of his duties on another occasion, which, like M. Chateaubriand, they doubtless are longing for—part of the ceremony being a truly Royalist and Clerical lecture, administered to the Sovereign the moment before the enthronization, for the purpose of showing him that his title, which till then had been from pure hereditary right, is now something higher, coming from Divine authority, and conveyed through the bishops; and for the further purpose of reminding him what duty he owes them in return. 'Stand fast,' says the Archbishop, 'and keep from henceforth the station 'which thou hast preserved hitherto by paternal succession, 'as it has been conveyed down to thee by hereditary right, 'through the authority of Almighty God *and our present de-* '*livery of it*; namely, that of all the bishops and the other ser- 'vants of God; and by how much the nearer to the holy altars 'thou viewest the clergy, by so much the greater honour thou 'shouldst remember to confer upon them in the places that are 'suitable to them.' And, to do them justice, they were never very nice in France, but would *suit* themselves with any place, civil as well as ecclesiastical, however high or lucrative, including that of prime minister.

Thus far the constituted authorities. The Journals, as on the lugubrious, so on the festive occasion, bear their full share in the noise. The novelty of his Majesty being seen upon a horse, seems chiefly to have edified them, and, next to that, the astonishing fact, that he actually could ride in the rain. 'Arrived at Porte Maillot, his Majesty mounted his horse, notwithstanding the heavy rain.' The heavens indeed seemed propitious to the display of this qualification, for 'the rain began again when the King left Notre Dame.' This horsemanship forthwith turns out to be a very material part of the case; on it is grounded no less than a comparison of the King with Henry IV.'s statue, and from thence, if we rightly follow the argument, an identification of his Majesty with that famous monarch himself. 'On the return from Notre Dame, the procession

'passed before the statue of Henry IV. The King, *like the* 'representation of Henry, was on horseback, and returning to 'his capital. The cry of "*Vive Henry IV.!*" resounded in 'every direction, and was accompanied with that of "Vive 'Charles X.!" The raptures of the people (that is, of the writer and his servile employers) now wax greater and greater.

'The enthusiasm inspired by his presence it is impossible to describe. On every side nothing was heard but shouts of "Long live the King!"—"Long live Charles X.!"—"Long live the Dauphin!"—"Long live the Bourbons!" The Monarch evinced the pleasure he experienced by the affable manner in which he saluted his people. His Majesty deigned to receive, himself, with the most gracious condescension, more than four hundred petitions which were presented to him. The King often spoke to the Officers, and *even to the National Guard.* The *ecstacy* of the whole population was at its height. This was a holiday—a day of general happiness—*destined to be for ever memorable in our annals.*'

But wisely judging that, in order to touch the heart, you must come from generals to an individual case, an 'affecting anecdote' quickly succeeds these fervours, and gives a pathetic turn to the intoxication of joy into which the multitude had been thrown; so that just as it is approaching to a phrenzy, it is mercifully relieved by copious floods of tears. A young woman, it seems, approached with a petition, and appeared to be weeping. "Allow," exclaimed he, with an air 'of kindness *so common to the Bourbons*, "allow her to ap-"proach;" and the Monarch himself extended his hand to the 'young woman, who threw herself at his feet. His Majesty 'took her petition, thanking her at the same time as if she had 'done him a service. "I am much obliged to you, my child," '(*bien obligé, mon infant*), said the King. Never did a sove-'reign return thanks in a more impressive manner. The peo-'ple, affected even to tears by *this action*, no longer kept with-'in bounds; their enthusiasm was at its height; with the great-'est possible difficulty was the crowd prevented from pressing 'in upon his Majesty, who was then accompanied with univer-'sal acclamation to the Tuileries.'

It is hardly necessary to add, that, in the rear of the Journalists, but far outdoing them in the vehemence of his whining flattery, comes again M. de Chateaubriand with a second pamphlet, to salute the first act of the new reign; and one which deserved a much more respectable and manly eulogist, the wise edict removing the censorship. Almost before his last Tract had been forgotten, that is, within about a week from its appearance, and on the day, or day but one, after the event it celebrates, comes forth within a little month, the third of these truly ephe-

meral works—ephemeral in a double sense, for they are written one day and read another. There is one advantage in the removal of the censorship which seems chiefly to delight him; and, like all his fine things, it is distinguished by being extremely unnatural and far-fetched, and by being closely allied to mean and time-serving sentiments. 'We can now' (says he, with exultation) 'praise our Princes without any restriction—we may declare our thoughts without its being said that 'this declaration is dictated by the Police.' He is only afraid, it seems, lest his extravagant flattery should be palliated by the excuse that the rigours of the police had extorted, or at least heightened it. He is under no apprehensions of the ignominy with which he must be covered if it should be supposed voluntary. But he assumes, gratuitously enough, that its sincerity follows as a matter of course, from its being uttered without compulsion; whereas the falsest tongues that wag are those of volunteer sycophants; and indeed it is to them only that insincerity can with justice be imputed. 'It is necessary,' says he, 'that 'Europe should know that everything is true in the sentiments 'of the French; that opinions are unanimous; that opposition 'meets at the foot of the throne to support and bless it.' All this goes on smoothly enough, till Louis XVIII., whom he had the week before exalted to the skies, comes across him; and as he is now engaged in magnifying Charles X. for beginning his reign by undoing the last act of Louis, the difficulty was really somewhat perplexing. 'Louis XVIII. extends 'his benefits beyond his life!'—'and his death, the object of 'such just regrets, has, however, consolidated the restoration, 'by'—we suppose enabling his successor to overturn the worst measure of his reign?—no such thing; but simply, 'by put-'ting one reign between the restoration and the accession of 'Charles X.'—which service, be it observed, the very weakest and worst prince that ever lived must just have rendered equally to the restoration. Nothing, surely, can be conceived more sickening than this mean style—this mixture of unceasing, slavish adoration with childish, clumsy conceits, which have no one merit, nor any thing to distinguish them, except not being obvious. However, the censorship being removed, and all flatterers being so willing at least, if not hearty, M. Chateaubriand is resolved to have his fill of it.

'Charles X. may boast of now being as powerful as Louis XIV. was; of being obeyed with as much zeal and as much activity *as the most absolute Monarch of Europe.* To know where we have arrived with the Monarchy, one must have seen the Monarch going to *Notre Dame.* The whole of this great people, in spite of the incle-

mency of the weather, saluting *their King on horseback*, who advanced before his poorest subjects to take their petitions, with *that air which belongs only to him*—(one of the others had said, it was 'the air so common to all the Bourbons,' see last extract)—one must have seen him at the Champ de Mars, in the middle of the National Guards, the Royal Guards, and 300,000 spectators.—Day of power and liberty which showed the Crown in all its force, and which gave to opinion its organs and its independence. A King is well placed in the middle of his soldiers, when he leaves to his people all which can contribute to the dignity of man. The sword is for him, it can destroy every thing, and he only uses it for the preservation of all. Thus the enthusiasm was not feigned; it was not of that species which dies on the lips of *the hired beggar*, charged under Tyrants to express the public joy, or rather the public misery, the cries came from the bottom of the heart, where it beats with force, when it is filled with love and gratitude.'

But here again, he is haunted by Louis XVIII.—not having apparently forgotten his last pamphlet so quickly as the publick had; and being forced to admit indirectly that his late Majesty had destroyed the constitution, because he is in the act of lauding his present Majesty for reviving it; he can think of no better way of making it up with the defunct and himself, than the following rhapsody, of which part is really incomprehensible, and part seems to imply that Louis, if he did destroy the charter, was only taking liberties with his own handiwork.

'If the blessings of a people, as we cannot doubt, call down the blessings of Heaven, they have descended on the head of our Sovereign and the Royal Family. Never was France happier, more glorious, or more free, than on this day. But at seeing this family in mourning in the midst of so much joy, the mind turns tenderly towards that other monarch, who is not yet descended to the tomb; the aspect of a multitude, free from every sort of slavery, and protected by generous institutions, recals the memory of the august author of the Charter. What a country is France! The cities bring their keys to the funeral beds of their Generals, and the people offer the homage of their liberty on the coffin of their Kings!'

It must be acknowledged, that servility like this presents no very attractive features; and is not calculated to make us enamoured of the Tory principles, which can thus degrade their advocates. But lest it should be thought that such persons as M. de Chateaubriand and his fellows, are not of sufficient account either for talents or respectability, to evince the debasing influence of the tenets in question, we shall add an example, from our own country, and in the person of a very celebrated man,—no less able, learned and honest a one than Lord Clarendon. His talents and accomplishments were undeniably of a high order; his integrity is al-

lowed now, to have been incorruptible; and was admitted in times much nearer his own, and by persons of parties the most adverse to his, as Bishop Burnet. (*History of his Own Times*, I. 94. II. 254.) Indeed he is, of all his party, the most liberal and the least an enemy of freedom. The only stain upon his character undoubtedly is, the slavish love of Royalty which had taken such deep root in his mind, as to make it sometimes callous both to honourable and to natural feelings. The instances we are going to give are of unquestionable authenticity; for he is himself the only witness by whom we shall prove them.

When it was discovered that his eldest and favourite daughter was with child by the King's brother, and presumptive heir, he relates, that he 'broke out into a very immoderate passion 'against her wickedness; and said with all imaginable earnest-'ness, that as soon as he came home he would turn her out of 'his house as a strumpet, to shift for herself, and would never 'see her again;' feelings and expressions exceedingly natural, and perfectly consistent with the rigid virtue, which, so much to his honour, withheld him constantly, and almost alone of the King's ministers, from ever visiting any of his mistresses. But no sooner was he informed that it was understood the Duke and his daughter were privately married, and that the plan was to have the marriage declared, than the Tory prevailed over the father and the man, and the circumstance was regarded as aggravating her offence tenfold, exasperating his own sufferings, and turning into bitterness what ought naturally to have been a healing balsam. 'He fell into new commotions,' (we cite his own words, Continuation, p. 29.), 'and said, if that were true, (viz. that his daughter was wholly blameless as far as regarded her chastity, being the Duke's wife), 'he was well prepared to advise what 'was to be done, that he had much rather his daughter should 'be the Duke's whore than his wife; in the former case, no-'body could blame him for the resolution he had taken, for he 'was not obliged to keep a whore for the greatest Prince alive; 'and the indignity to himself he would submit to as the pleasure 'of God. But if there were any reason to suspect the other,' (viz. that they were lawfully married), 'he was ready to give a 'positive judgment, in which he hoped their Lordships,' (Ormond and Southampton, 'his bosom friends) would concur 'with him, that the King should immediately cause the wo-'man to be sent to the Tower, and to be cast into a dungeon, 'under so strict a guard, that no person living should be ad-'mitted to come to her; and then, that an act of Parliament 'should be immediately passed for the cutting off her head, to

'which he would not only give his consent, but would very wil-
'lingly be the first man that should propose it.'—'And who-
'ever knew the man' (adds the noble author speaking of him-
self) 'will believe that he said all this very heartily.'

We are accustomed to see the fanaticks of the same age much vituperated, and more laughed at for the excessive rigour of their principles, and their abhorrence of the fashionable immoralities. What should we not have heard of their unnatural callousness, and phrenzied enthusiasm, had one of their chiefs treated a daughter detected in the commission of a real enormity, whether regarded in a moral or religious point of view, as this flower of the Cavaliers treats his child, not for any immoral or irreligious conduct, but for being accessary to some injury or inconvenience brought upon the Crown, by marrying the King's brother? Nor was this merely the sudden resolution of the Chancellor, taken up in a moment of violence. When the King, 'looking upon him with a wonderful benignity,' desired him to advise calmly upon the subject, and broached the topic of the marriage, the answer he received was, 'Sir, I hope 'I need make no apology to you for myself and of my own in 'this matter, upon which I look with so much detestation, that 'though I could have wished that your brother had not thought 'it fit to have put this disgrace upon me, I had much rather 'submit and bear it with all humility, than that it should be 'repaired by making her his wife; the thought whereof I do so 'much abominate, that I had much rather see her dead, with 'all the infamy that is due to her presumption;' and then he repeated all the advice about sending her to the Tower, 'beseeching the King to pursue it,' as the most likely means of making others 'take heed how they impudently offended.' When he afterwards ascertained that the marriage had been validly solemnized, he even then still urged the putting his daughter to death by a Bill of Attainder, as the only way of remedying the mischief. (p. 31.)

The grateful return which Charles made for all this affectionate devotion is well known; nor was his father's treatment of Strafford more notable, though in him it has been more remarked, because his life contained fewer passages of this kind. When Clarendon was impeached, one of the grand charges was for advising the King to govern by an army without a Parliament: Being asked by the Duke whether it was true or any thing like it, Charles answered, 'that he had never given him such 'counsel in his life, but, on the contrary, his fault was that he 'always insisted too much upon the law;' and the Duke adding, asked whether he might repeat this testimony to others,

the King said, 'with all his heart.' The Duke did so through Wren, his secretary; and the effect of such an authority was manifest in obstructing the proceedings against Clarendon. Charles was now informed by the opposite party, that Wren's communications were likely to save Clarendon from the charges of treason altogether;—'to which his Majesty answered, that 'Wren was a lying fellow, and that he had never held any 'such discourse with his brother.' The King then complained to the Duke of Wren's discourses; but James avowed himself as the author, and asserted, that his brother had not only said every thing as reported, but had given leave to divulge it. The only answer his Majesty was pleased to make, was, that 'he 'should be hereafter more careful of what he said to him.' He then succeeded in making Clarendon leave the country, and gave his assent to the bill banishing him, and forbidding all persons to hold any communication with him.

That such treatment should never draw from the noble penman one harsh expression respecting Charles, is perhaps only an evidence of his extraordinary magnanimity. That it should not incline him to paint his character in its real colours, is nothing more than a proof, that his loyalty interfered with his duty as an historian. But that, in the midst of such injustice, cruelty, treachery, and black ingratitude, Clarendon should stoop to indite the letter which he has recorded against himself, can only be credited, because *he* is the witness,—and only explained by supposing that love of monarchy had destroyed, not indeed the love of virtue, but certainly the honest pride which forms its natural accompaniment. To what a pitch of servile adoration towards a fellow-creature, and one too of the most worthless of his species, must so powerful a mind as Clarendon's have been humbled, when he could bring himself thus to write! 'I am so broken under the daily insupportable in-'stances of your Majesty's terrible displeasure, that I know not 'what to do, hardly what to wish.'—'God knows I am inno-'cent as I ought to be. But, alas! your Majesty's declared 'anger and indignation deprives me of the comfort and support 'even of my own innocence, and exposes me to the rage and 'fury of those who have some excuse for being my enemies; 'whom I have sometimes displeased, when (and only then) 'your Majesty believed them not to be your friends. I hope 'they may be changed; I am sure I am not, but have the 'same duty, passion, and affection for you, that I had when 'you thought it most unquestionable, and which was and is as 'great as ever man had for any mortal creature. I should 'die in peace (and truly I do heartily wish that God Almighty

'would free you from further trouble by taking me to himself) 'if I could know or guess at the ground of your displeasure.'— 'As I have hope in heaven, I have never willingly offended 'your Majesty in my life, and do upon my knees beg your 'pardon for any over-bold or saucy expressions I have ever 'used to you; which being a natural disease in old servants 'who have received too much countenance,' &c.—'I hope 'your Majesty believes that the sharp chastisement I have re- 'ceived from the best natured and most bountiful master in 'the world, and whose kindness alone made my condition these 'many years supportable, has both enough mortified me as to 'this world, and that I have not the presumption, or the madness 'to imagine, or desire, ever to be admitted to any employment 'or trust again:' and he concludes by imploring the King to be allowed 'to spend the small remainder of his life in some 'parts beyond the seas, never to return, where he may pray 'for the King, and never suffer the least diminution in his du- 'ty or obedience.' (*Clarendon*, p. 453.) All this is recorded 'for the information of his children, who will find in it nothing 'that can make them ashamed of their father's memory.' (*Ib.* p. 2.)

The King's detestable conduct is ascribed by Bishop Burnet to the 'perpetual railing of the mistress and the whole 'bedchamber at him.'—'Princes,' he remarks, 'are so little 'sensible of merit or great services, that they sacrifice their 'best servants not only when their affairs seem to require it, 'but to gratify the humours of a mistress, or the passion of a 'rising favourite.' (I. 257.) Now, without any leaning towards Republican principles, and with a rational conviction that, upon a balance of good and evil, the preference should be given to a limited monarchy, at least in Europe, it may be reasonably doubted whether the annals of any commonwealth in modern times ever afforded so melancholy a proof of the power of political attachment to debase its victim as we have just been contemplating, in the case of a man remarkable in almost all the other passages of his life for a strong understanding and undeviating honesty.

If we were desirous of comparing the effects produced by the slavish principles of Toryism with those which flow from even the excessive devotion to the free institutions of a commonwealth, we might contrast the demeanour of Lord Clarendon with that of such men as Colonel Hutchinson, one of those 'who judged the King to die.' That he was warmly attached to the Independents, is unquestionable; he belonged to their sect; he was deeply sensible of the vast merits of their leaders, and

felt the utmost gratitude to Cromwell for the incalculable services which, in his better days, he rendered to the cause. Yet all his gratitude, his habits of hearty cooperation to attain a grand, and once a common object, his intimate knowledge of the man's extraordinary talents—all could not blind him to his dangerous designs, or reconcile him to bear, for an instant, with his desertion of his principles. He became his adversary, but an open and a manly one; and, abhorring as he did the course he had plunged into, himself still an enthusiast for liberty, he yet gave him indirectly such information of a plot which he accidentally became acquainted with, as proved the means of saving him from the conspirators.

If, again, a contrast were wanted to the servile spirit displayed by the French Royalists in the present day, we should look to the interesting spectacle, now exhibited by the American people, of honest and enlightened affection for their ancient benefactor and fellow-soldier in the cause of freedom. We will own, that, to us, there is something peculiarly touching in the enthusiasm which that great nation has shown upon the arrival of the truly venerable person who seeks, in their affections, a temporary refuge from the persecutions of his own government. No man can be named who has, through a long life, acted with more undeviating integrity, and who, with more strict consistency, has pursued his course of devotion to the sacred cause of liberty, and opposed all despotism, whether exercised by the genius of Napoleon, or by those successors to his throne whose powers form so mighty a contrast with their stations. La Fayette may have fallen into errors; in flying from one danger, he did not perceive that liberty might have a double hazard to encounter, both from oppression and from conquest; but faults he has never been charged with by any whose good opinion deserves his regard; and the honours which he has received in America are as entirely due to the inflexible virtue of his riper years, and his willing sacrifice of himself on all occasions to the cause of liberty in his own country, as they are peculiarly fit to hail his reappearance in a country which the generous devotion of his younger days had helped to make a powerful state of a few dependent colonies. He must be far gone in the servile feelings of French Royalism who can read, without a blush, the productions we have cited in this article; but no friend of liberal principles can feel any thing but sympathy and pride in following the progress of this great patriot through the United States, even where its details are recorded with the least reserve, and by the most ordinary chroniclers of the times.

Among the strange sights of the present day, connected with this subject, it is impossible to pass over the solemn mockery lately performed at Paris by the orders, it is said, though it seems hardly credible, of the English Government, in removing the remains of James II., and depositing them in a new church. There was something intelligible and consistent in the restored government of France ordering funeral rites to be celebrated for Louis XVI. and his unfortunate Queen. Nor could any one have greatly blamed Charles II. in this country, had he done something of the same kind upon his returning, instead of basely insulting the ashes of the great leaders of the Commonwealth. Some eleven or twelve years ago, the remains of Charles I. were discovered at Windsor; and it was not deemed necessary, perhaps not considered very expedient, to bestow any funereal honours upon the dust of him whom the Church of England, in her great loyalty and (we good Presbyterians are bound to add) idolatry, denominates the Blessed Martyr of Almighty God—a Saint who followed the steps of the Saviour, and the shedding of whose blood nothing but the blood of the Son of God can expiate. Whence comes it to pass, then, that such singular respect should have been paid to the remains of him whom the same Church stigmatizes as a cruel and bloodthirsty enemy of herself and the State, and for deliverance from whose Popish tyranny and arbitrary power, by the instrumentality of those that dethroned him, she periodically offers up unfeigned thanks? Those expressions, indeed, seem to have been wholly forgotten by the conductors of this strange solemnity. He who was driven from the throne into exile for his misgovernment, and deemed by his criminality to have forfeited the crown, is treated as a lawful sovereign, and one to whom nothing worse than bad fortune could be imputed. 'Reliquiæ Jacobi II. qui in secundo civitatis gradu clarus triumphis, *in primo infelicior*;' and the King, who owes his crown to the resistance which our ancestors made against this tyrant, is represented as ordering to be paid honours due to the Royal race,—'quo decet honore in stirpem regiam!' But his issue were as much entitled to Royal honours, because they were as much of the Royal stock as himself; and yet the Parliament, King and all, of this country, thought fit to set a price upon their heads. It really looks as if there were some foolish Tories about the court, who deemed the title of the Royal Family, under the Act of Settlement, less firm than it would be, if the descendants of the Dutchess of Orleans, Charles I.'s youngest daughter, were extinct, and those of his sister, the Queen of Bohemia, could claim by the exploded hereditary title which

the Revolution 1688 has for ever set aside. Yet, strange to tell, those very persons seem to have the greatest horror of every thing like Popery, and, from a senseless enmity to a mere name, are perpetuating the misgovernment and the misery of a third part of the King's dominions. The whole ceremonial upon the occasion we are alluding to, was of course purely Popish, accompanied with prayers for the soul of the deceased, and, as the accounts add, with 'all the solemnities, so powerful in their effect, which distinguish the Catholic Church service.' It is reasonable to conclude from this, that no prejudice against Popery having stood in the way of the King's servants honouring the memory of a dethroned tyrant, none will now prevent their adopting those measures necessary to the peace, prosperity, and indeed the safety, of the empire. *

It may afford a fit conclusion to these reflexions, if we appeal to the great established fountains of Tory doctrine for a statement of what it consists in, and of what our modern friends of High Church principles would bring us back to. The famous decree of the University of Oxford, in 1683, passed immediately after, and in support of, those judicial murders, as the Legislature afterwards termed them, which destroyed Russell and Sidney, speaks the deliberate sentiments of that learned and loyal body; and the Cambridge address upon the dissolution of the Oxford Parliament, two years before, indicates an almost equal proficiency in the most slavish principles. The Oxonian doctors denounce, as the cause of the dangers to which 'the breath of their nostrils, the Anointed of the Lord,' is exposed; and 'decree, judge, and declare to be false, seditious, 'and impious, heretical and blasphemous,' all the doctrines in which the grounds of civil liberty are contained; not only the propositions, that civil authority is derived from the people; and that there is a virtual compact between the prince and the people; and that governors becoming tyrants forfeit their right to govern; but the propositions, that the Sovereignty in England is in the Three Estates; that self-preservation may become the overruling motive with the people; and that a title to the Crown, derived by descent, may be set aside by the consent of the realm. And they explicitely enjoin all persons having the care of youth, 'diligently to instruct them in that most neces-

* We shall now expect to be informed of the inscription substituted for that which was not allowed to be placed upon the remains of her late Majesty—one of the immediate branches of the '*Stirps Regia*,' by blood as well as marriage, and whose title had never been defeated by Parliament—like that of James II.

'sary doctrine, *which in a manner is the badge and character of the Church of England*, of submitting to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, whether it be unto the king as supreme, or unto governors sent by him; teaching that this submission and obedience is to be clear, *absolute*, and without exception of any state or order of men.' They were likewise pleased to order the books containing these doctrines to be burnt publicly, and to forbid the perusal of them under severe penalties. The Cambridge doctors avow their 'belief 'that our kings derive not their power from the people, but 'from God; that to him only they are accountable; that it be-'longs not to subjects either to create or censure, but to ho-'nour and obey their sovereign, who comes to be so by a fun-'damental, hereditary right of succession, which no religion, 'no law, no fault or forfeiture, can alter or diminish.'

The fate of those most dutiful and devoted bodies, is eminently instructive to all time-servers. Having pronounced unqualified obedience to be the duty of all subjects, the men of Oxford were in little more than a year commanded by the King to expel Locke; and after some time spent in shuffling and attempting to escape, they complied with this infamous requisition. In less than four years after their digest of servility had been completed and promulgated, its authors were again called upon to practise their odious doctrines, by choosing a man recommended by the Sovereign, but disqualified by their statutes. Having condemned all resistance whatever as impious and unchristian, they were the first who resisted the tyrant; and having announced, that whoever maintained the right to deprive a king for any reason whatever, of his Crown, or to exclude his heir, merited damnation, they themselves melted their plate to assist the Prince, who came to dethrone the reigning sovereign, and exclude his son from the succession! Their famous decree was afterwards, by the authority of Parliament, burnt by the hands of the common hangman; but this act of public justice did not prevent them from adhering strenuously to the proscribed doctrines in theory, and all the while opposing the monarch *de facto*, for no other reason but because he held his authority from the choice of the people, and was placed at the head of a free government. The like misfortune befel Cambridge. An order being issued by the King to confer a degree upon a monk, they who so lately had maintained, that 'to sub-'jects it belongs only to honour and obey their sovereign,' refused to comply, and were, in conformity with their own principles, punished for the contempt. After the Revolution, it must be admitted that they held opinions much more consonant

to the principles of free governments than the sister University. *

If we are asked, why we dwell at such length upon the reprobation due to doctrines which hardly any one, in this country at least, will in the present day openly avow; we answer, that, of late years, the number and station of those who do venture upon such avowal has sensibly increased; and that, at all events, they are secretly cherished by many, and systematically acted upon by still more, who never have stated them to their own minds in terms, but who nevertheless, by adhering to the spirit of them, have grievously injured, and still continue to injure, the best interests of the country. A blind, servile obedience to whatever the personal wishes of the reigning sovereign may be supposed to dictate, is a very natural corollary from the proposition, that kings have rights as individuals wholly independent of their relation to the state, as depositaries of a public trust; that the prince is the object of regard for his own sake; and holds his powers for his own advantage, not for that of his people. How fruitful in mischief has this corollary proved! The American war nearly in whole, the French war in great part, the misgovernment and wretchedness of Ireland

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* Writers of the most opposite parties agree in their opinions of the Oxford decree. Mr Fox charges it with condemning 'every principle upon which the constitution of this or any other free country can maintain itself.' (p. 51.) And Hume (VIII. 199.) says, in nearly the same terms, that it 'condemns some doctrines which they denominated republican, but which indeed are, most of them, the only tenets on which liberty and a limited constitution can be founded.' He, however, is careful to keep very much in generals, and gives none of the preposterous assertions of the decree. The reader will find it at length in *Woodrow*, II. *App. No.* xci.; and part of the Cambridge Address is in *Neal's History of the Puritans*, II. p. 585. Mr Fox's remarks upon the Oxford decree are worthy of all acceptation; and Hume's joining in condemning it, affords one instance among many others, to show, that the doctrines of Toryism, in their naked deformity, will shock many a one who is prepared to embrace them, when clothed with some thin disguise; or that, presented to him all at once, he will reject them, though ready enough to take them piecemeal. 'Such' (says Mr Fox, in the honest indignation of his heart), 'such are the absurdities which men are not ashamed to utter, in order to cast odious imputations upon their adversaries; and such the manner in which churchmen will abuse, when it suits their policy, the holy name of that religion, whose first precept is to love one another, for the purpose of teaching us to hate our neighbours with more than ordinary rancour.'

almost altogether, have been its hateful progeny. The prejudices of the late King were for years avowedly the reason with many for opposing measures which they deemed essential to the safety of the state! Some had the hardihood even to say so openly in their places in Parliament—a pitch of contempt for the fundamental maxims of the constitution never reached, at least in so downright a fashion, by the Tories of Filmer's and Sacheverell's times. 'Deference to the monarch's feelings,' was the prevailing objection for a long while to our taking an active part in the South American question. It was said by the court sycophants, that 'his Majesty naturally must be averse 'to any interference with colonies, after what he had himself 'suffered in North America.' But besides that some such notions are abundantly familiar in certain quarters at the present moment, and influence in all probability the policy of the country, both towards Ireland and South America, from the impression that those who are near the Throne inherit the prejudices of its last occupant, we cannot doubt that the same principles of high Toryism are working in favour of the greatest danger this country's independence was ever exposed to,—the conspiracy of foreign despots against the liberties of mankind. We verily believe, that if all Great Britain were polled, not a hundred sincere voices would be raised in favour of that unprincipled league: But there are many persons whose hatred of it is kept within very moderate limits; and not a few who are ready to apologize for it, as far as they dare, by the knowledge that it is a favourite with persons of all but the highest station; and they will, at least, though indirectly and under various pretences, thwart every attempt to expose its machinations, and to prepare for resisting them! An affectation of courtly principles is becoming more prevalent than formerly, among certain politicians who used to be satisfied with supporting bad measures because they were in place, or dependants on placemen, without pretending that they did so upon the principles of the Tories, who a few years ago would have been treated as rebels. Much nonsense has been consequently promulgated in various forms—from plain statement of what is inconsistent with fact, to highflown affected romance; and it may prove a wholesome exercise to look now and then at the real nature of the principles in question, and the effects they produce on the conduct of those who act under their influence. Whoever has read the preceding pages will probably admit, that those persons do not display very great claims to respect; and will be apt to feel but little enthusiasm in behalf of a system, the fruits of which are so disgusting.

ART. II. 1. *Sketches of India.* Written by an OFFICER, for Fire-Side Travellers at Home. Second Edition, with Alterations. 8vo. pp. 358. London, 1824.

2. *Scenes and Impressions in Egypt and in Italy.* By the Author of Sketches of India, and Recollections of the Peninsula. 8vo. pp. 452. London, 1824.

THESE are very amiable books:—and, besides the good sentiments they contain, they are very pleasing specimens of a sort of travel-writing, to which we have often regretted that so few of those who roam loose about the world will now condescend—we mean a brief and simple notice of what a person of ordinary information may see and feel in passing through a new country, which he visits without any learned preparation, and traverses without any particular object. There are individuals, no doubt, who travel to better purpose, and collect more weighty information—exploring, and recording as they go, according to their several habits and measures of learning, the mineralogy, antiquities, or statistics of the different regions they survey. But the greater part even of intelligent wanderers are neither so ambitious in their designs, nor so industrious in their execution;—and, as most of those who travel for pleasure, and find pleasure in travelling, are found to decline those tasks which might enrol them among the contributors to science, while they turned all their movements into occasions of laborious study, it seems reasonable to think, that a lively and succinct account of what actually delighted them, will be more generally agreeable than a digest of the information they might have acquired. We would by no means undervalue the researches of more learned and laborious persons, especially in countries rarely visited: But, for common readers, their discussions require too much previous knowledge, and too painful an effort of attention. They are not books of travels, in short, but works of science and philosophy; and as the principal delight of travelling consists in the impressions which we receive, almost passively, from the presentment of new objects, and the reflections to which they spontaneously give rise, so the most delightful books of travels should be those that give us back these impressions in their first freshness and simplicity, and excite us to follow out the train of feelings and reflection into which they lead us, by the direct and unpretending manner in which they are suggested. By aiming too ambitiously at instruction and research, this charm is lost; and we often close these copious dissertations and details, needlessly digested in

the form of a journal, without having the least idea how *we*, or any other ordinary person, would have felt as companions of the journey—thoroughly convinced, certainly, that we should *not* have occupied ourselves as the writers before us seem to have been occupied, and pretty well satisfied, after all, that they themselves were not so occupied during the most agreeable hours of their wanderings, and had omitted in their books what they would most frequently recall in their moments of enjoyment and leisure.

Nor are these records of superficial observation to be disdained as productive of entertainment only, or altogether barren of instruction. Very often the surface presents all that is really worth considering—or all that we are capable of understanding;—and our observer, we are taking it for granted, is, though no great philosopher, an intelligent and educated man—looking curiously at all that presents itself, and making such passing inquiries as may satisfy a reasonable curiosity, without greatly disturbing his indolence or delaying his progress. Many themes of reflection and topics of interest will be thus suggested, which more elaborate and exhausting discussions would have strangled in the birth—while, in the variety and brevity of the notices which such a scheme of writing implies, the mind of the reader is not only more agreeably excited, but is furnished, in the long-run, with more materials for thinking, and solicited to more lively reflections, than by any quantity of exact knowledge on plants, stones, ruins, manufactures, or history.

Such, at all events, is the merit and the charm of the volumes before us. They place us at once by the side of the author—and bring before our eyes and minds the scenes he has passed through, and the feelings they suggested. In this last particular, indeed, we are entirely at his mercy; and we are afraid he sometimes makes rather an unmerciful use of his power. It is one of the hazards of this way of writing, that it binds us up in the strictest intimacy and closest companionship with the author. Its attraction is in its direct personal sympathy—and its danger in the temptation it holds out to abuse it. It enables us to share the grand spectacles with which the traveller is delighted—but compels us in a manner to share also in the sentiments with which he is pleased to connect them. For the privilege of seeing with his eyes, we must generally renounce that of using our own judgment—and submit to adopt implicitly the tone of feeling which he has found most congenial with the scene.

On the present occasion, we must say, the reader, on the whole, has been fortunate. The author, though an officer in

the King's service, and not without professional predilections, is, generally speaking, a speculative, sentimental, saintly sort of person—with a taste for the picturesque, a poetical cast of diction, and a mind deeply imbued with principles of philanthropy and habits of affection:—And if there is something of *fadaise* now and then in his sentiments, and something of affectation in his style, it is no more than we can easily forgive, in consideration of his brevity, his amiableness, and variety.

The 'Sketches of India,' a loose printed octavo of 350 pages, is the least interesting perhaps of the two volumes now before us—though sufficiently marked with all that is characteristic of the author. It may be as well to let him begin at the beginning.

'On the afternoon of July the 10th, 1818, our vessel dropped anchor in Madras Roads, after a fine run of three months and ten days from the Motherbank.—How changed the scene! how great the contrast!—Ryde, and its little snug dwellings, with slated or thatched roofs, its neat gardens, its green and sloping shores.—Madras and its naked fort, noble-looking buildings, tall columns, lofty verandahs, and terraced roofs. The city, large and crowded, on a flat site; a low sandy beach, and a foaming surf. The roadstead *there*, alive with beautiful yachts, light wherries, and tight-built fishing barks. *Here*, black, shapeless Massoolah boats, with their naked crews singing the same wild (yet not unpleasing) air, to which, for ages, the dangerous surf they fearlessly ply over has been rudely responsive.

I shall never forget the sweet and strange sensations which, as I went peacefully forward, the new objects in nature excited in my bosom. The rich, broad-leaved plantain; the gracefully drooping bamboo; the cocoa nut, with that mat-like looking binding for every branch; the branches themselves waving with a feathery motion in the wind; the bare lofty trunk and fan-leaf of the tall palm; the slender and elegant stem of the areca; the large aloes; the prickly pear; the stately banian with drop branches, here fibrous and pliant, there strong and columnar, supporting its giant arms, and forming around the parent stem a grove of beauty; and among these wonders, birds, all strange in plumage and in note, save the parroquet (at home, the lady's pet-bird in a gilded cage), here spreading his bright green wings in happy fearless flight, and giving his natural and untaught scream. It was late and dark when we reached Poonamallee; and during the latter part of our march we had heavy rain. We found no fellow-countryman to welcome us: But the mess-room was open and lighted, a table laid, and a crowd of smart, roguish-looking natives, seemed waiting our arrival to seek service.—Drenched to the skin, without changes of linen, or any bedding—we sat down to the repast provided; and it would have been difficult to have found in India, perhaps, at the moment, a more

cheerful party than ours.—Four or five clean-looking natives, in white dresses, with red or white turbans, earrings of gold, or with emerald drops, and large silver signet rings on their fingers, crowded round each chair, and watched our every glance, to anticipate our wishes. Curries, vegetables, and fruits, all new to us, were tasted and pronounced upon; and after a meal, of which every one seemed to partake with grateful good humour, we lay down for the night. One attendant brought a small carpet, another a mat, others again a sheet or counterpane, till all were provided with something; and thus closed our first evening in India.—The morning scene was very ludicrous. Here, a barber, uncalled for, was shaving a man as he still lay dozing; there, another was cracking the joints of a man half-dressed; here were two servants, one pouring water on, the other washing, a Saheb's hands. In spite of my efforts to prevent them, two well-dressed men were washing my feet; and near me was a lad dexterously putting on the clothes of a sleepy brother officer, as if he had been an infant under his care!—There was much in all this to amuse the mind, and a great deal, I confess, to pain the heart of a free-born Englishman.'—*Sketches of India*, pp. 3–10.

With all this profusion of attendance, the march of a British officer in India seems a matter rather of luxury than fatigue.

'Marching in this country is certainly pleasant, although perhaps you rise too early for comfort. An hour before daybreak you mount your horse; and, travelling at an easy pace, reach your ground before the sun has any power; and find a small tent pitched with breakfast ready on the table. Your large tent follows with couch and baggage, carried by bullocks and coolies; and before nine o'clock, you may be washed, dressed, and employed with your books, pen, or pencil. Mats, made of the fragrant roots of the Cuscus grass, are hung before the doors of your tent to windward; and being constantly wetted, admit, during the hottest winds, a cool refreshing air.

'While our forefathers were clad in wolf-skin, dwelt in caverns, and lived upon the produce of the chase, the Hindoo lived as now. As now, his princes were clothed in soft raiment, wore jewelled turbans, and dwelt in palaces.—As now, his haughty half naked priests received his offerings in temples of hewn and sculptured granite, and summoned him to rites as absurd, but yet more splendid and debauching, than the present. His cottage, garments, household utensils, and implements of husbandry or labour, the same as now. Then, too, he watered the ground with his foot by means of a plank balanced transversely on a lofty pole, or drew from the deep bowerie by the labour of his oxen, in large bags of leather, supplies of water to flow through the little channels by which their fields and gardens are intersected. His children were then taught to shape letters in the sand, and to write, and keep accounts on the dried leaves of the palm by the village schoolmaster. His wife ground corn at the same mill, or pounded it in a rude mortar with her neighbour. He could make purchases in a regular bazaar, change money at a shroff's,

or borrow to bury, for the expenses of a wedding or festival. In short, all the traveller sees around him of social or civilized life, of useful invention or luxurious refinement, is of yet higher antiquity than the days of Alexander the Great. So that, in fact, the eye of the British officer looks upon the same forms and dresses, the same buildings, manners and customs, on which the Macedonian troops gazed with the same astonishment.'—*Ibid.* pp. 23–26.

If the traveller proceeds in a palanquin, his comforts are not less amply provided for.

'You generally set off after dark; and, habited in loose drawers and a dressing gown, recline at full length and slumber away the night. If you are wakeful, you may draw back the sliding pannel of a lamp fixed behind, and read. Your clothes are packed in large neat baskets, covered with green oil-cloth, and carried by palanquin boys; two pairs will contain two dozen complete changes. Your palanquin is fitted up with pockets and drawers. You can carry in it, without trouble, a writing desk, and two or three books, a few canteen conveniences for your meals,—and thus, you may be comfortably provided for many hundred miles travelling. You stop for half an hour, morning and evening, under the shade of a tree, to wash and take refreshment: throughout the day read, think, or gaze round you. The relays of bearers lie ready every ten or twelve miles: and the average of your run is about four miles an hour.'—*Ibid.* pp. 218, 219.

We cannot make room for his descriptions, though excellent, of the villages, the tanks, the forests—and the dresses and deportment of the different classes of the people; but we must give this little sketch of the elephant.

'While breakfast was getting ready, I amused myself with looking at a baggage-elephant and a few camels, which some servants, returning with a general's tents from the Deccan, were in the act of loading. The intelligent obedience of the elephant is well known; but to look upon this huge and powerful monster kneeling down at the mere bidding of the human voice; and, when he has risen again, to see him protrude his trunk for the foot of his mahout or attendant, to help him into his seat; or, bending the joint of his hind leg, make a step for him to climb up behind; and then, if any loose cloths or cords fall off, with a dog-like docility pick them up with his proboscis and put them up again, will delight and surprise long after it ceases to be novel. When loaded, this creature broke off a large branch from the lofty tree near which he stood, and quietly fanned and fly-flapped himself, with all the nonchalance of an indolent woman of fashion, till the camels were ready. These animals also kneel to be laden. When in motion, they have a very awkward gait, and seem to travel at a much slower pace than they really do. Their far-out-stretched necks, long sinewy limbs, and broad spongy feet; their head furniture, neck-bells, and the rings in their nostrils,

with their lofty loads, and a driver generally on the top of the leading one, have a strange appearance.'—*Ibid.* pp. 46–48.

We must add the following very clear description of a Pagoda.

'A high, solid wall encloses a large area in the form of an oblong square; at one end is the gateway, above which is raised a large pyramidal tower; its breadth at the base and height, proportioned to the magnitude of the pagoda. This tower is ascended by steps in the inside, and divided into stories; the central spaces on each are open, and smaller as the tower rises. The light is seen directly through them, producing, at times, a very beautiful effect, as when a fine sky, or trees, form the back ground. The front, sides, and top of this gateway and tower, are crowded with sculpture; elaborate, but tasteless. A few yards from the gate, on the outside, you often see a lofty octagonal stone pillar, or a square open building, supported by tall columns of stone, with the figure of a bull couchant, sculptured as large, or much larger than life, beneath it.

'Entering the gateway, you pass into a spacious paved court, in the centre of which stands the inner temple, raised about three feet from the ground, open, and supported by numerous stone pillars. An enclosed sanctuary at the far end of this central building, contains the idol. Round the whole court runs a large deep verandah, also supported by columns of stone, the front rows of which are often shaped by the sculptor into various sacred animals rampant, rode by their respective deities. All the other parts of the pagoda, walls, basements, entablatures, are covered with imagery and ornament of all sizes, in alto or demi-relievo. Here you may see faithfully represented in black granite, all the incarnations of Vishnu the preserver; here Siva the destroyer, riding on his bull with a snake twisted round his neck, and a crescent on his head; Krishen, their Apollo, with his flute; Kamadeva, their Cupid, riding on a parrot, with his bow of sugar-cane strung with flowers or bees,' &c. &c.

'Near every pagoda is kept a huge wooden car, or rather temple, on wheels. This, also, is curiously carved; but the scenes and figures represented are usually so indecent and unnatural as not to admit of description. At certain seasons, an idol, painted and adorned, is placed on it, and dragged by the united strength of hundreds in procession.

'Such, though but roughly, and, I fear, not very intelligibly sketched, is a pagoda. Here the worshippers daily resort, with their humble offerings of rice and plantains; and hither, on high festivals, they crowd with flowers, fruit, incense, and money, to gaze on groups of dancing girls,—beautiful in form, gaudy in attire, and voluptuous in every look and motion; or listen to the wild and obscene fictions, sung by religious mendicants to the sound of strange and discordant music.' *Ibid.* pp. 59—63.

The following description and reflections among the ruins of Bijanagur, the last capital of the last Hindu empire, and final-

ly overthrown in 1564, are characteristic of the author's most ambitious, perhaps most questionable, manner.

'You cross the garden, where imprisoned beauty once strayed. You look at the elephant-stable and the remaining gateway, with a mind busied in conjuring up some associations of luxury and magnificence.—Sorrowfully I passed on. Every stone beneath my feet bore the mark of chisel, or of human skill and labour. You tread continually on steps, pavement, pillar, capital, or cornice of rude relief, displaced, or fallen, and mingled in confusion. Here, large masses of such materials have formed bush-covered rocks,—there, pagodas are still standing entire. You may for miles trace the city-walls, and can often discover, by the fallen pillars of the long piazza, where it has been adorned by streets of uncommon width. One, indeed, yet remains nearly perfect; at one end of it a few poor ryots, who contrive to cultivate some patches of rice, cotton, or sugar-cane, in detached spots near the river, have formed mud-dwellings under the piazza.'

'While, with a mind thus occupied, you pass on through this wilderness, the desolating judgments on other renowned cities, so solemnly foretold, so dreadfully fulfilled, rise naturally to your recollection. Now, as you tread, the wild peacock, with a startling whirr, rises in your path; now, you disturb the basking snake; and here, as the rustling of a thicket attracts your eye, are reminded that these ruins are the haunts of the hyena and the panther; that the small and frequent patches of sugar-cane give shelter to the wild boar; and that wolves are common in the rocky hills above you.—I climbed the very loftiest rock at day-break, on the morrow of my first visit to the ruins, by rude and broken steps, winding between, and over immense and detached masses of stone; and seated myself near a small pagoda, at the very summit. From hence I commanded the whole extent of what was once a city, described by Cæsar Frederick as twenty-four miles in circumference. Not above eight or nine pagodas are standing, but there are choultries innumerable. Fallen columns, arches, piazzas, and fragments of all shapes on every side for miles. —Can there have been streets and roads in these choked-up valleys? Has the war-horse pranced, the palfrey ambled there? Have jewelled turbans once glittered where those dew-drops now sparkle on the thick-growing bamboos? Have the delicate small feet of female dancers practised their graceful steps where that rugged and thorn-covered ruin bars up the path? Have their soft voices, and the Indian guitar, and the gold bells on their ankles, ever made music in so lone and silent a spot? They have; but other sights, and other sounds, have been seen and heard among these ruins.—There, near that beautiful banyan-tree, whole families, at the will of a merciless prince, have been thrown to trampling elephants, kept for a work so savage that they learn it with reluctance, and must be taught by *man*. Where those cocoas wave, once stood a vast seraglio, filled at the expense of tears and crimes; there, within that retreat of vo-

luptuousness, have poison, or the creese, obeyed, often anticipated the sovereign's wish. By those green banks, near which the sacred waters of the Toombudra flow, many aged parents have been carried forth and exposed to perish by those whose infancy they fostered.

'Better, thought I, better the wilderness should lie fallow *a week of centuries*, than be fertile only in errors and in crimes: than bring forth nothing but the bitter fruits of man's apostasy!' *Ibid.* pp. 91–95.

There is an excellent picture of Calcutta;—but we can only make room for the concluding part of it—and that chiefly for the sake of the monitory, and somewhat alarming suggestions with which it is wound up.

'As the evening closes in, the crowds of carriages disperse; and, about half an hour after, you see the glare of torches in all directions, lighting the coaches and palanquins, hurrying along to the splendid entertainments, of which there is a constant succession among the opulent and luxurious inhabitants of Calcutta. At twelve, you may see them returning home; and, if the oppressive heat drives you, as it often does, to the roof or balcony of your house for air, soon after, when all is dark and silent round you, the cry of jackalls, suddenly and wildly breaking forth, then ceasing, then again nearer or close to you, may be distinctly heard. You are then reminded that this city is the quick growth of a century; that, where they are, it is still half jungle; that, at Chowringhee, where you now stand in a spacious verandah, supported by lofty Grecian pillars, only sixty short years ago the defenceless villagers could scarce bar out the prowling tiger; and that, were this city to become suddenly depopulated, in sixty more, these perishable palaces of timber, brick and chunam, would totally disappear, and rank vegetation conceal the very ground they stand upon! Such a fate, however, is not to be apprehended for Calcutta. Long after our interest in it, as Englishmen, may have ceased by the entire loss of our Indian possessions as governors, it will continue a populous, powerful, and wealthy city. Although we do not admit of colonization in India, a class of natives connected with us by BLOOD, language, habits, education, and religion, is rapidly growing into consequence, in point of numbers, possessions, awakened desires, enlarged and enlightened views. They are already the small merchants, the shopkeepers, the citizens, in fact, of our Presidencies. They are shut out from the service of the Company; but that they are the subjects of the Company, must never be forgotten. The British blood and the native blood in their veins are alike hateful to them; for the Englishman and the Hindoo alike disclaim them: but as the light of knowledge beams upon them, they see and feel that "honour and shame from no condition rise." The revolution of a few short years will fearfully increase their numbers; and, if the moral and mental improvement of this class, now reckoning in it many men of talent, integrity, and piety, keeps pace with

that increase, we must not expect, nor ought we to wish, that they should look upon themselves as outcasts, without a country they dare call their own; without the common privileges of freeborn men; without eligibility to honour, wealth, or usefulness; or to to any share in the government of themselves.'—*Ibid.* pp. 114–116.

The following reflections are also equally just and important.

'Nothing, perhaps, so much damps the ardour of a traveller in India, as to find that he may wander league after league, visit city after city, village after village, and still only see the outside of Indian society. The house he cannot enter, the group he cannot join, the domestic circle he cannot gaze upon, the free unrestrained converse of the natives he can never listen to. He may talk with his moonshee or his pundit; ride a few miles with a Mahometan sirdar; receive and return visits of ceremony among petty nawabs and rajahs; or be presented at a native court; But behind the scenes in India he cannot advance one step. All the natives are, in comparative rank, a few far above; the many far below him: and the bars to intercourse with Mahometans as well as Hindoos, arising from our faith, are so many, that to live upon terms of intimacy or acquaintance with them is impossible. Nay, in this particular, when our establishments were young and small, our officers few, necessarily active, necessarily linguists, and unavoidably, as well as from policy, conforming more to native manners, it is probable that more was known about the natives from practical experience than is at present, or may be again.'—*Ibid.* pp. 213, 214.

The author first went up the country as far as Agra, visiting and musing over all the remarkable places in his way—and then returned through the heart of India—the country of Scindiah and the Deccan, to the Mysore. Though travelling only as a British regimental officer, and without public character of any kind, it is admirable to see with what uniform respect and attention he was treated, even by the lawless soldiery among whom he had frequently to pass. The indolent and mercenary Bramins seem the only class of persons from whom he experienced any sort of incivility. In an early part of his route he had the good luck to fall in with Scindiah himself; and the picture he has given of that turbulent leader is worth preserving.

'As we passed back round the fort, we were fortunate enough to meet Scindiah returning from the chase, surrounded by all his chiefs; and preceded or followed by about seven hundred horse. Discharges of cannon announced his approach; and a few light scattered parties of spearmen were marching before the main body. We stopped our elephants just on one side of a narrow part of the road, where the rajah and chiefs with his immediate escort must pass.

'First came loose light-armed horse, either in the road, or scrambling and leaping on the rude banks and ravines near; then some bet-

ter clad, with the quilted poshauk; and one in a complete suit of chain-armour; then a few elephants, among them the hunting elephant of Scindiah, from which he had dismounted. On one small elephant, guiding it himself, rode a fine boy, a foundling protegé of Scindiah, called the Jungle Rajah; then came, slowly prancing, a host of fierce, haughty, chieftains, on fine horses, showily caparisoned. They darted forward, and all took their proud stand behind and round us, planting their long lances on the earth, and reining up their eager steeds to see, I suppose, our salaam. Next, in a common native palkee, its canopy crimson, and not adorned, came Scindiah himself. He was plainly dressed, with a reddish turban, and a shawl over his vest, and lay reclined, smoking a small gilt or golden calean. We stood up in our howdah and bowed; he half rose in his palkee, and salaamed rather in a courteous manner. At this there was a loud cry of all his followers near, who sung out his titles, and the honour he had done us, &c. And all salaamed themselves profoundly.

'I looked down on the chiefs under us, and saw that they eyed us most haughtily, which very much increased the effect they would otherwise have produced. They were armed with lance, scymitar and shield, creese and pistol; wore, some shawls, some tissues, some plain muslin or cotton; were all much wrapped in clothing; and wore, almost all, a large fold of muslin, tied over the turban-top, which they fasten under the chin; and which, strange as it may sound to those who have never seen it, looks *warlike*, and is a very important defence to the sides of the neck.

'How is it that we can have a heart-stirring sort of pleasure in gazing on brave and armed men, though we know them to be fierce, lawless and cruel?—though we know stern ambition to be the chief feature of many warriors, who, from the cradle to the grave, seek only fame; and to which, in such as I write of, is added avarice the most pitiless? I cannot tell. But I recollect often before, in my life, being thus moved. Once, especially, I stood over a gateway in France, as a prisoner, and saw file in several squadrons of gens-d'armerie d'elite, returning from the fatal field of Leipsic. They were fine, noble-looking men, with warlike helmets of steel and brass, and drooping plumes of black horse-hair; belts handsome and broad; heavy swords; were many of them decorated with the cross of the Legion of Honour. Their trumpets flourished; and I felt my heart throb with an admiring delight, which found relief only in an involuntary tear. What an inconsistent riddle is the human heart!—*Ibid.* pp. 260–264.

In the interior of the country there are large tracts of waste lands, and a very scanty and unsettled population.

'On the route I took, there was only one inhabited village in fifty-five miles; the spots named for halting-places were in small valleys, green with young corn, and under cultivation, but neglected sadly. A few straw huts, blackened and beat down by rain, with

rude and broken implements of husbandry lying about, and a few of those round hardened thrashing-floors, tell the traveller that some wandering families, of a rude unsettled people, visit these vales at sowing time and harvest; and labour indolently at the necessary, but despised, task of the peaceful ryot.'—*Ibid.* p. 300.

'I enjoyed my march through these wilds greatly. Now you wound through narrow and deeply wooded glens; now ascended ghauts; or went down the mouths of passes; now skirted the foot of a mountain; now crossed a small plain covered with the tall jungled-grass, from which, roused by your horse tramp, the neelgae looked upon you; then flying with active bound, or pausing doubtful trot, joined the more distant herd. You continually cross clear sparkling rivulets, with rocky or pebbly beds; and you hear the voice of waters among all the woody hills around you. There was a sort of thrill too, at knowing these jungles were filled with all the ferocious beasts known in India, (except elephants, which are not found here), and at night, in hearing their wild roars and cries. I saw, one morning, on the side of a hill, about 500 yards from me, in an open glade near the summit, a lioness pass along, and my guide said there were many in these jungles.

'The ravages made by the tigers on the poor native travellers, such as hircarrahs or Dawk carriers, on these roads, are dreadful. At particular stations in the jungles, are small guard-houses, containing a few persons armed, whose principal duty is to fire and burn the grass and jungle for a few yards on each side of the road; and this duty they very greatly and shamefully neglect.'—*Ibid.* pp. 305, 306.

'In a particularly romantic pass, I met the entire population of a village returning to the valley of the Nerbuddah, from whence they had been driven during the late war; and carrying with them the oxen, the implements of husbandry, the few household utensils and valuables they had been able, when flying, to save from the spoiler. I felt my heart throb with pleasure as I looked on these groups of all ages, and both sexes; all with countenances lighted up with joy at the prospect of soon gaining the thrashing-floor and wells of their forefathers. They salaamed to me with an air that said, the protection and security of their lives and properties they were about cheerfully to confide to us.'—*Ibid.* pp. 313, 314.

We should like to have added his brilliant account of several native festivals, both Hindu and Mahometan, and his admirable descriptions of the superb monuments at Agra, and the fallen grandeur of Goa: But the extracts we have now given must suffice as specimens of the 'Sketches of India'—and the length of them indeed, we fear, will leave us less room than we could have wished for the 'Scenes and Impressions in Egypt and in Italy.'

This volume, which is rather larger than the other, contains more than the title promises; and embraces indeed the whole

history of the author's peregrinations, from his embarkation at Bombay to his landing at Dover. It is better written, we think, than the former. The descriptions are better finished, the reflections bolder, and the topics more varied. There is more of poetical feeling, too, about it; and a more constant vein of allusion to subjects of interest. He left India in December 1822, in an Arab vessel for the Red Sea—and is very happy, we think, in his first sketches of the ship and the voyage.

'Our vessel was one, rude and ancient in her construction as those which, in former and successive ages, carried the rich freights of India for the Ptolemies, the Roman prefects, and the Arabian caliphs of Egypt. She had, indeed, the wheel and the compass; and our nakhoda, with a beard as black and long, and a solemnity as great as that of a magician, daily performed the miracle of taking an observation! But although these "peeping contrivances" of the Giaours have been admitted, yet they build their craft with the same clumsy insecurity, and rig them in the same inconvenient manner as ever. Our vessel had a lofty broad stern, unmanageable in wearing; one enormous sail on a heavy yard of immense length, which was tardily hoisted by the efforts of some fifty men on a stout mast, placed a little before midships, and raking forwards; her head low, without any bowsprit; and, on the poop, a mizen uselessly small, with hardly canvass enough for a fishing-boat. Our lading was cotton, and the bales were piled up on her decks to a height at once awkward and unsafe. In short, she looked like part of a wharf, towering with bales, accidentally detached from its quay, and floating on the waters.'—*Scenes in Egypt*, pp. 3, 4.

He then gives a picturesque description of the crew, and the motley passengers—among whom there were some women, who were never seen or heard during the whole course of the voyage. So jealous, indeed, and complete was their seclusion, that though one of them *died* and was committed to the sea during the passage, the event was not known to the crew or passengers for several days after it had occurred. 'Not even 'a husband entered their apartment during the voyage—be-'cause the women were mixed: an eunuch who cooked for 'them, alone had access.'

'Abundantly, however,' he adds, 'was I amused in looking upon the scenes around me, and some there were not readily to be forgotten:—when, at the soft and still hour of sunset, while the full sail presses down the vessel's bows on the golden ocean-path, which swells to meet, and then sinks beneath them,—then, when these Arabs group for their evening sacrifice, bow down with their faces to the earth, and prostrate their bodies in the act of worship—when the broad ameën, deeply intoned from many assembled voices, strikes upon the listener's ear—the heart responds, and throbs with its own

silent prayer. There is a solemnity and a decency in their worship belonging, in its very forms, to the age and the country of the Patriarchs; and it is necessary to call to mind all that the Mohammedans are, and have been—all that their prophet taught, and that their Koran enjoins and promises, before we can look, without being strongly moved, on the Mussulman prostrate before his God.'—*Scenes in Egypt*, pp. 13, 14.

They land prosperously at Mocha, of which he gives rather a pleasing account, and again embark with the same fine weather for Djidda—anchoring every night under the rocky shore, and generally indulging the passengers with an hour's ramble among its solitudes. The following poetical sketch of the camel is the fruit of one of these excursions.

'The grazing camel, at that hour when the desert reddens with the setting sun, is a fine object to the eye which seeks and feeds on the picturesque—his tall, dark form—his indolently leisure walk—his ostrich neck, now lifted to its full height, now bent slowly, and far around, with a look of unalarmed inquiry. You cannot gaze upon him, without, by the readiest and most natural suggestions, reverting in thought to the world's infancy—to the times and possessions of the shepherd kings, their tents and raiment, their journeyings and settlings. The scene, too, in the distance, and the hour, eventide, and the uncommon majesty of that dark, lofty, and irregular range of rocky mountain, which ends in the black cape of Ras el Askar, formed an assemblage not to be forgotten.'—*Ibid.* p. 42.

At Djidda they had an audience of the Aga, which is well described in the following short passage.

'Rustan Aga himself was a fine-looking, haughty, martial man, with mustachios, but no beard: he wore a robe of scarlet cloth. Hussein Aga, who sat on his left, had a good profile, a long grizzled beard, with a black ribbon bound over one eye, to conceal its loss. He wore a robe of pale blue. The other person, Araby Jellauny, was an aged and a very plain man. The attendants, for the most part, wore large dark brown dresses, fashioned into the short Turkish vest or jacket, and the large, full, Turkish trowsers; their sashes were crimson, and the heavy ornamented buts of their pistols protruded from them; their crooked scimitars hung in silken cords before them; they had white turbans, large mustachios, but the cheek and chin cleanly shaven. Their complexions were in general very pale, as of men who pass their lives in confinement. They stood with their arms folded, and their eyes fixed on us. I shall never forget them. There were a dozen or more. I saw nothing like this after, not even in Egypt, for Djidda is an excellent government, both on account of its port, and its vicinity to Mecca; and Rustan Aga had a large establishment, and was something of a magnifico. He has the power of life and death. A word, a sign from him, and these men, who stand before you in an attitude so respectful, with an aspect so calm, so pale, would smile—and slay you!—Here I first saw

the true scribe; well robed, and dressed in turban, trowsers, and soft slipper, like one of rank among the people; his inkstand with its pen-case has the look of some weapon, and is worn like a dagger in the folds of the sash; it is of silver or brass—this was of silver. When summoned to use it, he takes some paper out of his bosom, cuts it into shape with scissors, then writes his letter by dictation, presents it for approval; it is tossed back to him with a haughty and careless air, and the ring drawn off and passed or thrown to him, to affix the seal. He does every thing on his knees, which are tucked up to serve him as a desk.'—*Ibid.* pp. 47–49.

'What most gratified me was the sight of the Turkish soldiery; there was a large body in garrison here—a division of that army which had been sent from Egypt against the Hedjaz, two or three years before. Scattered in groups through the bazaar, and reclining or squatted on the benches of the coffee-houses, these men were everywhere to be seen; some in turbans and vests covered with tarnished embroidery; others only in waistcoats with the small red cap, the red stocking, the bare knee, the white kilt, the loose shirt sleeve, which, with many, was tucked up to the very shoulder, and showed a nervous, hairy arm; all had pistols in their red girdles. Their complexions and features various; but very many among them had eyes of the lightest colours, and the hair on their upper lips of a sun-scorched brown or of a dirty yellow. They have a look at once indolent and ferocious, such as the tiger would have basking in the sun, and they are not less savage. The Turkish soldier would sit, smoke, and sleep, for a year or years together; he hates exertion and scorns discipline, but has within him a capability of great efforts, and an undaunted spirit. He will rise from his long rest to give the "wild halloo," and rush fearless to the battle. These troops were originally sent to Egypt from Constantinople, and were alike familiar with the snows of Thrace and the sun of Arabia; men who had, perhaps, seen the Russian in his furs, or bivouacked near the dark-rolling Danube. Such are the men who shed the blood of the peaceful Greek families in the gardens of Scio; and such are the men (let it not be forgotten) who, a short century ago, encamped under the walls of Vienna.'—*Ibid.* pp. 52, 53.

They embark, a third time, for Kosseir, and then proceed on camels across the Desert to Thebes. The following account of their progress is excellent—at once precise, picturesque, and poetical.

'The road through the desert is most wonderful in its features: a finer cannot be imagined. It is wide, hard, firm, winding, for at least two-thirds of the way, from Kosseir to Thebes, between ranges of rocky hills, rising often perpendicularly on either side, as if they had been scarped by art; here, again, rather broken, and overhanging, as if they were the lofty banks of a mighty river, and you traversing its dry and naked bed. Now you are quite landlocked; now again you open on small valleys, and see, upon heights beyond, small

square towers. It was late in the evening when we came to our ground, a sort of dry bay; sand, burning sand, with rock and cliff, rising in jagged points, all around—a spot where the waters of ocean might sleep in stillness, or, with the soft voice of their gentlest ripple, lull the storm-worn mariner. The dew of the night before had been heavy; we therefore pitched our tent, and decided on starting, in future, at a very early hour in the morning, so as to accomplish our march before noon. It was dark when we moved off, and even cold. Your camel is impatient to rise ere you are well seated on him; gives a shake, too, to warm his blood, and half dislodges you; marches rather faster than by day, and gives, occasionally, a hard quick stamp with his broad callous foot. Our moon was far in her wane. She rose, however, about an hour after we started, all red, above the dark hills on our left; yet higher rose, and paler grew, till at last she hung a silvery crescent in the deep blue sky. I claim for the traveller a love of that bright planet far beyond what the fixed and settled resident can ever know;—the meditation of the lover, the open lattice, the guitar, the villagers' castanets, are all in sweet character with the moon, or on her increase, or full-orbed; but the traveller (*especially in the East*), he loves her in her wane; so does the soldier at his still picquet of the night; and the sailor, on his silent watch, when she comes and breaks in upon the darkness of the night to sooth and bless him.

'Who passes the desert and says all is barren, all lifeless? In the grey morning you may see the common pigeon, and the partridge, and the pigeon of the rock, alight before your very feet, and come upon the beaten camel-paths for food. They are tame, for they have not learned to fear, or to distrust the men who pass these solitudes. The camel-driver would not lift a stone to them; and the sportsman could hardly find it in his heart to kill these gentle tenants of the desert. The deer might tempt him; I saw but one; far, very far, he caught the distant camel tramp, and paused, and raised and threw back his head to listen, then away to the road instead of from it; but far ahead he crossed it, and then away up a long slope he fleetly stole, and off to some solitary spring which wells, perhaps, where no traveller, no human being has ever trod.' *Ibid.* pp. 71–74.

The emerging from this lonely route is given with equal spirit and freshness of colouring.

'It was soon after daybreak, on the morrow, just as the sun was beginning to give his rich colouring of golden yellow to the white pale sand, that as I was walking alone at some distance far ahead of my companions, my eyes bent on the ground, and lost in thought, their kind and directing shout made me stop, and raise my head, when lo! a green vale, looking through the soft mist of morning, rather a vision than a reality, lay stretched in its narrow length before me. *The Land of Egypt!* We hurried panting on, and gazed, and were silent. In an hour we reached the village of Hejazi, situated on the very edge of the Desert. We alighted at a cool, clean

serai, having its inner room, with a large and small bath for the Mussulman's ablutions, its kiblah in the wall, and a large brimming water-trough in front for the thirsting camel. We walked forth into the fields, saw luxuriant crops of green bearded wheat, waving with its lights and shadows; stood under the shade of trees, saw fluttering and chirping birds; went down to a well and a water wheel, and stood, like children, listening to the sound of the abundant and bright-flashing water, as it fell from the circling pots; and marked all around, scattered individually or in small groups, many people in the fields, oxen and asses grazing, and camels too among them.' *Ibid.* pp. 80, 81.

All this, however, is inferior to his first eloquent account of the gigantic ruins of Luxore, and the emotions to which they gave rise. We know nothing indeed better, in its way, than most of the following passages.

'Before the grand entrance of this vast edifice, which consists of many separate structures, formerly united in one harmonious design, two lofty obelisks stand proudly pointing to the sky, fair as the daring sculptor left them. The sacred figures and hieroglyphic characters which adorn them, are cut beautifully into the hard granite, and have the sharp finish of yesterday. The very stone looks not discoloured. You see them, as Cambyses saw them, when he stayed his chariot wheels to gaze up at them, and the Persian war-cry ceased before these acknowledged symbols of the sacred element of fire.—Behind them are two colossal figures, in part concealed by the sand, as is the bottom of a choked-up gateway, the base of a massive propylon, and, indeed, their own.—Very noble are all these remains, and on the propylon is a war scene, much spoken of; but my eyes were continually attracted to the aspiring obelisks, and again and again you turn to look at them, with increasing wonder and silent admiration.' *Ibid.* pp. 86, 87.

'With a quick-beating heart, and steps rapid as my thoughts, I strode away, took the path to the village of Karnac, skirted it, and passing over loose sand, and, among a few scattered date trees, I found myself in the grand alley of the sphinxes, and directly opposite that noble gateway, which has been called triumphal; certainly triumph never passed under one more lofty, or, to my eye, of a more imposing magnificence. On the bold curve of its beautifully projecting cornice, a globe coloured, as of fire, stretches forth long overshadowing wings of the very brightest azure.—This wondrous and giant portal stands well; alone, detached a little way from the mass of the great ruins, with no columns, walls, or propylæa immediately near. I walked slowly up to it, through the long lines of sphinxes which lay couchant on either side of the broad road (once paved), as they were marshalled by him who planned these princely structures, we know not when. They are of a stone less durable than granite: their general forms are fully preserved, but the detail of execution is, in most of them, worn away.—In those forms, in that

couched posture, in the decaying, shapeless heads, the huge worn paws, the little image between them, and the sacred *tau* grasped in its crossed hands, there is something which disturbs you with a sense of awe. In the locality you cannot err; you are on a highway to a heathen temple; one that the Roman came, as you come, to visit and admire, and the Greek before him. And you know that priest and king, lord and slave, the festival throng and the solitary worshipper, trod for centuries where you do: and you know that there has been the crowding flight of the vanquished towards their sanctuary and last hold, and the quick trampling of armed pursuers, and the neighing of the war-horse, and the voice of the trumpet, and the shout, as of a king, among them, all on this silent spot. And you see before you, and on all sides, ruins:—the stones which formed wells and square temple-towers thrown down in vast heaps; or still, in large masses, erect as the builder placed them, and where their material has been fine, their surfaces and corners smooth, sharp, and uninjured by time. They are neither grey or blackened; like the bones of man, they seem to whiten under the sun of the desert. Here is no lichen, no moss, no rank grass or mantling ivy, no wall-flower or wild fig-tree to robe them, and to conceal their deformities, and bloom above them. No;—all is the nakedness of desolation—the colossal skeleton of a giant fabric standing in the unwatered sand, in solitude and silence.

'There are no ruins like these ruins. In the first court you pass into, you find one large, lofty, solitary column, erect among heaped and scattered fragments, which had formed a colonnade of one-and-twenty like it. You pause awhile, and then move slowly on. You enter a wide portal, and find yourself surrounded by one hundred and fifty columns,* on which I defy any man, sage or savage, to look unmoved. Their vast proportions the better taste of after days rejected and disused; but the still astonishment, the serious gaze, the thickening breath of the awed traveller, are tributes of an admiration, not to be checked or frozen by the chilling *rules* of taste.

'We passed the entire day in these ruins, wandering about alone, as inclination led us. Detailed descriptions I cannot give; I have neither the skill or the patience to count and to measure. I ascended a wing of the great propylon on the west, and sat there long. I crept round the colossal statues; I seated myself on a fallen obelisk, and gazed up at the three, yet standing erect amid huge fragments of fallen granite. I sauntered slowly round every part, examining the paintings and hieroglyphics, and listening now and then, not without a smile, to our polite little *cicerone*, as with the air of a condescending *savant*, he pointed to many of the symbols, saying, 'this means water,' and 'that means land,' 'this stability,' 'that life,' and 'here is the name of Berenice.'—*Ibid.* pp. 88–92.

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* The central row have the enormous diameter of eleven French feet, the others that of eight!

'From hence we bade our guide conduct us to some catacombs; he did so, in the naked hill just above. Some are passages, some pits; but, in general, passages in the side of the hill. Here and there you may find a bit of the rock or clay, smoothed and painted, or bearing the mark of a thin fallen coating of composition; but, for the most part, they are quite plain. Bones, rags, and the scattered limbs of skeletons, which have been torn from their coffins, stripped of their grave-clothes, and robbed of the sacred scrolls, placed with them in the tomb, lie in or around these "open sepulchres." We found nothing; but surely the *very rag* blown to your feet is a relic. May it not have been woven by some damsel under the shade of trees, with the song that lightens labour, twenty centuries ago? or may it not have been carried with a sigh to the tiring-men of the temple by one who bought it to swathe the cold and stiffened limbs of a being loved in life, and mourned and honoured in his death? Yes, it is a relic; and one musing on which a warm fancy might find wherewithal to beguile a long and solitary walk.'—*Ibid.* pp. 100, 101.

'We then returned across the plain to our boat, passing and pausing before those celebrated statues so often described. They are seated on thrones, looking to the east, and on the Nile; in this posture they are upwards of fifty feet in height; and their bodies, limbs and heads, are large, spreading and disproportioned. These are very awful monuments. They bear the form of man; and there is a something in their very posture which touches the soul: they sit erect, calm; they have seen generation upon generation swept away, and still their stony gaze is fixed on man toiling and perishing at their feet! 'Twas late and dark ere we reached our home. The day following we again crossed to the western bank, and rode through a narrow hot valley in the Desert, to the tombs of the kings. Your Arab catches at the head of your ass in a wild dreary looking spot, about five miles from the river, and motions you to alight. On every side of you rise low, but steep hills, of the most barren appearance, covered with loose and crumbling stones, and you stand in a narrow bridle-path, which seems to be the bottom of a natural ravine; you would fancy that you had lost your way, but your guide leads you a few paces forward, and you discover in the side of the hill an opening like the shaft of a mine. At the entrance, you observe that the rock, which is a close-grained, but soft stone, has been cut smooth and painted. He lights your wax torch, and you pass into a long corridor. On either side are small apartments which you stoop down to enter, and the walls of which you find covered with paintings: scenes of life faithfully represented; of *every-day life*, its pleasures and labours; the instruments of its happiness, and of its crimes. You turn to each other with a delight, not however unmixed with sadness, to mark how much the days of man then passed, as they do to this very hour. You see the labours of agriculture—the sower, the basket, the plough; the steers; and the artist has playfully depicted a calf skipping among the furrows. You have the making of

bread, the cooking for a feast; you have a flower garden, and a scene of irrigation; you see couches, sofas, chairs, and arm-chairs, such as might, this day, adorn a drawing-room in London or Paris; you have vases of every form down to the *common jug*, (ay! such as the brown one of Toby Philpot); you have harps, with figures bending over them, and others seated and listening; you have barks, with large, curious, and many-coloured sails; lastly, you have weapons of war, the sword, the dagger, the bow, the arrow, the quiver, spears, helmets, and dresses of honour.—The other scenes on the walls represent processions and mysteries, and all the apartments are covered with them or hieroglyphics. There is a small chamber with the cow of Isis, and there is one large room in an *unfinished* state,—designs chalked off, that were to have been completed on that to-morrow, which never came.—*Ibid.* pp. 104–109.

But we must hurry on. We cannot afford to make an abstract of this book, and indeed can find room but for a few more specimens. He meets with a *Scotch* Mameluke at Cairo; and is taken by Mr Salt to the presence of Ali Pacha. He visits the pyramids of course, describes rapidly and well the whole process of the visit—and thus moralizes the conclusion.

'He who has stood on the summit of the most ancient, and yet the most mighty monument of his power and pride ever raised by man, and has looked out and round to the far horizon, where Lybia and Arabia lie silent, and hath seen, at his feet, *the land of Egypt* dividing their dark solitudes with a narrow vale, beautiful and green, the mere enamelled setting of one solitary shining river, must receive impressions which he can never convey, for he cannot define them to himself.

'They are the tombs of Cheops and Cephrenes, says the Grecian. They are the tombs of Seth and Enoch, says the wild and imaginative Arabian; an English traveller with a mind warmed, perhaps, and misled by his heart, tells you that the large pyramid *may* have contained the ashes of the patriarch Joseph. It is all this which constitutes the very charm of a visit to these ancient monuments. You smile, and your smile is followed and reproved by a sigh. One thing you *know*—that the chief, and the philosopher, and the poet of the times of old, men "who mark fields as they pass with their own mighty names," have certainly been here; that Alexander has spurred his war-horse to its base; and Pythagoras, with naked foot, has probably stood upon its summit.'—*Ibid.* pp. 158, 159.

Cairo is described in great detail, and frequently with great feeling and eloquence. He saw a *live* cameleopard there—very beautiful and gentle. One of his most characteristic sketches, however, is that of the female slave market.

'We stopped before the gate of a large building, and, turning, entered a court of no great size, with a range of apartments all

round; open doors showed that they were dark and wretched. At them, or before them, stood or sat small groups of female slaves; also from within these chambers, you might catch the moving eyes and white teeth of those who shunned the light. There was a gallery above with other rooms, and slave girls leaning on the rail—laughter, all laughter—their long hair in numerous falling curls, white with fat; their faces, arms, and bosoms shining with grease. Exposure in the market is the moment of their joy. Their cots, their country, the breast that gave them suck, the hand that led their tottering steps not forgotten, but resigned, given up, as things gone for ever, left in another world. The toils and terrors of the wide desert, the hard and scanty fare, the swollen foot, the whip, the scalding tear, the curse; all, all are behind: hope meets them here and paints some master kind; some mistress gentle; some babe or child to win the heart of;—as bond-women they may bear a son, and live and die the contented inmates of some quiet harem. You see they laugh, and some wear even a wanton look—they are quite *happy!* No,—look at that scowling, dark-browed Moor; he is their owner; it is to please, or to escape from him, they smile: you think otherwise of that one; well, perhaps it is nature prompts her; but the many, and those wild, shy groups within—could we sit, and hear, and understand the simple history of every smiler there, we should go home and shudder.'—*Ibid.* pp. 178, 179.

He does not think much of Ali's new Institute—though he was assured by one of the tutors that its pupils were to be taught 'everything!' We have learned, from unquestionable authority, that from this *everything*, all that relates to Politics, Religion and Philosophy, is expressly excluded; and that little is proposed to be taught but the elements of the useful arts. There is a scanty library of European books, almost all French—the most conspicuous backed, 'Victoires des Français;'—and beside these, 'Les Liaisons Dangereuses'—only *one* book in English, though not ill-chosen—'Malcolm's Persia.' He was detained at Alexandria in a time of plague—and, after all, was obliged to return, when four days at sea, to land two sick men, and perform a new quarantine of observation. The passage to Malta produced but few adventures; but, for the sake of the Greeks, we must make room for the following passage. One morning they saw two vessels in the offing.

'The schooner made sail, and stood towards us in pretty style; when nearly up with us, down came the topsail, and up ran the Greek independent flag; and she fired a gun and brought us to. Our captain, whose great fault in my eye had been a constant and indiscriminate abuse of the Greek, of whom he could know little, and praise of the Turk, of whom he knew nothing, was alarmed lest they should overhaul, seize him, or do worse, and immediately said, "Now you will see what these rascals will do." Nothing could be

more orderly or respectful than their bearing. The captain, a grave, dark, erect man, of about forty, stood at his gangway, and hailed us through his speaking trumpet; his costume, that of the Asiatic Greek, which is very similar to the Turk, but he wore a large broad straw hat overshadowing his face. As he stood, his person exposed at his gangway, he had a manly commanding look, and still more so as he stepped down into his boat, and again, when he stood up in it as it pulled under our stern, and rose, sunk, and swayed to the high and buoyant waves. He asked a few questions about the sailing of the Egyptian squadron, our landing, time out, &c. He saluted as he came alongside, and as he pulled off; and his boat shot handsomely athwart our bows and away. The boat's crew were handsome, bold-looking young men, turbaned; among them was a youth who pulled at the bow oar, of a very fair complexion, with a remarkably fine and fearless expression of countenance. On board the vessel, which was a fine seaboat, and well armed, everything was done smartly, well, and in seamanlike style,—you heard but the whistle, and she made sail and away.

'May the God of battles prosper them! say I. The open honest Turk, and the cunning deceitful Greek, as I have too often heard Englishmen designate them. Who makes the Grecian what he is? As noble thoughts find a place in his bosom, they will swell and expand, and force out all the weaker weeds, which would choke their growth. I know not how the Englishman, who *is free*, or the Christian, who has a Bible, can say his prayers, and wish the Turk success.—*Ibid.* pp. 218–220.

There is an admirable description of Valetta, and the whole island—and then of Syracuse and Catania; but we can give only the night ascent to Ætna—and that rather for the scene of the Sicilian cottage, than for the sketch of the mighty mountain.

'It was near ten o'clock when the youth who led the way stopped before a small dark cottage in a by-lane of Nicolosi, the guide's he said it was, and hailed them. The door was opened; a light struck; and the family was roused, and collected round me; a grey-headed old peasant and his wife; two hardy, plain, dark young men, brothers (one of whom was in his holiday garb, new breeches, and red garters, and flowered waistcoat, and clean shirt, and shining buttons); a girl of sixteen, handsome; a "mountain-girl beaten with winds," looking curious, yet fearless and "chaste as the hardened rock on which she dwelt;" and a boy of twelve, an unconscious figure in the group, fast slumbering in his clothes on the hard floor. Glad were they of the dollar-bringing stranger, but suprised at the excellenza's fancy for coming at that hour; cheerfully, however, the gay youth stripped off his holiday-garb, and put on a dirty shirt and thick brown clothes, and took his cloak and went to borrow a mule (for I found, by their consultation, that there was some trick, this not being

the regular privileged guide family. During his absence, the girl brought me a draught of wine, and all stood round with welcoming and flattering laughings, and speeches in Sicilian, which I did not understand, but which gave me pleasure, and made me look on their dirty and crowded cottage as one I had rather trust to, if I knocked at it even without a dollar, than the lordliest mansion of the richest noble in Sicily.

'For about four miles, your mule stumbles along safely over a bed of lava, lying in masses on the road; then you enter the woody region: the wood is open, of oaks, not large, yet good-sized trees, growing amid fern; and, lastly, you come out on a soft barren soil, and pursue the ascent till you find a glistering white crust of snow of no depth, cracking under your mule's tread; soon after, you arrive at a stone cottage, called Casa Inglese, of which my guide had not got the key; here you dismount, and we tied up our mules close by, and scrambling over huge blocks of lava, and up the toilsome and slippery ascent of the cone, I sat me down on ground all hot, and smoking with sulphureous vapour, which has for the first few minutes the effect of making your eyes smart, and water, of oppressing and taking away your breath. It yet wanted half an hour to the break of day, and I wrapped my cloak close round me to guard me from the keen air, which came up over the white cape of snow that lay spread at the foot of the smoking cone, where I was seated.

'The earliest dawn gave to my view the awful crater, with its two deep mouths, from one whereof there issued large volumes of thick white smoke, pressing up in closely crowding clouds; and all around, you saw the earth loose, and with crisped, yellow-mouthed small cracks, up which came little, light, thin wreathes of smoke that soon dissipated in the upper air, &c.—And when you turn to gaze downwards and see the golden sun come up in light and majesty to bless the waking millions of your fellows, and the dun vapours of the night roll off below, and capes, and hills, and towns, and the wide ocean are seen as through a thin unearthly veil; your eyes fill, and your heart swells; all the blessings you enjoy, all the innocent pleasures you find in your wanderings, that preservation, which in storm, and in battle, and mid the pestilence, was mercifully given to your half-breathed prayer, all rush in a moment on your soul.'—*Ibid.* pp. 253–257.

The following brief sketch of the rustic auberges of Sicily is worth preserving, as well as the sentiment with which it closes.

'The chambers of these rude inns would please, at first, any one. Three or four beds (mere planks upon iron trestles), with broad, yellow-striped, coarse mattresses, turned up on them; a table and chairs of wood, blackened by age, and of forms belonging to the past century; a daub or two of a picture, and two or three coloured prints of Madonnas and saints; a coarse table-cloth, and coarser napkin; a thin, blue-tinted drinking glass; dishes and plates of a striped, dirty-coloured, pimply ware; and a brass lamp with three

mouths, a shape common to Delhi, Cairo, and Madrid, and as ancient as the time of the Etruscans themselves.

'To me it had another charm; it brought Spain before me, the peasant and his cot, and my chance billets among that loved and injured people. Ah! I will not dwell on it; but this only I will venture to say, they err greatly, grossly, who fancy that the Spaniard, the most patiently brave and resolutely persevering man, as a man, on the continent of Europe, will wear long any yoke he feels galling and detestable.'—*Ibid.* pp. 268, 269.

The picture of Naples is striking, and reminds us in many places of Mad. de Staël's splendid sketches from the same subjects in Corrinne. But we must draw to a close now with our extracts; and shall add but one or two more, peculiarly characteristic of the gentle mind and English virtues of the author.

'I next went into the library, a noble room, and a vast collection. I should much like to have seen those things which are shown here, especially the handwriting of Tasso. I was led as far, and into the apartment where they are shown. I found priests reading, and men looking as if they were learned. I was confused at the creaking of my boots; I gave the hesitating look of a wish, but I ended by a blush, bowed, and retired. I passed again into the larger apartment, and I felt composed as I looked around. Why life, thought I, would be too short for any human being to read these folios; but yet, if safe from the pedant's frown, one could have a vast library to range in, there is little doubt that, with a love of truth, and a thirsting for knowledge, the man of middle age, who regretted his early closed lexicon, might open it again with delight and profit. While thus musing, in stamped two travellers,—my countrymen, my bold, brave countrymen—not intellectual, I could have sworn, or Lavater is a cheat—

"Pride in their port, defiance in their eye:"—

They strode across to confront the doctors, and demanded to see those sights to which the book directed and the grinning *domestique de place* led them. I envied them, and yet was angry with them; however, I soon bethought me, such are the men who are often sterling characters, true hearts. They will find no seduction in a southern sun, but back to the English girl they love best, to be liked by her softer nature the better for having seen Italy, and taught by her gentleness to speak about it pleasingly, and prize what they have seen:—Such are the men whom our poor men like,—who are generous masters and honest voters, faithful husbands and kind fathers; who, if they make us smiled at abroad in peace, make us feared in war, and any one of whom is worth to his country far more than a dozen mere sentimental wanderers.'—*Ibid.* pp. 296—298.

'Always on quitting the museum it is a relief to drive somewhere, that you may relieve the mind and refresh the sight with a view of earth and ocean. The view from the Belvedere, in the garden of

St Martino, close to the fortress of St Elmo, is said to be unequalled in the world. I was walking along the cloister to it, when I heard voices behind me, and saw an English family—father, mother, with daughter and son, of drawing-room and university ages. I turned aside that I might not intrude on them, and went to take my gaze when they came away from the little balcony. I saw no features; but the dress, the gentle talking, and the quietude of their whole manner, gave me great pleasure. A happy domestic English family! parents travelling to delight, improve, and *protect* their children; younger ones at home, perhaps, who will sit next summer on the shady lawn, and listen as Italy is talked over, and look at prints, and turn over a sister's sketch-book, and beg a brother's journal. Magically varied is the grandeur of the scene—the pleasant city; its broad bay; a little sea that knows no storms; its garden neighbourhood; its famed Vesuvius, not looking either vast, or dark, or dreadful—all bright and smiling, garmented with vineyards below, and its brow barren, yet not without a hue of that ashen or slaty blueness which improves a mountain's aspect; and far behind, stretched in their full bold forms, the shadowy Appenines. Gaze and go back, English; Naples, with all its beauties and its pleasures, its treasury of ruins, and recollections, and fair works of art; its soft music and balmy airs cannot make you happy; may gratify the gaze of taste, but never suit the habits of your mind. There are many homeless solitary Englishmen who might sojourn longer in such scenes, and be soothed by them; but to become dwellers, settled residents, would be, even for them, impossible.'—*Ibid.* pp. 301—303.

We must break off here—though there is much temptation to go on. But we have now shown enough of these volumes to enable our readers to judge safely of their character—and it would be unfair, perhaps, to steal more from their pages. We think we have extracted impartially; and are sensible, at all events, that we have given specimens of the faults as well as the beauties of the author's style. His taste in writing certainly is not unexceptionable. He is seldom quite simple or natural, and sometimes very *fade* and affected. He has little bits of inversions in his sentences, and small exclamations and ends of ordinary verse dangling about them, which we often wish away—and he talks rather too much of himself, and his ignorance and humility, while he is turning those fine sentences, and laying traps for our applause. But, in spite of all these things, the books are very interesting and instructive; and their merits greatly outweigh their defects. If the author has occasional failures, he has frequent felicities;—and, independent of the many beautiful and brilliant passages which he has furnished for our delight, has contrived to breathe over all his work a spirit of kindliness and contentment, which, if it does not minister (as it ought) to our improvement, must at least disarm our censure of all bitterness.

ART. III. *A Letter on the Present State and Future Prospects of Agriculture, addressed to the Agriculturists of Salop.* By W. W. WHITMORE, Esq. M. P. pp. 86. London, 1822.

THOUGH we have often endeavoured to demonstrate the impolicy of the existing Corn-laws, and the advantages that would result from their repeal, we make no apology for again reverting to a subject bearing so strongly on the best interests of the country. Perhaps, however, we should have deferred the remarks we have now to offer on these laws to a future opportunity, had we not learned that they are certainly to be brought under the consideration of the House of Commons during the ensuing session of Parliament. This circumstance has induced us to think that we might advantageously employ a few pages, not so much in discussing the general policy of restrictions on the corn-trade, as in showing the fallacy of those arguments *ad misericordiam* on which the agriculturists now principally rest their claims to protection. It is no longer contended, that monopolies and restrictions ought to be supported for their own sakes, or that they are intrinsically advantageous. The principles on which they are founded are now universally admitted to be unsound, even by those who attempt to justify them in their application to particular cases. None of the more intelligent advocates of the corn-laws now defend them on the ground of their being calculated to accelerate the progress of the country in wealth and civilization: On the contrary, they generally concede that this desirable result would be most effectually secured by allowing food to be purchased in the cheapest market: But they contend that, though the free admission of foreign corn might eventually lead to a greater increase of wealth, it would, in the first instance, be productive of ruin to the whole rural population of the country,—that their numbers would be diminished,—and that our agriculture, which they allege is the only sure foundation of national opulence, would be irreparably injured. Now, unquestionably, if it could be shown that these consequences would flow from the abolition of the restrictive system, it would be necessary to treat it with the greatest possible caution: And ministers might well be excused for doubting whether the prospective advantages to be derived from the freedom of the corn-trade, would be a sufficient compensation for the destruction of individual fortunes, the forced change of employments, and the wide-spread misery which it is affirmed would be occasioned by the transit from the restrictive

to a free system. We are satisfied, however, that the establishment of the perfect freedom of the corn-trade would be productive of no such results; and we think it will not be difficult to establish, beyond all question, that the fears and apprehensions of the agriculturists, whether real or pretended, are alike futile and visionary.

The erroneous opinions so industriously circulated respecting the price at which foreign corn might be obtained in our markets, are the cause of the false estimates that have been formed of the effect that would be produced by an entire freedom of trade. Some of the more zealous advocates of agricultural monopoly really seem to think that the serfs of Poland and Russia, and the untaxed democrats of North America, raise corn for nothing; and contend that, if there were no restrictions on the importation of their produce, it would be quite impossible to raise another bushel in England! And even those who are least apprehensive, state, that if the free importation of foreign corn were permitted, it would be sold at a lower price than would suffice to pay the cost of raising it on any but our *very best* soils; and that the unavoidable consequence of such importation would be, to throw *two-thirds*, or at least *a half*, of the land of England out of cultivation! In proof of this, we may mention, that, in March 1821, Mr Curwen stated, in his place in the House of Commons, on what he no doubt considered as unquestionable authority, that wheat might be grown in Poland at 8s. a quarter, and that 12s. or 13s. was considered a high remunerating price! To the same effect, Mr Ellman of Sussex, one of the leading agriculturists, stated to the Agricultural Committee of 1821, that he knew, from good authority, that the *best* Dantzic wheat might be delivered at Newhaven harbour, near Lewes, free of all charges, at 32s. or 33s. a quarter. And the other agricultural witnesses examined by the Committee concurred generally in opinion, that, in the event of the ports being opened, foreign wheat might, in ordinary years, be sold in London for 30s. or 35s.!

Such are the assertions of the agriculturists; and the only thing we have to regret is, that they should be utterly without foundation. We say *regret*, for whatever the agricultural doctors may say to the contrary, there can be no doubt that it would be of prodigious advantage to the public to be able to obtain sufficient supplies of wheat for 30s. or 35s. a quarter. Even such a fall of price would not be effectual to throw *one-fifth* of the land now in cultivation into pasture; at the same time that the reduction it would occasion in the rate of wages, would, by proportionally raising the rate

of profit, give an immense stimulus to industry in general, and would accelerate the progress of the country in a degree that could hardly be conceived possible. But, unfortunately, the perfect freedom of the corn-trade would procure us no such boon. It would indeed be a great and signal benefit, because it would secure us perpetual plenty, and present an insuperable obstacle to any very oppressive rise of prices in future; *but it would not at all depress them.* They have, for upwards of a twelvemonth, been nearly coincident with what would be their lowest *average limit* were the ports thrown open; and, however extraordinary it may appear to those who have been accustomed implicitly to subscribe to the dogmas of the late Mr Webb Hall and his Committee, we are prepared to show, *that every acre of land which it is possible to cultivate with profit at this moment,* might be so cultivated, were every restriction and prohibition abolished, and our artisans allowed full liberty to purchase their corn in the cheapest markets.*

To establish the perfect accuracy of this position, we shall subjoin a short review of the prices of corn at the principal foreign markets, beginning with that of Dantzic. Now, instead of 12s. or 13s. being, as Mr Curwen stated, considered by the Polish cultivators as a *high* remunerating price, Mr Oddy, who visited Dantzic, states, in his work on 'European Commerce,' published in 1805, that 32s. 6d. a quarter is *the lowest* price for which any considerable supply of wheat could be purchased at Dantzic. (p. 250.) In like manner, Mr Solly, an extensive corn-merchant, who was formerly in business at Dantzic, stated to the Committee of the House of Commons, that when there was *no direct foreign demand*, a quarter of wheat might be put on board ship at Dantzic for about 35s.; that the freight to London would be about 4s. 6d. or 5s. more; and that the expense attending its unloading and warehousing there, would be an additional 3s.; making its price to the importer about 43s. a quarter. (*Report, p.* 316.) Mr Solly farther stated, that when the foreign demand was considerable, the price was much higher; and according to the *data* given in his evidence, it is plain that *fine* Dantzic wheat could not be imported into London, in ordinary years, in the event of our ports being opened, at less than from 55s. to 60s. a quarter. To the same effect, Mr Grade of Dantzic states, in a letter printed in the Appendix to the Report (p. 364), that 'From a calculation made out by an eminent practical land 'proprietor in the adjoining province, it appears, that *if land*

* Average prices are now, the 25th of September, wheat 55s. 2d., rye 31s. 8d., barley 33s. 1d., oats 21s. 5d.

'*could be had for nothing, and reckoning upon no casualties, such* '*as a failure of the crop, extraordinary taxes, requisitions, quar-* '*tering of troops, &c. the mere producing prices of grain would be*

'300 f. Prussian currency per last of Wheat, or 31s. 9d. per quarter.
'150 f. ——————— per do. of Rye, or 15s. 10d. per do.
'120 f. ——————— pe. do. of Barley, or 12s. 8d. per do.
' 90 f. ——————— per do. of Oats, or 9s. 6d. per do.

'To these must be added, according to the distance and de- 'scription of grain, from 4s. to 6s. a quarter for bringing the 'produce to market, and incidental expenses on the same.' Mr Grade's statement corresponds to a fraction with that given by Mr Jacob in his evidence. (*Report, p.* 374.)

In farther corroboration of what we have just stated, we shall now lay before our readers a Table furnished to the Committee by Mr Grade, of the average prices of corn at Dantzic, free on board, in decennial periods from 1770 to 1820.

Average Price, from ten to ten years, of the different species of Corn, free on board, *per quarter, in Sterling money, at Dantzic.*

	Wheat.		Rye.		Barley.		Oats.	
	s.	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*
From 1770 to 1779, inclusive - -	33	9	21	8	16	1	11	1
1780 to 1789 -	33	10	22	1	17	11	12	4
1790 to 1799 -	43	8	26	3	19	3	12	6
1800 to 1809 -	60	0	34	10	25	1	13	1
1810 to 1819 -	55	4	31	1	26	0	20	4
Aggregate average price of the 49 years -	45	4	27	2	20	10	13	10

This authentic account agrees in every part with the statements in Mr Solly's evidence; and shows, that the average price of wheat at Dantzic is at least three or four times the amount mentioned by Mr Curwen. 7s. or 8s. a quarter is to be added for the expenses of freighting, warehousing, &c. in England.

It appears, indeed, from the Report of the English Consul (Parliamentary Papers, No. 289, Session 1823-4), * that the *average* price of wheat at Dantzic in 1823 was as low as 23s. a quarter; to which, if we add 3s. for putting it on board, and 8s. as freight, insurance, and port charges in London, its price to the importer would be 34s. a quarter, exclusive of all compensation on account of damage during the voyage, and

* The returns by the Consuls, given in this paper, only include the years 1822 and 1823.

other contingencies. But then it is to be observed, that although the average quality of the Dantzic wheat *exported for England*—and it is the price of such only that is given in the previous Table—is equal to the average quality of English wheat, there is a considerable supply of very inferior red wheat disposed of in the Dantzic market, partly for *home* consumption, and partly for exportation to Holland; and as the price of this inferior sort enters into the average given in the Consul's return, it must have the effect to depress it a good deal below what it would otherwise be. It should also be recollected that the Continental crops were unusually abundant last year, and that there was, in consequence, a comparatively limited exportation of wheat from Dantzic; and at all events it would be worse than absurd to draw any general conclusions from the price of a single year, more especially when there is *unquestionable evidence* to show that it is very considerably below what the Polish cultivators estimate as their lowest growing price, and when, therefore, it is certain the depression can only be of very temporary duration. *

The total quantity of wheat exported from Dantzic to foreign countries in 1801 and 1802, the years of greatest exportation, and when the price free on board was as high as 64s. 6d., amounted, according to Mr Oddy (European Commerce, p. 252), to 90,019 lasts, or 945,199 quarters; of which 638,148 quarters were exported to England, being at the rate of 319,074 quarters a year. Mr Solly is of opinion, that if the price of wheat in England was 80s., the ports on the Baltic and the north of Europe might furnish us with about a million of quarters; but that, if the price were only 60s., not more than 700,000 quarters could be drawn from thence. There can be little doubt, however, that in the event of the freedom of the corn trade being established, foreigners would regularly calculate on the demand of Britain, and that an increased quantity of corn would, in consequence, be raised for the supply of our markets. But, on the supposition that we imported 1,400,000 quarters from Northern Europe, or *double* the quantity which Mr Solly thinks we should be able to procure when our prices were at 60s., it would certainly fall short of a *twentieth* part of the total consumption of Great Britain. And as our greatest supplies must always be derived from these very countries, it is immediately seen how ridiculous it is to suppose that the perfect freedom of the corn trade could ever have the effect of rendering us in any considerable degree dependent on foreign supplies.

* In proof of what is stated in the text, we may mention, that *fine* Dantzic wheat, in *bond*, was selling in London in the first week of October at 48s. a quarter.

Amsterdam is, next to Dantzic, the greatest corn market of the Continent. Now, according to the statements in the Amsterdam Table of Prices, in the Report of the Committee of 1821, it appears, that the average price of *mixed* and *white* wheat was 62s. a quarter in 1819, and 42s. in 1820, when the price was considered unusually low. The Consul's return indeed gives only about 27s. as the *general* average price of wheat in Amsterdam in 1823. It must, however, be observed, that this average necessarily embraces a large supply of wheat from the Russian ports, including Archangel and Petersburgh, the produce of which is full 13s. a quarter inferior to that of England, and that it also embraces inferior samples raised at home: For these reasons, we are inclined to think that the prices of mixed and white wheats, the superior sorts, were not a great deal lower in Amsterdam last year than in 1820; though, had that been the case, yet as no corn of the growth of Holland is exported from Amsterdam, we could not have obtained any considerable supply without occasioning an instant and considerable rise of price. *

The Committee of the House of Commons did not collect any very full or particular accounts of the price of wheat in France. Luckily, however, it is not difficult to supply this deficiency. The last edition of the Marquis Garnier's excellent translation of the 'Wealth of Nations' (tom. 5. p. 178), contains the following Table of the price of wheat at Paris, from 1801 to 1819, both inclusive.

Price of the Hectolitre of Wheat at the Market of Paris.

Years.	Lowest Price.	Highest Price.	Average Price.
1801, -	19 fr. 19 cent.	22 fr. 99 cent.	21 fr. 09 cent.
1802, -	23 - 55 —	28 - 75 —	26 - 15 —
1803, -	18 - 06 —	20 - 70 —	19 - 38 —
1804, -	13 - 09 —	15 - 63 —	14 - 36 —
1805, -	17 - 60 —	19 - 80 —	18 - 70 —
1806, -	15 - 91 —	18 - 97 —	17 - 44 —
1807, -	13 - 77 —	20 - 27 —	18 - 52 —
1808, -	13 - 80 —	16 - 94 —	15 - 37 —

* At the same time that the Consul's return makes the average price of wheat in Amsterdam, in 1823, about 27s. a quarter, it makes its average price in Rotterdam exceed 35s.—a difference which can only be accounted for by the greater quantity of inferior wheat in the former market. The Consuls ought to be instructed to specify the average prices of the *different sorts of wheat*. When the qualities in the market differ so widely as at Amsterdam, no sound conclusion can be deduced from general averages.

Years.	Lowest Price.	Highest Price.	Average Price.
1809,	11 fr. 36 cent.	13 fr. 42 cent.	12 fr. 39 cent.
1810,	15 – 44 —	17 – 50 —	16 – 47 —
1811,	18 – 86 —	20 – 70 —	19 – 78 —
1812,	30 – 88 —	33 – 52 —	32 – 20 —
1813,	21 – 33 —	24 – 88 —	23 – 10 —
1814,	15 – 46 —	18 – 10 —	16 – 78 —
1815,	14 – 22 —	16 – 18 —	15 – 20 —
1816,	26 – 24 —	28 – 22 —	27 – 23 —
1817,	31 – 08 —	37 – 50 —	34 – 29 —
1818,	22 – 98 —	24 – 60 —	23 – 79 —
1819,	16 – 85 —	18 – 81 —	17 – 83 —

The general average price of the nineteen years is 20 fr. 53 cent. the hectolitre, or 30 fr. 80 cent. the septier, which, taking the exchange at 25 fr., is equal to 45s. 6d. the quarter. We may add, that Count Chaptal, in his valuable work *De l'Industrie Françoise* (Tom. I. p. 226.), published in 1819, estimates the average price of wheat throughout France at 18 fr. the hectolitre, or 42s. 10d. the quarter; an estimate which corresponds very closely with the English Consul's report of the price of wheat at Havre in 1823. The expense of importing a quarter of French wheat into London amounts, we understand, to about 7s., which would give 50s. for its necessary price in this country. But France has very little surplus produce to dispose of; so that it would be plainly impossible for us to import any considerable supply of French corn without occasioning an advance of price. The best informed merchants we have conversed with are of opinion, that, in the event of our restrictions being abolished, the price of French wheat in the London market, in ordinary years, would fluctuate from 55s. to 65s. a quarter.

The prices of wheat at the market of Odessa, on the Black Sea—the only port in Southern Europe from which any considerable supplies of wheat can be obtained—are extremely fluctuating and various. In 1821, the price of wheat at Odessa amounted, according to Mr Tooke, to about 36s. a quarter; and we are informed, by the same excellent authority, that the charges necessarily attending the importation of wheat from Odessa to London would not fall short of 22s. 6d. a quarter. (Report, p. 226.) It must be further kept in view, that if the average price of English wheat was 60s., Odessa wheat would not, on account of its inferior quality, be worth above 48s., or at most 50s.; so that it would be impossible to bring Odessa wheat into competition with English wheat worth 60s., unless its prime cost was rather below 27s., which is very rarely, if

ever, the case, with such qualities as are fit for exportation.—So much for the Continent of Europe. Let us next see what chance there is of the Americans deluging us with supplies of low priced corn.

And first as to Canada. Mr Auldjo and Mr Hart Logan, two American merchants, state, that the average price of wheat in Lower Canada, when there is a demand for the English market, is 40s. a quarter; that the expenses of its importation would be 14s., making together 54s.; but that, being spring wheat, it is not so valuable, by 6s. a quarter, as English wheat.

With regard to the United States, Mr Pitkin informs us, * that the prices by which the value of the wheat exported has been calculated at the Treasury Department in the undermentioned years, have been as follows:

Years.	Wheat per Bushel in Dollars.	Wheat per Quarter in Sterling, Ex. at 4s. 3d.
1811, -	1 dollar 75 cents.	58s. 0d.
1812, -	1 — 94 —	64s. 8d.
1813, -	1 — 75 —	58s. 0d.
1814, -	0 — 00 —	0s. 0d.
1815, -	1 — 25 —	42s. 8d.
1816, -	1 — 75 —	58s. 0d.

There is, for some reason or other not stated, no return from the English Consul of the prices of corn at New York, either in 1822 or 1823: But it appears, from the return of the Consul at Philadelphia, that the price of wheat in that city, in 1823, was very near 5s. 8d. a bushel, or 45s. a quarter. The various charges attending the importation of a quarter of wheat from New York or Philadelphia into London, amount to from 12s. to 14s. †

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* Statistical View of the Commerce of the United States, 2d ed., p. 112.

† We have been obligingly favoured by Mr Hodgson, of the great commercial house of Cropper, Benson, & Co. of Liverpool, with the following statement, showing what would be the average price of the principal descriptions of foreign wheat in this country, if English sold from 52s. 3d. to 55s. 7d. a quarter.

English, supposed to weigh	59 to 00 lbs.	per Win.,	52s. 3d. to 55s. 7d. per quarter.
Dantzic, . .	58 to 00	—	49s. 9d. to 56s. 6d. —
Netherlands, .	59 to 00	—	52s. 3d. to 55s. 7d. —
Petersburgh and Archangel,	56 to 57	—	39s. 1d. to 42s. 4d. —
Odessa, . .	56 to 57	—	41s. 7d. to 45s. 7d. —
United States of America,	58 to 00	—	53s. 0d. to 54s. 8d. —
Canada, - -	57 to 00	—	48s. 0d. to 00s. 0d. —
Irish, - -	56 to 57	—	41s. 7d. to 45s. 7d. —

Mr Whitmore says he had been assured, by a merchant of the highest respectability, that the United States could not easily furnish more than 100,000 quarters annually, and about 500,000 barrels of flour, equal to about 312,500 quarters; and this estimate is strongly corroborated by the official returns given in Mr Pitkin's work. (p. 111.)

Thus, then, it appears, from evidence which it is impossible either to dispute or controvert, that *in ordinary years, no foreign wheat could be imported into this country for less than from* 55s. *to* 60s. *a quarter*. It is plainly, therefore a miserable error to suppose, that the repeal of the existing corn-laws would have the effect to deluge the country with foreign corn, and to throw a large proportion of our cultivated lands into pasture. Our prices are at this moment *below* what would be their common and ordinary level, were the ports open to unfettered importation. Were the restrictive system abolished, we should most probably become a regularly importing nation; and our prices would, in consequence, depend on the price at which foreigners could afford to supply us. But we have sufficiently proved, that this price could not be less than from 55s. to 60s. a quarter; and this therefore would, in ordinary years, be the *lowest* limit to which the home price could fall. It is true that there is at present a temporary glut at Dantzic, and some of the other Baltic ports, owing to the unusual productiveness of the two last harvests, and the consequent decline of exportation to Southern Europe; but it is abundantly certain that this glut must speedily disappear, and that we could not reckon on obtaining any considerable supply from Dantzic in common years, were our prices below 60s.

When, therefore, the misrepresentations and delusions so industriously propagated by the friends of monopoly have been cleared away, it is seen that the repeal of the existing Corn-laws would not occasion the least reduction of price, and could not, therefore, be productive of injury to the farmers. Neither could it, even in its immediate effects, be in any considerable degree injurious to the landlords. It will be remembered that the average price of wheat in England and Wales in 1802, 1803 and 1804, years of considerable improvement, was just 61s., being very near the future probable average at which it would stand under a system of perfectly free trade; while the greater cheapness of labour, and the improvements that have since taken place in agriculture, would enable corn to be raised from the same soils at a less expense at this moment than in 1802 or 1804. It cannot even be said that last year was by any means an unfavourable one to the farmers, and yet the average price of wheat was then only 51s. 6d. There is not, therefore, the

shadow of a reason for supposing that any land which it was possible to cultivate with a profit in 1802, 1803, and 1804, or in 1823 and 1824, might not be profitably cultivated under a system of freedom; and if so, the abolition of the existing restrictions could not occasion any decline in the present amount of rent. Its only effect would be to cause the abandonment of most of the poor lands taken into cultivation during the high farming mania from 1809 to 1814, or, to speak more correctly, to put an end to all hopes of its ever being again possible to cultivate them with advantage. But the final abandonment of these lands must assuredly take place, whether we abolish the restrictions on the corn trade or not. The friends of monopoly need not flatter themselves with the vain and delusive idea that any system that can be adopted will enable them to continue the cultivation of all the inferior soils that were advantageously cultivated in 1813 and 1814. To effect this, prices would require to be forced up to 100s. or 120s. a quarter; and, long before they had attained this level, either famine or rebellion, or both, would be raging throughout the country. It is certain, therefore, that the cultivation of these poor soils must, under any system, be indefinitely abandoned; but it is the extreme of ignorant or intentional misrepresentation to affirm, that a *half* or a *third* of the land of England would be thrown into pasture, by reverting to the sound principles of a free trade. The unbounded freedom of the corn trade would not render it necessary to abandon any but the most worthless soils, and which ought never to have been broken up.

But if the abolition of the Corn-laws would not be injurious to the farmers or landlords, by causing a farther reduction of price, it would, in other respects, be singularly advantageous to them. Were the freedom of the corn trade established, it is plain that our prices would be governed by the *average* price of Europe, which, inasmuch as the weather that is unfavourable to one country is generally favourable to another, is comparatively steady. As illustrative of this principle, we may observe, that Holland, during the days of her greatest prosperity, was chiefly fed on imported corn; and it is an undoubted fact that prices in Amsterdam were always comparatively moderate, and that they varied less than in any other market of Europe. It is freedom, and freedom only, that can put an effectual stop to those sudden and excessive fluctuations in the price of corn, which are so extremely ruinous to all classes of the community, but most of all to the farmer. When a comparatively rich and highly populous country like England, excludes foreign produce from her markets, she is compelled to resort to very infe-

rior soils to obtain supplies of food. In consequence, her average prices are raised far above the common level of surrounding countries; and therefore, when an unusually luxuriant crop occurs, no relief being obtained from exportation, the whole surplus produce is thrown on her own markets, and a ruinous depression of price necessarily and unavoidably follows. The avowed object of the Corn law of 1815,* which prevented all importation of foreign wheat for home consumption until the home price rose to 80s., was to keep the price steadily up to that level. But the slightest acquaintance with the most obvious principles, would have taught the framers of this act that it would be quite ineffectual to its object. By preventing importation, except in years when the home crops are deficient, we necessarily prevent the establishment of any regular and systematic intercourse with foreign countries. Since 1815, no Polish or American cultivator has ever been able to calculate on a demand from England: In consequence, no corn has been raised for our markets; and when our crops have been deficient, the inadequacy of the foreign supplies has allowed our prices to rise to an exorbitant height. Had the corn trade been free, the calamitous harvest of 1816, for example, would have been met by abundant importations, the average price in April that year being 65s. 5d.; but it was not ascertained that the ports would open at 80s. till the 15th of November, when the season was too far advanced to admit of importation from the great corn ports of Europe; and in consequence, before the spring shipments could arrive, the average price of wheat had risen to 103s. 11d., being little short of double its price only twelve months before! Owing partly to the unprecedented destruction of agricultural capital that had taken place during the low prices of 1814, 1815 and 1816, partly to deficient harvests,

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* The Corn law of 1822 is a second, though certainly not an improved, edition of that of 1815. It allows the importation of foreign wheat when the home price is 70s.; but if the home price be under 80s., a duty of 17s. is imposed during the first three months, and of 12s. afterwards. This is really very near the same thing as absolute exclusion up to 80s. This law has not hitherto come into operation, except in the case of oats, which were admitted for importation, on payment of a duty of 6s., on the 14th of August last. Notwithstanding the outcry that was raised on this occasion, very few oats—not more, we are informed, than a supply for *one* day's consumption—have been imported. The price of oats has only fallen 5s. a quarter, a reduction which, it is next to certain, would have taken place at any rate, owing to the abundant harvest.

and, more than all, to the restraints on importation, the prices of 1817, 1818 and 1819, were oppressively high. But mark the effects of this increase of price. It led the farmers to suppose that the corn law was at length beginning to have the effects its supporters had anticipated from it; their drooping spirits were in consequence revived; fresh capital was applied to the land; and this increase of tillage conspiring with favourable seasons, again sunk prices to such a degree, that they fell in October 1822 so low as 38s. 1d., the average of that year being only 43s. 3d.!

It is thus that the restrictive system is productive of double mischief. By preventing importation, it aggravates all the evils of scarcity when the home crops are deficient; while, by forcing the cultivation of poor soils, and raising average prices, it prevents exportation in a year of unusual plenty, and renders the bounty of Providence a curse to the farmer! So long as we support the existing corn laws, we shall have the same incessant alternation of ruinously low and oppressively high prices which we have experienced since 1815. At one time our ears will be stunned with the complaints of the agriculturists; and when these have subsided, they will be assailed with the louder and more piercing and menacing cries of the manufacturing population—with the noise of radical rebellions, and fresh suspensions of the Habeas Corpus act! The low prices of the restrictive system cannot be otherwise than ephemeral; for these low prices, by destroying agricultural capital, and driving bad land out of cultivation, necessarily diminish the supply, and occasion an unmeasured increase of price on the occurrence of the first unfavourable harvest. But it is material to observe, that while this increase of price is fatal to the great mass of the consumers, it is of no real advantage to the agriculturists; for, by attracting additional capital to the soil, and extending cultivation, the supply is again increased; and, instead of their extravagant expectations being realized, the first luxuriant harvest again plunges them into the abyss of poverty and misery! Such is the practical and real operation of this monstrous system. Alternately productive of famine and excess, it is equally ruinous to the agricultural and the manufacturing and commercial classes; and, if not put down, it will certainly end by destroying the capital of both, and by sinking all classes, high as well as low, below the level of what was originally lowest.

It is much worse than absurd to suppose that fluctuation of price can be avoided so long as the restrictive system is maintained. But suppose it could—suppose that, by excluding foreign corn when the home price is below a certain

limit, and turning the surplus produce in plentiful years—for it would require some such expedient—it were possible to maintain the home prices steadily at about 80s., still it is easy to see that it would be infinitely better for the farmers were they to be allowed to settle at the fair and natural level of 55s. or 60s. If prices become stationary at the lower limit of 55s. or 60s., the rent, wages of labour, and other outgoings of the farmer, will all be proportionally adjusted: If they are raised to the higher limit of 80s., rent, wages, &c. will sustain a corresponding increase. It is impossible, however, as we have repeatedly demonstrated, to raise wages without *reducing profits*; so that it is unquestionably true, that instead of high prices being really advantageous to the farmer, they are distinctly and completely the reverse. The object of the farmer, as of all other producers, must always be to derive the greatest possible profit from his capital; and it is absolutely certain that profits invariably fall as prices rise, and rise as prices fall. The price of wheat in Illinois and Indiana does not amount to one-third of its price in England; and yet an Illinois or Indiana farmer, with a capital of 1000*l.*, would derive as much profit from it as an English farmer would derive from a capital of 3000*l.* or 4000*l.* It appears, therefore, that the real and permanent interests of the farmers and consumers are precisely the same; and that a permanently high price of produce, supposing it could be maintained, would not be less injurious to the one class than the other.

It is just as idle to suppose that the monopoly system can be of any real advantage to the landlords. There can be no doubt that it would be much better for them to be secured in the regular payment of somewhat lower rents, than to be perpetually exposed, as they must be during the continuance of the restrictive system, to the non-payment of the higher rents that may be promised them in high-priced years. It is, moreover, the extreme of folly to suppose, that a system, which is so deeply injurious to the other classes of the community, can be really beneficial to the landlords. Whatever immediate advantage they may derive from it, can only be fleeting and illusory, inasmuch as it must be purchased at the expense of those with whom their own interests are inseparably and indissolubly connected. If prices were steady, the landlord's rents would also be steady. Instead of being deluded by expectations of augmented revenue, which will never be realized, he would be able to form a precise notion of the extent of his income and his resources, and would be able to proportion his expenditure to his means.

There is a passage in Sir Matthew Decker's 'Essay on the

Causes of the Decline of Foreign Trade,' which the landlords would do well to consider before they come to the conclusion, that they would be injured by the abolition of the restrictive system. 'Every home commodity,' says Sir Matthew, 'will, in a free trade, find its natural level; for, though that 'fluctuates, as of necessity it must, according to the plenti-'fulness and scarcity of the seasons; yet, for home consump-'tion, every home commodity must have great advantage over 'the foreign, as being upon the spot, and free from freight, 'insurance, commission, and charges, which, on the produce 'of lands, being all bulky commodities, must in general be 'about 15 per cent.; and a greater advantage cannot be given 'without prejudice; for 15 per cent. makes a great difference 'in the price of necessaries, between the nation selling and 'the nation buying, and is a great difficulty on the latter; but 'arising from the natural course of things, cannot be helped; 'though it is a *sufficient security to the landholders, that foreign-'ers can never import more necessaries than are absolutely requir-'ed;* and I presume they have in such cases more charity than 'to starve the people merely for the sake of an imaginary profit, 'which yet would prove their ruin in the end; *for it is a fallacy 'and an absurdity to think to keep up the value of lands, by op-'pressions on the people that cramp their trade;* for if trade de-'clines, the common people must either come upon the parish, 'or fly for business to our neighbours,—in the first case, be-'coming a heavy tax on the rich, and instead of buying the 'produce of their lands, having it given to them; and, in the se-'cond case, when the consumers are gone, what price will the 'produce of land bear?' p. 56.

But it is a mistake to suppose that the abolition of the restrictions on importation would be merely innoxious to the landlords. The truth is, that it would be greatly and signally beneficial to them. Not only would the landlords gain by the general improvement that would infallibly result from the freedom of the corn trade, but they would also be relieved from a burden, which, at this moment, presses heavily on their estates, and threatens, at no distant period, to absorb the whole of their rents. It is almost unncessary to say, that we allude to the poor-rates. Were it not for the extreme variations in the price of corn, the payments to able-bodied labourers, which constitute full three-fourths of the total assessment, might be entirely dispensed with. But so long as we continue to act on a system, which necessarily occasions the most tremendous fluctuations of price, it is, we are afraid, rather visionary to think of getting rid of this burden. Wages, though they are ultimately regu-

lated by the price of necessaries, do not vary directly and immediately with their variations. Prices, and consequently wages, are reduced by a *succession* of abundant harvests; but wages do not, and cannot rise the moment the harvest becomes deficient, and prices attain the famine level. And if, in such circumstances, the labourers of a densely peopled country like England, where their condition can never be very prosperous, were not partly provided for by extrinsic assistance, the probability, or rather, we should say, the certainty, is, that rebellion and intestine commotion would ensue, and that the security of property would be completely subverted. Those, therefore, who are really desirous of freeing the country from the great and constantly increasing burden of poor-rates, ought above all to direct their efforts to procure the abolition of those restrictions which, by causing excessive fluctuations in the price of necessaries, expose the poor to misery and famine, and disable them for providing for themselves. Abolish the Corn-laws, and the abolition of all rates levied on account of the able-bodied poor will be a measure that may be carried with equal facility and security. But if the landlords will not consent to the establishment of a system of freedom, let them not deceive themselves by supposing that the pressure of the poor-rates will ever be effectually diminished. If they will have monopoly, they must take all its consequences along with it; and they must neither murmur nor repine, should every shilling of their rents be ultimately required for the support of workhouses and beggars.

We have thus, we think, incontrovertibly shown, that the abolition of the corn-laws would be extremely advantageous both to farmers and landlords. But, supposing we are wrong in this conclusion, and that these classes would really suffer considerable injury from their abolition, still we should not on that account consider it a measure the less imperiously demanded by every consideration of sound policy. If the corn-laws be really beneficial to the producers, they must, for the same reason, be really injurious to the consumers. If they enrich the agriculturists, by securing them higher prices than they would obtain under a free system, they must, to the same extent, impoverish the manufacturing and commercial classes, who are compelled to pay these artificially enhanced prices; while, by raising the rate of wages, they must lower the profits of stock, and operate to force capital out of the country. Nothing, indeed, but the extreme importance of the subject could induce us to stop for a single moment to argue with those who suppose that high prices can, under any circumstances, be advantageous to a nation. To facilitate production, and to make commodities cheaper and

more easily obtained, are the grand motives which stimulate the inventive powers of genius, and which lead to the discovery and improvement of machines, and processes for saving labour and diminishing cost; and it is plain that no system of commercial legislation deserves to be supported, which does not conspire to promote the same objects. But instead of promoting, the corn-laws violently counteract them. By preventing the importation of food from the cheapest markets, they raise its price, and force a large proportion of the capital and industry of the country to engage in a comparatively disadvantageous employment. Such a system cannot be maintained without leading to ultimate ruin. High prices are never advantageous, but the reverse. The lower the price for which any commodity can be obtained, so much the better. When the labour required to produce, or the money required to purchase, a sufficient supply of corn is diminished, it is as clear as the sun at noon day, that more labour or money must remain to produce or purchase the other necessaries and conveniences of human life, and that the amount of national wealth and comforts must be proportionally augmented. Those who suppose that a real rise of prices can ever be a means of improving the general condition of the country, might, with equal reason, suppose that it would be improved by throwing its best soils out of cultivation, and destroying its most powerful machines! The opinions of such persons are not only opposed to the plainest and most obvious principles of economical science, but they are opposed to the obvious suggestions of common sense, and the universal experience of mankind.

But there are other considerations which serve to show still more strongly the expediency of abolishing the corn-laws. It appears from the census of 1821, that the agriculturists do not amount to a third of the whole population of Great Britain; and it is unnecessary to dwell on the disastrous consequences that would infallibly result in so densely peopled a country, from any considerable falling off in the foreign demand for the products of the other classes. But how can we expect to sell if we will not buy? How can we expect to supply all the world with manufactured commodities, if we will not take their raw produce in payment? What has lately occurred in America ought, if any thing can, to make us pause in the course we are now pursuing. The grand and only popular argument of the supporters of the new Tariff, was entirely bottomed on the corn-laws of England. 'It is vain,' said they in answer to the opposers of the measure, 'that you dwell on the advantage of that freedom of trade which 'you cannot enjoy. England is now deluging the Union with

'manufactured goods, but will she take our raw produce in exchange? Is there any reciprocity in her proceedings? Has she admitted a single bushel of foreign corn, the staple product of our country, into her markets during the last three years? Is it not absurd, then, to expect to continue your commerce with a nation acting on such exclusive principles? Ought we not rather to profit by her example; and, as she excludes our corn, does not sound policy dictate the propriety of excluding her manufactures, and of raising up an internal manufacturing population in the Union, sufficient to take off the surplus produce of our agriculturists?' It would be extremely easy to show the fallacy of these arguments; but they were specious, popular, and effectual to their object. The new tariff bill has received the sanction of the President; and the commerce of England with the United States must in future be carried on with infinitely less advantage to both parties. Nor is this a solitary example. The same retaliatory spirit—the same desire to avenge prohibitions by prohibitions—has been strongly manifested in the North of Europe; and if we do not resort to sounder principles, there is but too much reason to fear that the consequences will be fatally injurious to the manufacturing prosperity, and consequently to the power and glory, of the empire.

In order to simplify the consideration of this great question, we have argued thus far on the supposition, that the public burdens with which the agriculturists of Britain are affected, would not prevent their maintaining a successful competition with foreigners. This, however, has been stoutly denied; and as much stress has been laid on this point in the recent discussions, both in and out of Parliament, we shall now briefly advert to it.

Had the effect of tithes, and the other burdens exclusively affecting agriculture, merely been, as Dr Smith supposed, to make an equal deduction from the rent of the landlord, they could have had no influence whatever on prices, and there would have been an end of this question. But as it has been established that tithes do not fall on rent, but on the consumers, in consequence of their making an equivalent addition to the price of raw produce, it is contended, that, in the event of the ports being opened for the free importation of foreign corn, justice to the home growers would require that it should be burdened with a duty equal to the tithe. It must be remembered, however, that all foreign corn imported *must be paid for, either directly or indirectly, by the exportation of some species of manufactured goods*; and it is therefore clear, that the home producers of corn have not even the vestige of a claim to a pro-

tecting duty on the importation of foreign corn, unless they can show that the tithes, and other taxes falling on raw produce, exceed those which fall on manufactured goods. However oppressive we suppose taxation to be—though it added a hundred or a thousand per cent. to the price of commodities—still, if it affected them all equally, it would leave their relative values exactly where it found them; and if it did this, it is clear to demonstration that it could not possibly render any particular class less able than the others to withstand the unfettered competition of foreigners, and could not, therefore, entitle them to a protecting duty. But if higher duties be laid on a particular class of commodities, the case is different. If, for example, while the duty on commodities in general is only 10 per cent., a duty of 20 per cent. were laid on a particular class, their price must rise 10 per cent. higher than the price of the rest, in order to maintain their producers in the same relative situation as before. It is plain, however, that in the event of the ports being opened to the importation of every description of foreign goods free of duty, the producers of the heavily-taxed commodities will be deprived of the means of limiting their supply, and consequently of raising their price, so as to indemnify them for the excess of the tax. The 10 per cent. excess of duty would then really operate as a bounty on the importation of the class of commodities on which it is charged; and if it were not defeated by a protecting duty of 10 per cent., the home producers of that class would be placed in a relatively disadvantageous situation, and would abandon their business.

Still, however, this principle only holds in the case of duties affecting *manufactured* products. If a direct tax of 10 per cent. were laid exclusively on the hats produced in England, and on no other commodity, the hatters would most likely be ruined were foreigners permitted to import hats duty free. All manufactured goods are produced under the same, or, at all events, under *very similar* circumstances; so much so, that foreign competition must either be injurious to all the manufacturers of a particular description of goods, or to none. But in agriculture the case is otherwise. Corn is produced under *very different* circumstances, or from soils of very different degrees of fertility; and though the cultivators of the worst lands in tillage at any particular period might be injuriously affected by the unrestricted admission of foreign corn, the other cultivators, instead of being injured, would be really benefited by the rise of profit which must always follow every *permanent reduction* in the price of raw produce. Thus, suppose no duties are imposed on manufactured commodities, and that the ports are thrown open to

the importation of foreign corn, without any protecting duty to balance the tithe—the whole effect of such a measure would be, to cause such a small additional quantity of bad land to be thrown out of tillage as would enable the cultivators to obtain *seven* quarters for the same outlay that had previously been required to produce *ten* quarters. As soon as this contraction of tillage had been effected, the farmers would have nothing to fear from foreign competition. They would still obtain the same rate of profit that was obtained by the undertakers of other businesses; and the consumers would be able to purchase their corn for *ten per cent.* less than if a protecting duty had been imposed.

But though it is thus most certainly true, that the cultivators are always in a condition to relieve themselves of such taxes as affect them to a greater extent than they affect the other classes of society; yet, as they can only do this by contracting tillage, and withdrawing capital from the cultivation of inferior soils, the effect of admitting foreign corn without a protecting duty equivalent to the *excess* of taxation affecting the home-growers, would be to cause a diminution of rent. Rent consists of the difference between the produce obtained from the best and worst lands under cultivation; and if, by admitting foreign corn duty free, bad land should be thrown out of cultivation, the rent of the landlords would be reduced, and their relative situation lowered. Although, therefore, it is not necessary for the protection of *the cultivators* that any countervailing duty should be laid on raw produce imported from abroad; still, if it be really true that higher duties are laid on the raw produce raised at home than on manufactured goods, justice to *the landlords* requires that a duty should be laid on all foreign raw produce equivalent to the *excess of duty affecting home produce.* Such a duty, by fitting all classes equally to withstand foreign competition, will preserve them in the same relative situation after the opening of the ports as previously, and will treat all parties, as they ever ought to be treated, with the same equal and impartial justice.

It has been doubted whether, putting the question on this ground, the only tenable one on which it can be put, whether manufactured goods be not really as heavily taxed as raw produce; and whether, therefore, any duty should be laid on foreign corn. But we would rather err on the side of too much protection as of too little; and, to put to rest all cavilling on the subject, we should not object, in the event of the ports being thrown open, to an *ad valorem* duty of 10 per cent. being laid on all foreign corn when imported for home consumption. The

freedom of the corn trade would, as we have already shown, relieve the landlords of the greater part of the Poor-rates, and the 10 per cent. *ad valorem* duty would be a much greater protection than they are entitled to on account of the tithe, which is never fully exacted.

We have already seen, that the average price at which foreign wheat might be imported into England in ordinary years, would be from 55s. to 60s. a quarter; and we would therefore propose, in order to get rid of the trickery and fraud inseparable from the average system, that the *ad valorem* duty of 10 per cent. should be converted into a fixed duty of 6s. a quarter on wheat, and other grain in proportion. So high a duty would undoubtedly be very favourable to the landlords, by securing them against all risk of foreign corn ever being disposed off for less than 60s. But the vast advantages that would result from the freedom of the corn trade, and the total abolition of all restrictions and fetters on importation, should induce the public to waive all objections to its imposition. Its magnitude, too, would take from the landlords every pretence for affirming that they had been harshly treated, or that their interests had been sacrificed to those of others. If they should object to such a measure, their motives would be obvious to the whole world. It would immediately be seen, that they had resolved to place and maintain *their interests in direct opposition to those of the community in general*;—that they had determined to purchase a hollow and imaginary advantage, by supporting a system of domestic policy which must at no distant period involve them in that ruin it will assuredly entail on the country.

The imposition of a duty of 6s. on foreign wheat, would require that an equivalent bounty should be granted on English wheat when exported. This bounty would only have to be paid in years when the home crops were unusually productive; for, under a free system, we should generally be an importing nation.

We have already stated enough to show the futility of the real or affected apprehensions of the country being deluged with foreign corn, in the event of the restrictive system being abolished. But supposing we imported infinitely more foreign corn than we should certainly do, still, as the benefits of commerce are always reciprocal, as the whole markets of the world would be open to us, and as those from whom we purchased corn would be equally interested with ourselves in the continuance of the traffic, we could run no possible risk of being deprived of our accustomed supplies. This point, and the general advantages that would result from the freedom of the corn

trade in establishing a more intimate union among nations, in perpetuating and securing the blessings of peace, and in mitigating the horrors of war, have been most ably illustrated by Mr Whitmore in the admirable pamphlet, the title of which is prefixed to this article.

'Another objection,' says Mr Whitmore, 'frequently taken to the adopting of a more natural system with respect to our trade in corn, is, that to depend on foreign countries for any portion of so important an article as corn, is full of danger: that, owing to caprice or hostile feeling on the part of any of the countries from whence our supplies are drawn, an obstacle might be interposed to our obtaining the quantity required; and this happening in a moment of dearth, might be attended with very serious consequences. In the first place, I have endeavoured to show, that the monopoly system would have a direct and inevitable tendency to produce this effect; and, therefore, if danger were to be apprehended from our habitual dependence on other countries, it would be necessary for the Legislator to balance and weigh the evils of which both might be productive; and I am quite confident, that even admitting the force of this objection, the preponderance of evil would be on the side of our present system. But is the objection valid? I think not; for, let us see what its consequences would be. It will be allowed that the benefit of all trade is reciprocal, and that the nation exporting a commodity has at least an equal interest in the continuance of that branch of its trade, as the one importing it. Indeed, formerly, under the old notion of a balance of trade, export was the sole good, and import of any thing but the precious metals, the evil of trade. But, without alluding to those exploded notions, every one will admit, that it must be beneficial for a country to export its surplus produce. If, however, there be one species of export more than another, in which an agricultural country is directly interested, it is obviously that of corn. It is necessarily the staple commodity, in the growth of which the bulk of its population must be employed. Other raw articles may be raised, and may be of great importance; but they are commonly confined to particular situations and particular soils; whereas corn is the produce of all soils, the growth of every situation. That it should, therefore, bear such a price as will remunerate the grower for the expenses to which he has been subject in producing it, is there a matter of almost universal concern. Is it then probable that the government of such a country would stop the export of that article, in the sale of which all are interested? The effect of which must be to produce a glut of corn in its own markets: an effect, as we well know, sufficiently embarassing in a country, whose attention is directed to a thousand other objects and a thousand other interests, but which would there be a dreadful visitation to nearly the whole population. Would it do so at any time? but, above all, would it do so at a moment

when a war either had begun, or was impending; when it would be particularly desirable to conciliate rather than alienate the minds of the people; and when an increase and not a diminution of the revenue was equally to be wished for?

'If the government of a country was mad enough to take such a step, would the people submit to it? I believe not. I believe no government on earth, were it ever so despotic, could long continue a system so fraught with ruin; and the rapid and almost miraculous downfall of the colossal power of Buonaparte, arising as it did in a great measure from the feeling excited on account of this very attempt to fetter trade, is an awful and most useful lesson to all governments.

'Upon this subject, however, we may proceed upon proof and experience, and need not, therefore, trust to general reasoning. It is well known that this country constantly imports nearly all the hemp it uses; it is equally clear, that, if deprived of it, the consequences to us, a maritime and commercial people, would be to the last degree injurious. If there be one article more than another, of which an hostile country would wish to deprive us, it would be this very article of hemp, which may be fairly considered the sinews of naval warfare. But were we ever deprived of it? was there ever any serious obstruction, either to our naval armaments or to our commercial speculations, arising from a deficiency of this important article? If not, it is chimerical to imagine that we should ever be deprived of the corn we are in the habit of importing. But if no dangers are to be apprehended from this trade, are there no advantages accruing from it? Without reference to the question of profit, which is all in favour of it, let us consider it in a moral point of view. Alliances, it will be admitted, with foreign nations, are in the present state of society essentially necessary, both with a view to the continuance of peace, and as a support in war. These we often purchase by immense subsidies, and too commonly find that the friendship we thus endeavour to secure is hollow and unsubstantial: it rests upon no firm basis, it is the growth of no settled principle, and, if preserved during the moment of paying the subsidy, which is not always the case, it leaves nothing behind it, no sense of gratitude remains, no amicable feeling is created, nothing to counteract those envious jealousies, and heart-burnings which the collision of interests and rivalry of power ever produce among nations. It is far otherwise when trade upon liberal principles is established: benefiting one country, it ever advances the interest of the other. In fixing by laws as immutable as those by which the level of the ocean is preserved, that nations in different climates and in different stages of society shall each possess a something which the others want, the Almighty Ruler of the universe has established a principle of harmony, of union, and of concord, to counteract the brutal ferocity and savage enmity of man. It mitigates the horrors of war, it heightens the blessings, and prolongs the duration of peace. It is the balm

poured into the bitter cup of dissension, and anger, and jealousy, by which one nation is separated from another: it is the tie disregarded often by the careless observer or mere politician, but of adamantine strength, by which man is linked to his fellow man.

'Let us, then, seriously reflect what may be the consequences with respect to our foreign relations, if we attempt to counteract this beautiful and harmonious dispensation in so important an article as the corn trade. It will separate us still more widely from the nations of Europe; it will turn still more decidedly the channel of trade from our own portion of the globe to those more distant regions, with which, however beneficial the trade may be, it cannot be otherwise than of a more precarious and uncertain nature; it will shut us up in jealous exclusion from the more civilized and more powerful parts of the world; it will raise us up a host of enemies throughout the whole Continent of Europe; it will weaken our influence in peace, and increase our danger in war: it will, by forcibly diverting the application of capital from manufactures to agriculture, raise up powerful competitors to dispute with us the possession of the more distant markets of the world.

'All are now jealous of our power; all look with envy at our maritime and commercial superiority; all hate that right of search so essential to its preservation. Let us beware how, to these sources of irritation and hostility, we add the positive injury our corn laws inflict upon the interests of the nations around us—injuries which our ancestors never dreamt of inflicting, and which are equally opposed to the intelligence of the age as to our own true interests. But the monopoly system neither can nor will last. Nature is too powerful an antagonist for man to oppose. By some of her throes and convulsions, she will at length overturn all the feeble obstructions he endeavours to place in her course. But we cannot be subdued, nor can she be vindicated, without causing immense misery; and we shall be the sufferers. Killed with kindness, oppressed and suffocated with protection, the agriculturist will at length perceive that he is pursuing an *ignis fatuus*, which will lead him on to his destruction. Let him take warning by the sufferings of the present period! Let him read aright the signs of the times, and trace the evil to its true source! It is in his power to avert a recurrence of distress; and, proceeding upon the sober, solid ground of good sense and liberal feeling, he may again see his fields smiling around him, and ensure to himself and to his posterity all that substantial comfort and real happiness, which, until the present disastrous moment, ever attended the country gentleman and the farmer of England. But until the agriculturists generally do alter their feelings upon this subject—until they will look at it calmly, and not under the influence of irritation and passion, the Legislature cannot act. All interests ought to be effectually represented; and most especially do I wish to see the landed interest preserve their weight and influence in the House of Commons. That they do possess it, was clearly manifested in the

discussions of the last Session. The question then rests as it ought to do with them; and if they choose to continue the present system, it must continue.

'But again I would implore them to weigh calmly the whole of the arguments upon this subject, and, above all, to watch narrowly the consequences which will ensue. And let them not imagine, that when high prices again return, as with a small deficiency they must, let them not imagine that their difficulties are then over. Great and ruinous fluctuation of price, it cannot be too often repeated, is the necessary and inevitable consequence of the present system; and they may be assured, that, in proportion to the vibration of the pendulum on one side, will be its oscillation on the other.' pp. 76–84.

Had agriculture been at this moment in a very prosperous state; had prices been as high as 70s. or 80s. the quarter, and had improvement been making a rapid progress, the opening of the ports might have been objected to on the ground that it would give a violent shock to agricultural industry, and be the means of destroying a considerable quantity of agricultural capital. But such is *not* our situation. Our prices are now as low as the common level of the Continent. All that revulsion and derangement which must always be occasioned by the transition from one system of policy to another, has already taken place. Rents and wages have been reduced; a good deal of bad land has been thrown out of cultivation; and industry is now accommodated to a new order of things. This, then, is of all others the most favourable moment for striking a decisive blow at the restrictive system. Circumstances, beyond the reach of control, have paved the way for its immediate abolition. Ministers are most justly entitled to the public thanks for the measures they have already introduced for freeing industry and commerce from the shackles imposed in a less enlightened age; and we trust they will not throw away the opportunity now afforded of completing the system they have so happily begun; but that they will earn for themselves a new and more powerful claim on the gratitude of the country, by ridding it at once and forever, of the monstrous and intolerable nuisance of Corn Laws.

ART. IV. *A Tour in Germany, and some of the Southern Provinces of the Austrian Empire, in the Years* 1820, 1821, 1822. In two volumes 12mo. pp. 816. Edinburgh, 1824.

THERE is a sensible improvement, we think, of late years, in the quality of our books of travels. The merited failure of so many dull tourists has put our authors, we suppose, on

their mettle, and our publishers on their guard:—and since travelling has become so extremely common, an ambitious man is not so much tempted to make the public the confidant of his summer excursions, or to believe that all which was new to him must be instructive to intelligent readers. *This*, at any rate, we can safely say, is a very agreeable and respectable work—and, though it leads us through some of the most accessible and best known parts of Europe, will be found to convey to most readers a great deal of new information, in a very pleasing form.

The author, though he has modestly withheld his name, is evidently a person of education and general intelligence—independent in his sentiments, and calm in his judgments—who has taken pains to see things with his own eyes, and to estimate them by his own reason—a little too rigid, perhaps, as to morals—and a little too much a latitudinarian as to politics—speaking of the fine arts rather sensibly, than with science or feeling—rather caricaturing manners and institutions, and yet delineating characters and estimating literature with something of timidity and reserve—writing clearly and with spirit, though often both inelegantly and inaccurately—sometimes exaggerating unconsciously, and sometimes indulging wilfully in paradoxes, from the love of effect—not very graceful in his pleasantries, and not very picturesque in his descriptions.

His book, in short, is not without its faults; but yet we must say, that we do not recollect to have met with a more reasonable traveller,—or indeed with many authors of any description, who have more successfully united amusement with solid information, or entered on so great a variety of subjects, with so little hazard of being represented as either tedious or superficial.

He conducts us from Strasburgh along the Rhine, by Manheim, Heidelberg and Frankfort, to Weimar and Jena;—and then by Leipsic to Dresden, Cassel and Gottingen—thence to Hanover and Berlin, and through Silesia, and by Cracow and Moravia to Vienna—closing by a sweep through Styria to Carniola, and the shores of the Adriatic. In this long route, he has not only given us a clear description and intelligent account of all the remarkable places he visited—but has also contrived to include in his two neat little duodecimos by far the best account of the extraordinary condition of the German universities, the modern literature of the country—the finances and recent political changes of Prussia—the *plica polonica*—and a variety of other curious things that is anywhere to be found in our language. As we mean rather to recommend his

book to our readers, than to make a theme of it for ourselves, we shall give but a few specimens of his manner, and leave them to be judged of by themselves.

The most curious part of the book, perhaps, is the account of the Universities, which are all nearly on the same footing, though the details are given chiefly in reference to that of Jena, which was the first which happened to come under the author's observation. There is generally a vast establishment of lecturing professors,—at Jena no less than twenty-eight regularly on the foundation, besides a score of extraordinary teachers. The regular men have salaries of less than 80*l.* and exact a fee of about 15s. for their lectures, though that is often beat down by a sturdy higgler to a still smaller sum. The whole annual expense of a student is usually under 75*l.*, and yet the total number at Jena has not averaged of late more than 400. They live about in the town, as at our Scottish colleges, and have no connection with their teachers but at the hour of lecture. The effect of this want of discipline and controul, however, we are sorry to say, has been much more pernicious in the case of these disorderly Teutonic youths, than in that of our sober countrymen; and it is chiefly in reference to the gross disorders in which they systematically indulge, that we have spoken of the extraordinary condition of these seminaries of learning. Almost the whole of the young men, or *Burschen*, as they term themselves, are united in a sort of secret society, for the purpose chiefly, as it would seem, of what, in their slang language, they term *renowning* and *scandalizing*, that is, doing things to annoy and astonish the sober citizens, or fighting duels with each other. The following is a part of our author's very picturesque account of these votaries of the Muses.

'Once outside of the class-room, the Burschen show themselves a much less orderly race. If they submit to be ruled one hour daily by a professor, they rule him, and every other person, during all the rest of the four-and-twenty. The duels of the day are generally fought out early in the morning; the spare hours of the forenoon and afternoon are spent in fencing, in *renowning*—that is, in doing things which make people stare at them, and in providing duels for the morrow. In the evening, the various clans assemble in their commerz-houses, to besot themselves with beer and tobacco; and it is long after midnight before the last strains of the last songs die away upon the streets. Wine is not the staple beverage, for Jena is not in a wine country, and the students have learned to place a sort of pride in drinking beer. Yet, with a very natural contradiction, over their pots of beer they vociferate songs in praise of the grape, and swing their jugs with as much glee as a Bursche of Heidelberg brandishes his *römer* of Rhenish.

'A band of these young men, thus assembled in an alehouse in the evening, presents as strange a contrast as can well be imagined to all correct ideas, not only of studious academical tranquillity, but even of respectable conduct; yet, in refraining from the nightly observances, they would think themselves guilty of a less pardonable dereliction of their academic character, and a more direct treason against the independence of Germany, than if they subscribed to the Austrian Observer, or never attended for a single hour the lectures for which they paid. Step into the public room of that inn, on the opposite side of the market-place, for it is the most respectable in the town. On opening the door, you must use your ears, not your eyes, for nothing is yet visible except a dense mass of smoke, occupying space, concealing every thing in it and beyond it, illuminated with a dusky light, you know not how, and sending forth from its bowels all the varied sounds of mirth and revelry. As the eye gradually accustoms itself to the atmosphere, human visages are seen dimly dawning through the lurid cloud; then pewter jugs begin to glimmer faintly in their neighbourhood; and, as the smoke from the phial gradually shaped itself into the friendly Asmodeus, the man and his jug slowly assume a defined and corporeal form. You can now totter along between the two long tables which have sprung up, as if by enchantment; by the time you have reached the huge stove at the farther end, you have before you the paradise of German Burschen,—destitute only of its Houris. Every man with his bonnet on his head, a pot of beer in his hand, a pipe or segar in his mouth, and a song upon his lips, never doubting but that he and his companions are training themselves to be the regenerators of Europe,—that they are the true representatives of the manliness and independence of the German character, and the only models of a free, generous, and high-minded youth. They lay their hands upon their jugs, and vow the liberation of Germany; they stop a second pipe, or light a second segar, and swear that the Holy Alliance is an unclean thing!' I. 156–160.

'The students who have not thought proper to join any of these associations are few in number, and, in point of estimation, form a class still more despised and insulted than the *Philistines* themselves. Every Bursche thinks it dishonourable to have communication with them; they are admitted to no carousal; they are debarred from all balls and public festivals, by which the youth contrive to make themselves notorious and ridiculous. Such privations would not be severely felt, but they are farther exposed to every species of contempt and insult; to abuse them is an acceptable service to Germany; in the class-room, and on the street, they must be taught that they are "cowardly slaves," and all this, because they will not throw themselves into the fetters of a self-created fraternity. However they may be outraged, they are entitled neither to redress nor protection. Should any of them resent the maltreatment heaped upon him, he brings down on himself the vengeance of the whole

mass of initiated; for, to draw every man within the circle is a common object of all the clans: he who will join none, is the enemy of all. Blows, which the Burschen have proscribed among themselves, as unworthy of gentlemen, are allowed against the "Wild Ones," for such is the appellation given to these quiet sufferers, from the caution with which they must steal along, trembling at the presence of a Comment Bursche, and exiled, as they are, from the refined intercourse of Commerz-houses to the wilds and deserts of civilized society. Others, unable to hold out against the insolence and contempt of the young men among whom they are compelled to live, in an evil hour seek refuge beneath the wing of a Landsmannschaft. These are named *Renoncen*, or Renouncers. Having renounced the state of nature, they stand, in academical civilization, a degree above the obstinate "Wild Ones," but yet they do not acquire, by their tardy and compelled submission, a full claim to all Burschen rights. They are merely entitled to the protection of the fraternity which they have joined, and every member of it will run every man through the body who dares to insult them in word or deed, otherwise than is prescribed by the Burschen code. By abject submission to the will of their imperious protectors, they purchase the right of being abused and stabbed only according to rule, instead of being kicked and knocked down contrary to all rule.'—I. pp. 170–172.

'The individual Bursche, in his academical character, is animated by the same paltry, arrogant, quarrelsome, domineering disposition. When fairly imbued with the spirit of his sect, no rank can command respect from him, for he knows no superior to himself and his comrades. A few years ago, the Empress of Russia, when she was at Weimar, visited the University Museum of Jena. Among the students who had assembled to see her, one was observed to keep his bonnet on his head, and his pipe in his mouth, as her Imperial Majesty passed. The Prorector called the young man before him, and remonstrated with him on his rudeness. The defence was in the genuine spirit of Burschenism: "I am a free man; what is an Empress to me?" Full of lofty unintelligible notions of his own importance and high vocation; misled by ludicrously erroneous ideas of honour; and hurried on by the example of all around him; the true Bursche swaggers and renowns, choleric, raw, and overbearing. He measures his own honour, because his companions measure it, by the number of *scandals* he has fought, but neither he nor they ever waste a thought on what they have been fought for. To have fought unsuccessfully is bad; but, if he wishes to become a respected and influential personage, not to have fought at all is infinitely worse. He, therefore, does not fight to resent insolence, but he insults, or takes offence, that he may have a pretext for fighting.'—I. pp. 175–177.

'It is amusing to listen to the pompousness with which these young men speak of this *Akademische Freyheit*, when it is known that it means precisely nothing. To judge from the lofty periods in which they declaim about the blessings it has showered on the country,

and the sacred obligations by which they are bound to maintain it, we would conclude that it invests them with no ordinary franchises; while, in truth, it gives them nothing that any other man would wish to have. To be dressed, and to look like no other person; to let his beard grow, where every good Christian shaves; to let his tangled locks crawl down upon his shoulders, where every well-bred man wears his hair short; to clatter along the streets in monstrous jack-books, loaded with spurs, which, from their weight and size, have acquired the descriptive appellation of pound-spurs; to rub the elbow of his coat against the wall till he has made a hole in it, where ordinary people think it more respectable to wear a coat without holes; to stroll through the streets singing, when all decent citizens are in bed; to join his pot-companions nightly in the alehouse, and besot himself with beer and tobacco: these, and things like these, are the ingredients in the boasted academical freedom of a German student. In every thing connected with the university, he has neither voice nor influence.'—I. 190, 191.

In those lawless proceedings they affect, however, to be regulated by a very rigid law of honour, which is embodied in a formal treatise, which passes by the name of 'The Comment.'

'This *Comment* is the Burschen Pandects, the general code to which all the Landsmannschaften are subject. However numerous the latter may be in a university, there is but one comment, and this venerable body of law descends from generation to generation, in the special keeping of the senior convent. The comment is, in reality, a code, arranging the manner in which Burschen shall quarrel with each other, and how the quarrel, once begun, shall be terminated. It fixes, with the most pedantic solicitude, a graduated scale of offensive words, and the style and degree of satisfaction that may be demanded for each. The scale rises, or is supposed to rise, in enormity, till it reaches the atrocious expression, *Dummer Junge*, (stupid youth), which contains within itself every possible idea of insult, and can be atoned for only with blood. The particular degrees of the scale may vary in different universities; but the principle of its construction is the same in all, and in all "stupid youth" is the boiling point. If you are assailed with any epithet which stands below *stupid youth* in the scale of contumely, you are not bound immediately to challenge; you may "set yourself in advantage;" that is, you may retort on the offender with an epithet which stands higher than the one he has applied to you. Then your opponent may retort, if you have left him room, in the same way, by rising a degree above you; and thus the courteous terms of the comment may be bandied between you, till one or the other finds only the highest step of the ladder unoccupied, and is compelled to pronounce the "stupid youth," to which there is no reply but a challenge. I do not say that this is the ordinary practice; in general, it comes to a challenge at once; but such is the theory of the Comment.

'In the conduct of the duel itself, the comment descends to the minutest particulars. The dress, the weapons, the distance, the value of different kinds of thrust, the length to which the arm shall be bare, and a thousand other minutiæ, are all fixed, and have, at least, the merit of preventing every unfair advantage. In some universities the sabre, in others the rapier, is the academical weapon; pistols nowhere. The weapon used at Jena is what they call a *Schläger*. It is a straight blade, about three feet and a half long, and three-cornered like a bayonet. The hand is protected by a circular plate of tin, eight or ten inches in diameter, which some burlesque poets, who have had the audacity to laugh at Burschenism, have profaned with the appellation of "The Soup Plate of Honour." The handle can be separated from the blade, and the soup plate from both,—all this for purposes of concealment. The handle is put in the pocket; the plate is buttoned under the coat; the blade is sheathed in a walking-stick; and thus the parties proceed unsuspected to the place of combat, as if they were going out for a morning stroll. The tapering triangular blade, necessarily becomes roundish towards the point; therefore, no thrust counts, unless it be so deep that the orifice of the wound is three-cornered; for, as the Comment has it, "no affair is to be decided in a trifling and childish way merely *pro forma*." Besides the seconds, an umpire and a surgeon must be present; but the last is always a medical student, that he may be under the comment-obligation to secrecy. All parties present are bound not to reveal what passes, without distinction of consequences, if it has been fairly done; the same promise is exacted from those who may come accidentally to know any thing of the matter. To give information or evidence against a Bursche, in regard to any thing not contrary to the Comment, is an inexpiable offence. Thus life may easily be lost without the possibility of discovery; for authority is deprived, as far as possible, of every means by which it might get at the truth. It is perfectly true, that mortal combats are not frequent; partly from the average equality of skill, every man being in the daily practice of his weapon, partly because there is often no small portion of gasconade in the warlike propensities of these young persons; yet neither are they so rare as many people imagine. It does not often happen, indeed, that either of the parties is killed on the spot; but the wounds often superinduce other mortal ailments, and still more frequently, lay the foundation of diseases which cling to the body through life. A professor, who perhaps has had better opportunities of learning the working of the system than any of his colleagues, assured me, that instances are by no means rare, of young men carrying home consumption with them, in consequence of slight injuries received in the lungs.' I. 177—182.

We cannot help suspecting that there is some exaggeration in all this; but, even after every allowance on this score, enough will remain to stamp on the social system of these institutions the most merited ridicule and most just reproach. It

were infinitely better that seminaries of education, thus grossly and systematically polluted, should at once be suppressed, than that they should continue to corrupt the morals and debase the manners of those they profess to instruct. But we really have no idea that the task of reformation would be arduous. Four hundred raw lads, with little money in their pockets, and with previous habits of decency, might surely be kept in order without any very wasteful exertion of public authority—in spite of their soup plates of honour,—and their spits to boot. A few steady acts of expulsion, by purging the society of the most incorrigible, would probably do the business at once;—and an active police, vigilantly maintained for a year or two, and aided by the spectacle of a few of the heroes in the house of correction, would soon eradicate these disgraceful habits, and lead to the introduction of more polished manners, and more correct notions of honour. In the mean time, we are happy to find that the author holds in just contempt the dread which the members of the Holy Alliance have lately affected to feel, lest the coarse profligacy and boyish swaggering of these ill conditioned youths should infect the rising generation with principles of political insubordination. This, we have no doubt, is merely a pretext to cover their own base attempts to convert those seminaries into schools of servility. That the stability of governments should be endangered by the pothouse rhodomontade of these poor boys, is a supposition even more ridiculous than their rant about academical freedom.

'It is,' as our author justly remarks, 'in itself no slight peculiarity, that all these peculiarities do not last longer than three years. When the student has finished his *curriculum*, and leaves the University, he is himself numbered among the Philistines; the prejudices, the fooleries, and the hot-headed forwardness of the Bursche depart from him, as if he were waking from a dream; he returns to the ordinary modes of thinking and acting in the world; he probably never wields a rapier again, or quarrels with a mortal, till his dying day; he falls into his own place in the bustling competition of society, and leads a peaceful industrious life, as his fathers did before him. His political chimeras, too, like all the rest of his oddities, are much less connected with principle than his turbulence would seem to imply; they are modes of speech, which, like the shapeless coats, and daily fencing matches, it has become the fashion of the place to adopt, rather than any steady feeling or solid conviction. The Burschen peculiarities are taken up because they belong to the sort of life to which the person is, for a time, consigned; but they do not adhere to the man, or become abiding parts of his character: once beyond the walls of the town, and they fall from him with the long hair.—There does not seem, in short, to be much more reason to fear that a swagger-

ing and unruly German Bursche will become a quarrelsome and riotous German citizen, than there would be to apprehend that a boy of Eton would grow up to be a radical leader in Parliament, because at school he had borne a share in a barring out.'—I. 192–194.

The whole account of Weimar is excellent; but we can afford to give little more than the following sketch of Göthe:

'Of the Weimar sages and poets Göthe alone survives. One after another, he has sung the dirge over Herder, and Wieland, and Schiller: "his tuneful brethren all are fled;" but, lonely as he now is in the world of genius, it could be less justly said of him than of any other man, that he,

neglected and oppressed,
Wished to be with them and at rest;

for no living author, at least of Germany, can boast of so long and brilliant a career. At once a man of genius and a man of the world, Göthe has made his way as an accomplished courtier no less than as a great poet. He has spent in Weimar more than one half of his prolific life, the object of enthusiastic admiration to his countrymen; honoured by sovereigns, to whom his muse has never been deficient in respect; the friend of his prince, who esteems him the first man on earth; and caressed by all the ladies of Germany, to whose reasonable service he has devoted himself from his youth upwards. It is only necessary to know what Göthe still is in his easy and friendly moments, to conceive how justly the universal voice describes him as having been in person, manners, and talent, a captivating man. He is now seventy-four years old, yet his tall imposing form is but little bent by years; the lofty open brow retains all its dignity, and even the eye has not lost much of its fire. The effects of age are chiefly perceptible in an occasional indistinctness of articulation. Much has been said of the jealousy with which he guards his literary reputation and the haughty reserve with which this jealousy is alleged to surround his intercourse. Those who felt it so must either have been persons whose own reputation rendered him cautious in their presence, or whose doubtful intentions laid him under still more unpleasing restraints; for he sometimes shuts his door, and often his mouth, from the dread of being improperly put into books. His conversation is unaffected, gentlemanly, and entertaining: in the neatness and point of his expressions, no less than in his works, the first German classic, in regard of language, is easily recognised. He has said somewhere, that he considered himself to have acquired only one talent, that of writing German. He manifests no love of display, and least of all in his favourite studies. It is not uncommon, indeed, to hear people say, that they did not find in Göthe's conversation any striking proof of the genius which animates his writings; but this is as it should be. There are few more intolerable personages than those who, having once acquired a reputation for cleverness, think themselves bound never to open their mouths without saying something which they take to be smart or uncommon.

'The approach of age, and certain untoward circumstances which wounded his vanity, have, at length, driven Göthe into retirement. He spends the winter in Weimar, but no man is less seen. Buried among his books and engravings, making himself master of everything worth reading in German, English, French, and Italian, he has said adieu to worldly pleasures and gaieties, and even to much of the usual intercourse of society. Not long ago, he attended a concert, given at court, in honour of a birth-day. He was late: but when he entered the room the music instantly ceased; all forgot court and princes to gather round Göthe, and the Grand Duke himself advanced to lead up his old friend.

'For nearly five years he has deserted the theatre, which used to be the scene of his greatest glory. By the weight of his reputation and directorship, he had established such a despotism, that the spectators would have deemed it treason to applaud before Göthe had given, from his box, the signal of approbation. Yet a dog and a woman could drive him from the theatre, and the world. Most people know the French melodrame, The Forest of Bondy, or the Dog of St Aubry. The piece became a temporary favourite in Germany, as well as in France, for it was something new to see a mastiff play the part of a tragic hero. An attempt was made to have it represented in Weimar. Göthe, who, after the death of Schiller, reigned absolute monarch of the theatre, resisted the design with vehemence; he esteemed it a profanation of the stage which he and his brethren had raised to the rank of the purest in Germany, that it should be polluted by dumb men, noisy *spectacle*, and the barkings of a mastiff, taught to pull a bell by tying a sausage to the bell-rope. But his opposition was in vain; the principal actress insisted that the piece should be performed; and this lady has long possessed peculiar sources of influence over the Grand Duke. The dog made his debut, and Göthe his exit!

'Göthe stands pre-eminent above all his countrymen in versatility and universality of genius. There are few departments which he has not attempted, and in many he has gained the first honours. There is no mode of the lyre through which he has not run,—song, epigram, ode, elegy, ballad, opera, comedy, tragedy, the lofty epic, and that anomalous production of the German Parnassus, the civil epic, *(Bürgerliche Epos)* which, forsaking the deeds of heroes and the fates of nations, sings in sounding hexameters the simple lives and loves of citizens and farmers. Yet the muses have been far from monopolizing the talents of this indefatigable man; as they were the first love, so they are still the favourites of his genius; but he has coquetted with numberless rivals, and mineralogy, criticism on the fine arts, biography and topography, sentimental and philosophical novels, optics and comparative anatomy, have all employed his pen. His lucubrations in the sciences have not commanded much either of notice or admiration. To write well on every thing, it is not enough to take an interest in every thing. It is in the fine arts, in poetry as an

artist, in painting and sculpture as a critic, that Göthe justifies the fame which he has been accumulating for nearly fifty years; for his productions in this department contain an assemblage of dissimilar excellences which none of his countrymen can produce, though individually they might be equalled or surpassed. Faust alone, a poem, which only a German can thoroughly feel or understand, is manifestly the production of a genius, quite at home in every thing with which poetry deals, and master of all the styles which poetry can adopt.—From his youth, he has been the favourite of fortune and fame; he has reached the brink of the grave, hailed by the voice of his country as the foremost of her great, the patriarch of her literature, and the model of her genius. In his old age, wrapped up in the seclusion of Weimar, so becoming his years and so congenial to his habits, he hears no sounds but those of eulogy and affection. Like an eastern potentate, or a jealous deity, he looks abroad from his retirement on the intellectual world which he has formed by his precept or his example; he pronounces the oracular doom, or sends forth a revelation, and men wait on him to venerate and obey. Princes are proud to be his companions; less elevated men approach him with awe, as a higher spirit; and when Göthe shall follow the kindred minds whom he has seen pass away before him, Weimar will have lost the last pillar of her fame, and in the literature of Germany there will be a vacant throne.'—I. 81–91.

'It is almost a consequence of the literary character of Weimar, that nowhere on the Continent is English more studiously cultivated. Byron and Scott are as much read, as well understood, and as fairly judged of by the Germans as among ourselves. They have not merely one, but several translations of the best of the Scottish Novels. The Grand Duke himself reads a great deal of English. Besides his own private collection, the well-stored public library, which is thrown open for the use of every body, contains all our celebrated writers. What a change in the course of half a century! The library of Frederick still stands in Sans Souci, as he left it at his death, and does not contain a volume but what is French.—Göthe, too, is fond of English reading, and whatever Göthe is fond of must be fashionable in Weimar. He is an idolater of Byron, though he holds that his Lordship has stolen various good things from him.'—I. 103, 104.

Our author is delighted with the pure morals of Weimar; which he ascribes, in a great degree, to the splendid example and commanding character of the Arch-Dutchess, of whom he has recorded several interesting anecdotes. The ladies he admits to be a little blue; and both they and their sisters of Saxony, he thinks, are too much addicted to needle-work and knitting. Their drawing-rooms, he observes, might be mistaken for schools of industry; and at Dresden, a lady at the play will lay down her work to wipe away her tears, and take it up again when she has dried her eyes!

The Grand Duke, besides being the great protector of letters in Germany, has the distinguished honour of being the only one of its sovereigns who has kept the promise, which they all made so solemnly at the close of the war, in their Congress of Vienna, to grant free constitutions to their subjects. There are few things more disgraceful in the history of the world, than the undisguised perfidy with which all the rest have violated this most just engagement,—or more humiliating than the pretexts by which they have generally sought to evade it. Some, like the King of Prussia, allowing the force of the obligation, have condescended to argue, that there is *no time* 'nominated in the bond' within which they are bound to fulfil it, and that they will consequently do all that can fairly be required of them, if they put some limits on their arbitrary power at the distance of 500 or 1000 years! The doctrine of Vienna, however, is less quibbling, and more audacious; and volumes have actually been published, under the auspices of that court, to show that the article in the acts of the Congress should be understood only as binding the sovereigns to each other, but not at all to their subjects! The Grand Duke of Weimar disdained such subterfuges; and at once established a Representative Legislature, one-third part of which is elected by the Nobility, and the rest by a system of nearly universal suffrage. Our author, who is plainly somewhat sceptical as to the value of popular institutions, intimates, that these new legislators have given some tokens of awkwardness in the exercise of their functions; and assures us that the blue ladies, and the polite society of the place, care very little about them. But he admits that they have done their business honestly and well; and that the establishment has produced neither obstruction to the Government, nor disaffection among the people. He observes also, that the indifference with which this great change has been viewed, is not only a proof of its safety, but is characteristic of the German race. 'They get on in all things slowly, but surely; 'and in political education, more than in any other, precocity 'is the bane of soundness or depth.'

How long this nuisance of a free government will be allowed to subsist in the neighbourhood of the Holy Allies, it is not easy to conjecture. But they have already interfered to check the liberty of its press; and to put down, by menaces, privileges which they had themselves very recently recognised. The following passage is a new and edifying example of the spirit of this interference.

'There is a Censorship; but its existence is no stain on the government of Weimar, for it is a child of foreign birth which it has

been *compelled* to adopt. The constitution established the freedom of the press, restricted only by the necessary responsibility in a court of law, and the constitution itself was guaranteed *by the Diet*. Greater powers, however, not only held it imprudent to concede the same right to their own subjects, but considered it dangerous that it should be exercised by any people speaking the same language. The resolutions of the Congress of Carlsbad were easily converted into ordinances of the Diet, and Weimar was forced, by the will of this supreme authority, to receive a Censorship. Nay, she has occasionally been compelled to yield to external influence, which did not even use the formality of acting through the medium of the Diet. Dr Reuder was the editor of a Weimar newspaper called the "Opposition Paper" (*Das Oppositions-Blatt*), a journal of decidedly liberal principles, and extensive circulation. When it was understood that the three Powers intended to crush the Neopolitan revolution by force, there appeared in this paper one or two articles directed against the justice of this armed interference. They passed over unnoticed; but, in a couple of months, the *Congress of Troppau* assembled, and forthwith appeared an edict of the Grand Duke suppressing the paper. No one laid the blame on the government. Every body in Weimar said, "*An order has come down from Troppau.*"

'In fact, from the moment the liberty of the press was established, Weimar was regarded with an evil eye by the potentates who preponderate at the Diet. In less than three years there were six journals published in Weimar and Jena, devoted wholly, or in part, to political discussion, and three of them edited by professors of distinguished name in German learning. Their politics were all in the same strain; earnest pleadings for representative constitutions; and very provoking, though very sound disquisitions on the inefficacy of the new form of confederative government to which Germany has been subjected. At Weimar no fault was found with all this. More than one of these journals were printed in the *Industrie-Comptoir*, an establishment under the peculiar protection of the Grand Duke. But a different party, and particularly the *government press of some other courts*, took the alarm, and raised an outcry against Weimar, as if all the radicals of Europe had crowded into this little territory, to hatch rebellion for the whole Continent. Every occurrence was made use of to throw odium on the liberal forms of her government, or torment its administrators with remonstrances and complaints. The Grand Duke really had some reason to say, that Jena had cost him more uneasiness than Napoleon had ever done. By displacing some, suspending others, and frightening all; by establishing a Censorship, and occasionally administering a suppression, the press of Weimar has been reduced to silence or indifference.'—I. pp. 122–125.

We might perhaps finish our extracts here;—but, after having held him up in the last as friendly, on the whole, to the exercise of popular rights, the author might perhaps think himself unfairly dealt with, if we did not give him an opportuni-

ty of showing under what limitations he is inclined to side with the Liberals of the day. This is to be found chiefly in his defence of the present Government of Prussia; on which, in spite of its undeniable breach of faith to its subjects, and its open adherence to the abominations of the Holy Alliance, he is pleased to lavish the most unqualified praise. He does not fail, indeed, to reprobate the principles of that atrocious conspiracy, and even acknowledges the value and ultimate necessity of political liberty; but he imputes the accession of Prussia to the overwhelming weight of foreign influence, and condescends to employ the old apology for not doing what is right—that it may very well be put off to a more convenient season. We are willing to believe, that, in his partiality for Prussian despotism, his judgment has been partly suborned by his moral sympathies. Amidst the general corruption of the Continental Courts, he has evidently been much struck by the domestic virtues of the present King, and by the depth and purity of that conjugal affection which united him to his late most amiable and unfortunate consort. As these sentiments do great credit to the author, and are indeed combined by him into a very interesting picture, we shall give a short specimen of them in the following extract.

'The memory of Louisa may safely disregard the foul calumnies of French babblers, who lied and invented to gratify their unmanly master. If the character of a woman and a queen is to be gathered from her husband, her children, and her subjects, few of her rank will fill a more honourable place. She said herself, shortly before her death, "Posterity will not set down my name among those of celebrated women; but whoever knows the calamities of these times, will say of me, she suffered much, and she suffered with constancy. May he be able to add, she gave birth to children who deserved better days, who struggled to bring them round, and at length succeeded." She was not distinguished for talent, but she was loved and revered for her virtues; she had all the qualifications of an amiable woman, of a queen she had only the feelings. Every Prussian regarded her, and still speaks of her with a love approaching to adoration. It was not merely her beauty or female graces, richly as she was endowed with them, that captivated her husband's people; it was her pure, mild, simple, and affectionate character. They had sighed beneath the extravagant government of mistresses and favourites, which disgraced the closing years of the reign of the preceding monarch; and they turned with fondness to the novel spectacle of domestic happiness and propriety which adorned the throne of Prussia, when his present majesty mounted it, with the fairest princess of Europe by his side, and both surrounded by a family, in which alone they continued to seek their pure pleasures and simple amusements. Courtly extravagance and dissoluteness were banished,

for empty pomp and noisy gaiety did not suit their domestic attachments; while they supported the dignity of the crown, they never made themselves the slaves of court etiquette.

'From the moment that Prussia awoke, too late, on the brink of the precipice to which an unstable and short-sighted policy had conducted her, the life of this young and beautiful woman was uninterrupted bodily decay, the effect of mental suffering. Her hopes had been high, that the exertions of 1806 might still save the monarchy; she accompanied the king to the army, but retired to a place of safety immediately before the battle of Jena. She and the king parted in tears, and never met again in happiness; the battle was lost, and Prussia was virtually effaced from the number of the nations.

'From this moment the queen visibly sunk; her high spirit could not brook the downfall of her house; and her keen feelings only preyed the more rapidly on her health from the effort with which she concealed them. The unassuming piety and natural dignity of her character allowed neither repining nor complaint. She lived just long enough to witness the utter degradation of the monarchy, and to exhort her sons to remember that they had but one duty to perform, to avenge its wrongs, and retrieve its disgraces,—and they have done it. "My sons," said she to them, when she felt what all were yet unwilling to believe, that the seal of death was upon her, "when your mother is gone, you will weep over her memory, as she herself now weeps over the memory of our Prussia. But you must act. Free your people from the degradation in which they lie; show yourselves worthy to be the descendants of Frederick. God bless you, my dear boys! this is my legacy,—save your country, or die like men."

'This salvation was in reserve for Prussia; and the memory of the queen had no small share in producing that burst of national devotedness by which it was wrought out. While sinking beneath the heart-breaking pressure of the present, she never desponded concerning the future; a firm belief that the debasing yoke could not endure, clung to her to the last; and her letters, especially those to her father, express it repeatedly. In one she says, "The power of France cannot stand, for it is founded only on what is bad in man, his vanity and selfishness." Her firm assurance was shared by the whole nation; after her death, they still looked forward with confidence to the fulfilment of her hopes. It seemed as if the superstition which Tacitus has recorded of the ancient Germans had revived among their posterity, and the spirit of a woman was held to possess prophetic power. When the hour of fulfilment did come, Louisa was a sort of watchword to the arming Prussians; not one of them ever forgave the insults, or forgot the misfortunes of his queen. Even amid the triumphs and exultation of the contest which hurled France beyond the Rhine, and her unquiet despot from his throne, accents of regret were ever and anon bursting forth, "She has not

lived to see it;" and, long after she was gone, the females of Berlin were wont to repair, in an affectionate pilgrimage, on the monthly anniversary of her death, to her tomb at Charlottenburg, and deck her grave with fresh flowers.' II. pp. 55–62.

Neither will we withhold from our readers the greater part of the passage in which our author defends and eulogizes this arbitrary government. It contains concessions enough in favour of liberty, to enable any thinking reader to see the hollowness of the apology at which it labours.

'The government is in its forms a Despotic one. It wields a censorship; it is armed with a strict and stern police; and, in one sense, the property of the subject is at its disposal, in so far as the portion of his goods which he shall contribute to the public service depends only on the pleasure of the government. But let not our just hatred of despotic forms make us blind to substantial good. Under these forms, the government, not more from policy than inclination, has been guilty of no oppressions which might place it in dangerous opposition to public feeling or opinion; while it has crowded its administration with a rapid succession of ameliorations, which gave new life to all the weightiest interests of the state, and brought all classes of society into a more natural array, and which only ignorance or prejudice can deny to have been equally beneficial to the people, and honourable to the executive. I greatly doubt, whether there be any example of a popular government doing so much real good in so short a time, and with so much continued effect. When a minister roots out abuses which impede individual prosperity, gives free course to the arts and industry of the country, throws open to the degraded the paths of comfort and respectability, and brings down the artificial privileges of the high to that elevation which nature demands in every stable form of political society; while he thus prepares a people for a popular government, and, at the same time, by this very preparation, creates the safest and most unfailing means of obtaining it, he stands much higher, as a statesman and philosopher, than the minister who rests satisfied with the easy praise, and the more than doubtful experiment, of giving popular forms to a people which knows neither how to value nor exercise them. The statesmen of this age, more than of any other, ought to have learned the folly of casting the political pearl before swine.

'This is no defence of despotism; it is a statement of the good which the Prussian government has done, and an elucidation of the general spirit of improvement in which it has acted. But it furnishes no reason for retaining the despotic forms under which this good has been wrought out, so soon as the public wishes require, and the public mind is, in some measure, capable of using more liberal and manly instruments.—The despotism of Prussia stands as far above that of Naples, or Austria, or Spain, as our own constitution stands above the mutilated charter of France. The people are personally attached to their king; and in regard to his government, they feel and re-

cognise the real good which has been done infinitely more strongly than the want of the unknown good which is yet to be attained, and which alone can secure the continuance of all the rest. They have not enjoyed the political experience and education which would teach them the value of this security; and even the better informed classes tremble at the thought of exacting it by popular clamour, because they see it must speedily come of itself.

'In judging of the political feelings of a country, a Briton is apt to be deceived by his own political habits still more than by partial observation. The political exercises and education which we enjoy, are riches which we may well wish to see in the possession of others; but they lead us into a thousand fallacies, when they make us conclude, from what our own feelings would be under any given institutions, that another people, whose very prejudices go with its government, must be just as ready to present a claim of right, bring the king to trial, or declare the throne to be vacant. Prussia is by no means the only country of Germany where the people know nothing of that love of political thinking and information which pervades ourselves. But Prussia is in the true course to arrive at it; the most useful classes of her society are gradually rising in wealth, respectability, and importance; and, ere long, her government, in the natural course of things, must admit popular elements. If *foreign influence*, and, above all, that of *Russia*, whose leaden weight is said to hang too heavily already on the cabinet of Berlin, do not interfere, I shall be deceived if the change be either demanded with outrageous clamour from below, or refused with unwise and selfish obstinacy from above. No people of the continent better deserves political liberty than the Germans; for none will wait for it more patiently, receive it more thankfully, or use it with greater moderation.'—II. pp. 133–139.

Taking them as general propositions, we are far from quarrelling with the greater part of the doctrines contained in this passage; but to its practical application we have the greatest possible objection. The benefits, nay, the necessity of a free constitution, as the only security for good government, are here admitted as amply as we could desire;—and what is the substance of the apology that is made for its being withheld, by a Sovereign solemnly pledged to concede it? Why, 1*st*, That it is really needless to grant any constitution, because the King does of himself all the good that could result from it; 2*d*, That the people, being sensible of this, are not clamorous or impatient for it; and, 3*d*, That, by wanting it for some time longer, and being still more used to good treatment under an arbitrary King, they will be better prepared to enjoy and administer it when it comes. The last of these propositions involves so violent a paradox, that it may be safely left to its own refutation. But are the others, in reality, less shallow and sophisti-

cal? If the reigning Sovereign is disposed, of himself, to abstain from an oppressive use of his power, he can have no intelligible motive for refusing to let the power of oppression be disjoined from his office for ever; and it is worse than absurd to say, that the reign of such a monarch is not the fit season for introducing limitations on the Crown, when it is manifest that it is in fact the *only* season in which they *can* be introduced without perilous violence. With regard, again, to the temper of the people, we confess that it is new to us to be told, that the time for making a wise and permanent arrangement between sovereign and subject, is when they are exasperated by mutual dread and contention,—when the bitter waters of discord are abroad in the land, and the people are *clamouring* for rights which cannot then be conceded without appearing to be extorted, and must grow up, if sown in such a season, into new harvests, at least for a time, of distrust and animosity. The patience and alleged indifference with which the people are said to look forward to the grant, and to endure the delay of their promised constitution, should be the strongest of all reasons, in the eyes of their rulers, for its immediate concession,—as affording the best pledge that their new rights and powers will be used with sobriety and temperance, and that those who are not clamorous when what is due is withheld from them, will not be likely to seek more than is due, or to be turbulent in adjusting any thing that may be debateable as to its extent. Is it any thing less, too, than ridiculous, to talk of the enlightened, industrious, literary people of Prussia, as unfit to exercise the functions, or supply the materials of a representative legislature, which was beneficially established in England when its population was comparatively barbarous, and which is known to have, in all places, the effect of gradually creating the virtues and talents which it puts in requisition? We can understand how it might be unsafe to intrust the task of self-government, all at once, to the emancipated serfs of Russia or Egypt; but that the reading and manufacturing inhabitants of Prussia should require another century's training under beneficent despots, before they could guess what laws would contribute to their security and happiness, does seem a strain of extravagance beyond what we should have expected even from the advocates of legitimacy.

But the true question is, Whether there is the least reason to suppose that the reformed constitution is really withheld upon any such considerations,—whether, in point of fact, it is not *delayed* in order that it may be ultimately *refused*, and whether, therefore, we may not reckon upon everything being

done by the Government, not to train and prepare the people for the exercise of popular rights, but to wean them from the wish, and frighten them from the attempt to attain them? Who, that looks with any moderate degree of candour on the pitiful shifts by which Prussia has sought to evade the performance of her engagements to her subjects, and on the prompt and decided part she has taken in the proceedings of the Holy Alliance, can doubt for a moment how these questions are to be answered? The policy which she is pursuing, we are indeed persuaded, is a short-sighted and ruinous one, and will, we trust, lead speedily to its own confusion; but that it is, in principle and design, an illiberal and truly tyrannical policy, we cannot allow to be doubted,—nor withhold this expression of our wonder at the doubts of the intelligent writer before us.

Though we do not think him altogether sound in his politics, however, we have no suspicion of his candour in the statement of facts, or the liberality of his general views; and indeed could desire no other materials for the refutation of his practical and particular errors, than the facts he has furnished, and the principles he has avowed. The greater part of his book, however, has nothing to do with politics; and though we refrain from any farther extracts, we can safely assure the great body of our *idle* readers, that they will find the bulk of it much more amusing than the specimens we have last exhibted.

ART. V. *Hints to Philanthropists; or a Collective View of Practical Means of Improving the Condition of the Poor and Labouring Classes of Society.* By WILLIAM DAVIS.

THE subject of Popular Education has frequently engaged our attention since the commencement of this Journal; but we have hitherto confined ourselves to the great fundamental branch of the question,—the provisions for elementary instruction, by schools in which the poor may be taught reading and writing, and thus furnished with the means of acquiring knowledge. We are desirous now of pursuing this inquiry into its other branch—the application of those means—the use of those instruments—the manner in which the working classes of the community may be most effectually and safely assisted in improving their minds by scientific acquirements.

But, *first*, we would guard against the supposition that we are assuming sufficient provision to have been made for elementary education, when we direct the reader's attention to its

higher departments. There is no reason whatever for postponing the consideration of the latter until the former shall be completed. On the contrary, the deficiency now existing in the proportion of schools to the population of the country, would in all probability be much diminished, if useful knowledge were diffused among all those who have already learnt to read. The greater use they make of this acquirement, the more widely will the desire of having it be spread; the better informed a large portion of the people becomes, the more difficult will it be for narrow-minded men to keep any part of their countrymen in ignorance. Nay, the direct operation of knowledge will tend to eradicate ignorance. A father of a family who can barely read, and has turned this talent to little account in improving his mind, may leave his children uneducated, unless the means of instruction are afforded him by the State, or by some other charity; but one who has made some progress in science, or in acquiring general information, will rather sacrifice any personal comfort than suffer his children to be uneducated; and will take care that, in some way or other, they obtain that instruction to which his own improvement is owing. It is very far, therefore, from being true, that we should wait till schools are provided for all, and till all can read, before we consider how those who can read may best turn that faculty to account. A superficial view of the subject can alone make any one believe that the latter inquiry is premature, if it precedes the universal establishment of elementary education. The planting of schools for the young, and assisting those more advanced in their studies, are works that may well go on together, and must aid each other.

The fundamental principle which chiefly merits attention in discussing this subject, is, that the interference of the Government may be not only safe but advantageous, and even necessary, in providing the means of elementary education for children; but that no such interference can be tolerated, to the smallest extent, with the subsequent instruction of the people. If a child be only taught to read and write, it is extremely immaterial by whom, or on what terms he is put in possession of the instruments by which knowledge may be acquired. It would, no doubt, be a gross act of oppression, if the Government were to spend part of the money raised from the people at large, in forming schools from which, by the regulations, certain classes of the community should be excluded. But if those schools are only so constructed that all may enter, no dangerous influence can result to the government, and no undue bias be communicated to the minds of the children, by having them

taught the art of reading in seminaries connected with the establishment in Church and State. It is far otherwise with the use that may afterwards be made of the tools thus acquired. Once suffer the least interference with that, and the government has made a step towards absolute power, and may, with a little address, and in a short time, if unresisted, reach its journey's end. Such a jealousy as we are here inculcating, is the more essentially necessary in a country where the existence of an established church, with its appendages of universities and publick schools, has already thrown religious instruction into the hands of a particular class, and given the government great influence over the education, generally, of the higher classes. In such a community, any interference with the diffusion of knowledge among the great body of the people would be pregnant with the most fatal consequences both to civil and religious liberty.

It is manifest, that the people themselves must be the great agents in accomplishing the work of their own education. Unless they are thoroughly impressed with a sense of its usefulness, and resolved to make some sacrifices for the acquisition of it, there can be no reasonable prospect of this grand object being attained. But it is equally clear, that to wait until the whole people with one accord take the determination to labour in this good work, would be endless. A portion of the community may be sensible of its advantages, and willing at any fair price to seek them, long before the same laudable feeling becomes universal; and their successful efforts to better their intellectual condition cannot fail to spread more widely the love of knowledge, and the contempt for vulgar and sensual gratifications.

But although the people must be the source and the instruments of their own improvement, they may be essentially aided in their efforts to instruct themselves. Difficulties which might be sufficient to damp or wholly to obstruct their progress, may be removed; and efforts which, unassisted, would perhaps prove a transient, or only a partial enthusiasm for the attainment of knowledge, may, with judicious encouragement, be made both a lasting and an universal habit. A little attention to the difficulties that principally beset the poor in their search after information, will at once lead us to the knowledge of those wants in which their more affluent neighbours can lend them most valuable assistance.

Their difficulties may all be classed under one or other of two heads—want of money and want of time. To the first belongs the difficulty of obtaining those books and instructors which persons in easy circumstances can command; and to the

second, it is owing that the same books and instructors are not adapted to them, which suffice to teach persons who have leisure to go through the whole course of any given branch of science. It is also owing to their habitual occupation, that in some lines of employment, there is hardly a possibility of finding any time for acquiring knowledge. This is particularly the case with those whose labour is severe, or, though less severe, yet in the open air, for here the tendency to sleep immediately after it ceases, and the greater portion of sleep required, oppose very serious obstacles to instruction.

The first method, then, that suggests itself for promoting knowledge among the poor, is the encouragement of cheap publications; and in no country is this more wanted than in Great Britain, where, with all our boasted expertness in manufactures, we have never succeeded in printing books at so little as double the price required by our neighbours on the Continent. A gown, which any where else would cost a guinea, may be made in this country for half a crown; but a volume, fully as well or better printed, and on paper which, if not as fine, is quite fine enough, and far more agreeable to the eyes, than could be bought in London for half a guinea, costs only six francs, or less than five shillings at Paris. The high price of labour in a trade where so little can be done, or at least is done by machinery, is one of the causes of this difference. But the direct tax upon paper is another; and the determination to print upon paper of a certain price is a third; and the aversion to crowd the page is a fourth. Now all of these, except the first, may be got over. The duty on paper is threepence a pound, which must increase the price of an octavo volume eightpence or ninepence; and this upon paper of every kind, and printing of every kind; so that if by whatever means the price of a book were reduced to the lowest, say to three or four shillings, about a fourth or a fifth must be added for the tax; and this book, brought as low as possible to accommodate the poor man, with the coarsest paper and most ordinary type, must pay exactly as much to government as the finest hot-pressed work of the same size. This tax ought, therefore, by all means, to be given up; but though, from its being the same upon all paper used in printing, no part of it can be saved by using coarse paper, much of it may be saved by crowding the letter-press, and having a very narrow margin. This experiment has been tried of late in London, upon a considerable scale; but it may easily be carried a great deal further. Thus, Hume's History has been begun; and one volume, containing about two and a half of the former editions, has been published. It

is sold for six shillings and sixpence; but it contains a great number of cuts neatly executed; the paper is much better than is necessary, and the printing is perfectly well done. Were the cuts omitted, and the most ordinary paper and type used, the price might be reduced to 4s. or 4s. 6d.; and a book might thus be sold for 12s. or 14s., which now costs perhaps two or three pounds.

The method of publishing in numbers is admirably suited to the circumstances of the poor. Twopence is easily saved in a week by almost any labourer; and by a mechanic sixpence in a week may without difficulty be laid by. Those who have not attended to these matters, ('the simple annals of the poor,') would be astonished to find how substantial a meal of information may be had by twopenny-worths. Seven numbers, for fourteen pence, comprise Franklin's Life and Essays; and thirty for a crown, the whole of the Arabian Nights. But in looking over the list of those cheap publications, we certainly do not find many that are of a very instructive cast; and here it is that something may be done by way of encouragement. That the demand for books, cheap as well as dear, must tend to produce them, no one doubts; but then it is equally certain, that the publication of cheap books increases the number of readers among the poor; and we can hardly conceive a greater benefit being rendered to them than those would confer, who should make a judicious selection from our best authors upon ethics, politics and history, and promote cheap editions of them in numbers, without waiting until the demand was such as to make the sale a matter of perfect certainty. Lord John Russell, in his excellent and instructive speech upon Parliamentary Reform, delivered in 1822, stated, that 'an establishment was 'commenced a few years ago, by a number of individuals, with 'a capital of not less than a million, for the purpose of printing 'standard works at a cheap rate;' and he added, that it had been 'very much checked in its operation by one of those acts 'for the suppression of knowledge which were passed in the 'year 1819, although one of its rules was not to allow the ven-'ders of its works to sell any book on the political controver-'sies of the day.' The only part of this plan which we can see the least objection to, is the restriction upon politicks. Why should not political, as well as all other works, be published in a cheap form, and in numbers? That history, the nature of the constitution, the doctrines of political economy, may safely be disseminated in this shape, no man now-a-days will be hardy enough to deny. Some points connected with those subjects are matter of pretty warm contention in the present times, and yet these may be freely handled, it seems, with safety;

indeed, unless they are so handled, the subjects they belong to cannot be discussed at all. Why then may not every topic of politicks, party as well as general, be treated of in these cheap publications? It is highly useful to the community that the true principles of the constitution should be understood by every man who lives under it. The peace of the country, and the stability of the government, could not be more effectually secured than by the universal diffusion of this kind of knowledge. The abuses which through time have crept into the practice of it, and the errors committed in its administration, may most fitly be expounded in the same manner. And if any man, or set of men, denies the existence of such abuses, and sees no error in the conduct of those who administer the government, he may propagate *his* doctrines through the like channels. Cheap works being furnished, the choice of them may be left to the readers. Assuredly, a country which tolerates every form, even the most violent, of daily and weekly discussion in the newspapers, can have nothing to dread from the diffusion of political doctrines somewhat less desultory, and in a form more likely to make them be both well weighed at the time, and preserved for repeated perusal. It cannot be denied, that the habit of cursory reading, engendered by finding all subjects discussed in publications which, how great soever their merits may be, no one ever thinks of looking at a second time, is unfavourable to the acquisition of solid and permanent information.

Although the providing cheap publications furnishes the most effectual means of bringing knowledge within the reach of a poor man's income, there are other modes deserving our attention, whereby a similar assistance may be rendered, and his resources economized. Circulating libraries may in some circumstances be of use; but, generally speaking, they are little adapted to those who have only an hour or two every day, or every other day, to bestow upon reading. Book clubs, or reading societies, are *far* more suited to the labouring classes, may be established by very small numbers of contributors, and require an inconsiderable fund. If the associates live near one another, arrangements may be easily made for circulating the books, so that they may be in use every moment that any one can spare from his work. Here, too, the rich have an easy method presented to them of promoting instruction; the gift of a few books, as a beginning, will generally prove a sufficient encouragement to carry on the plan by weekly or monthly contributions; and with the gift a scheme may be communicated, to assist the contributors in arranging the plan of their association.

It is however, as we have remarked, not only necessary that the money of the poor, but their time also, should be economized; and this consideration leads to various suggestions.

In the *first* place, there are many occupations in which a number of persons work in the same room; and unless there be something noisy in the work, one may always read while the others are employed. If there are twenty-four men together, this arrangement would only require each man to work one extra day in four weeks, supposing the reading to go on the whole day, which it would not; but a boy or a girl might be engaged to perform the task, for a sum so trifling as not to be felt. This expedient, too, it may be observed, would save money as well as time; one copy of a book, and that borrowed for the purpose, or obtained from a reading society or circulating library, would suffice for a number of persons. We may add, that great help would be given by the better informed and more apt learners, to such as are slower of apprehension and more ignorant; and discussion (under proper regulations) would be of singular use to all, even the most forward proficients; which leads us to observe,

Secondly, That societies for the express purpose of promoting conversation are a most useful adjunct to any private or other education received by the working classes. Those who do not work together in numbers, or whose occupation is of a noisy kind, may thus, one or two evenings in the week, meet and obtain all the advantages of mutual instruction and discussion. An association of this kind will naturally combine with its plan the advantages of a book club. The members will most probably be such as are engaged in similar pursuits, and whose train of reading and thinking may be nearly the same. The only considerable evils which they will have to avoid, are, being too numerous, and falling too much into debate. From twenty to thirty seems a convenient number; and nearer the former than the latter. The tone ought to be given from the beginning, in ridicule of speech-making, both as to length and wordiness. A subject of discussion may be given out at one meeting for the next; or the chairman may read a portion of some work, allowing each member to stop him at any moment, for the purpose of controverting, supporting, or illustrating by his remarks the passage just read. To societies of this kind master workmen have the power of affording great facilities. They may allow an hour on the days when the meetings are holden; or if that is too much, they may allow the men to begin an hour earlier on those days; or if even that cannot be managed, they may let them have an hour and a half, on condition of working half an

hour extra on three other days. But a more essential help will be the giving them a place to meet. There are hardly twenty or thirty workmen in any branch of business, some of whose masters have not a room, workshop, warehouse, or other place sufficient to accommodate such a society; and it is perfectly necessary that the place of rendezvous should on no account be the alehouse. Whoever lent his premises for this purpose, might satisfy himself that no improper persons should be admitted, by taking the names of the whole club from two or three steady men, who could be answerable for the demeanour of the rest.

Any interference beyond this would be unwise; unless in so far as the men might voluntarily consult their masters from time to time; and their disposition to do so must depend wholly upon the relations of kindness and mutual confidence subsisting between the parties. If any difficulty should be found in obtaining the use of a room from their masters, there seems to be no good reason why they should not have the use of any schoolroom that may be in their neighbourhood; and one room of this kind may accommodate several societies; three, if the meetings are twice a week; and six, if they only meet once.

In the *third* place, it is evident that the want of time preventing the classes of whom we are treating from pursuing a systematick course of education in all its details, a more summary and compendious method of instruction must be pursued by them. The great majority must be content with never going beyond a certain point, and with reaching that point by the most expeditious route. A few, thus initiated in the truths of science, will no doubt push their attainments much farther; and for these the works in common use will suffice; but for the multitude it will be most essential that works should be prepared adapted to their circumstances. Thus, in teaching them geometry, it is not necessary to go through the whole steps of that beautiful system, by which the most general and remote truths are connected with the few simple definitions and axioms; enough will be accomplished, if they are made to perceive the nature of mathematical investigation, and learn the leading properties of figure. In like manner, they may be taught the doctrines of mechanics with a much more slender previous knowledge of geometry and algebra, than the common elementary works on dynamicks presuppose in the reader. Hence, a most essential service will be rendered to the cause of knowledge by him who shall devote his time to the composition of elementary treatises on the mathematicks, sufficiently clear, and yet sufficiently compendious, to exemplify the method of reasoning employed in that science, and to

impart an accurate knowledge of the most fundamental and useful propositions, with their application to practical purposes, and treatises upon natural philosophy, which may teach the great principles of physics, and their practical application, to readers who have but a general knowledge of mathematics, or who are wholly ignorant of the science beyond the common rules of arithmetic. Nor let it be supposed, that the time thus bestowed is given merely to instruct the poor in the rudiments of philosophy, though this would of itself be an object sufficiently brilliant to allure men of the noblest ambition; for what higher achievement did the most sublime philosophy ever propose to itself, than to elevate the views and refine the character of the great mass of mankind? But if extending the bounds of science itself be the grand aim of philosophers, they indirectly, but surely, accomplish this object, who enable thousands to speculate and experiment for one to whom the path of investigation is now open. It is not necessary that all who are taught, or even any considerable proportion, should go beyond the rudiments; but whoever feels within himself a desire and an aptitude to proceed further, will do so,—and the chances of discovery, both in the arts and in science itself, will be thus indefinitely multiplied. Indeed those discoveries immediately connected with experiment and observation, are most likely to be made by men, whose lives being spent in the midst of mechanical operations, are at the same time instructed in the general principles upon which these depend, and trained betimes to habits of speculation.

Fourthly, The preparation of elementary works is not the only, nor, at first, is it the most valuable service that can be rendered towards economizing the time of the labouring classes. The institution of Lectures is, of all the helps that can be given, the most valuable, where circumstances permit; that is, in towns of a certain size. Much may thus be taught, even without any other instruction; but, combined with reading, and subservient to it, the effects of public lectures are great indeed, especially in the present deficiency of proper elementary works. The students are enabled to read with advantage; things are explained to them which no books sufficiently illustrate; access is afforded to teachers, who can remove the difficulties which occur perpetually in the reading of uneducated persons; a word may often suffice to get rid of some obstacle which would have impeded the unassisted student's progress for days; and then, whatever requires the performance of experiments to become intelligible, can only be learnt by the bulk of mankind at a lecture, inasmuch as the wealthiest alone can have such lessons in private,

and none but the most highly gifted can hope to master those branches of science without seeing the experimental illustrations.

The branches of knowledge to which these observations chiefly apply, are Mechanical Philosophy and Chemistry, both as being more intimately connected with the arts, and as requiring more explanation and illustration by experiment. But the Mathematics, Astronomy, and Geology, the two former especially, are well fitted for being taught publicly, and are of great practical use. Nor is there any reason why Moral and Political Philosophy should not be explained in public lectures, though they may be learnt by reading far more easily than the physical sciences.

In all plans of this description, it is absolutely necessary that the expenses should mainly be defrayed by those for whose benefit they are contrived. It is the province of the rich to lay the foundation, by making certain advances which are required in the first instance, and enabling the poor to come forward, both as learners and contributors. But no such scheme can either take a deep root, or spread over the country so as to produce the good for which it is calculated, unless its support is derived from those who are chiefly to reap its benefits. Those benefits are, as far as regards instruction in the principles upon which the arts depend, of a nature eminently fitted to improve the condition of the learners, and to repay, in actual profit, far more than the cost required. But, even for instruction in other branches of learning of a more general description, and only tending to improve the moral and intellectual character, a fund is provided, by the substitution of refined and cheap and harmless gratifications, in the stead of luxuries, which are both grosser and more expensive, hurtful to the health, and wasteful of time. The yearly cost of a lecture in the larger cities, where enlightened and public-spirited men may be found willing to give instruction for nothing, is indeed considerably less than in smaller places, where a compensation must be made for the lecturer's time and work. But it seems to us advisable, that, even where gratuitous assistance could be obtained, something like an adequate remuneration should be afforded, both to preserve the principle of independence among the working classes, and to secure the more accurate and regular discharge of the duty. We shall therefore suppose, that the lectures, as well as the current expenses of the room, and where there are experiments, of the apparatus, are paid for; and still it appears by no means an undertaking beyond the reach of those classes. The most expensive courses of teaching will be those requiring apparatus; but then those are likewise the most directly profitable to the

scholars. Contributions may be reckoned upon to begin the plan, including the original purchase of apparatus; and then we may estimate the yearly cost, which alone will fall upon the members of the Association. The hire of a room may be reckoned at thirty pounds; the salary of a lecturer, forty; wear and tear of apparatus, twenty; assistant and servant, ten; clerk or collector, ten; fire and lamps, five; printing and advertising, fifteen; making in all 130*l.* But if two, or three courses are delivered in the same room, the expenses of each will be reduced in proportion. Suppose three, the room may probably be had for fifty pounds, the printing for twenty, and the servants for thirty; so that the expense of each course will be reduced to about a hundred pounds. Each course may occupy six months of weekly lectures; consequently, if only a hundred artisans are to be found who can spare a shilling a week, one lecture may be carried on for 130*l.*; and if 120 artisans can be found to spare a shilling a week, three courses may be carried on during the year, and each person attend the whole. This calculation, however, supposes a very inconsiderable town. If the families engaged in trade and handicrafts have, one with another, a single person contributing, the number of 100 answers to a population of only 770, supposing the proportion of persons engaged in trade and handicrafts to be the same as in the West Riding of Yorkshire; and 710, taking the proportion of Lancashire. If, indeed, we take the proportions in the manufacturing towns, it will answer in some cases to a population of 5500, and in others of little more than 500. But even taking the proportion from towns in the least manufacturing counties, as Huntingdonshire, the population required to furnish 100 will not exceed 900—which is a town of about 200 houses. One of three times the size is but an inconsiderable place; and yet in such a place, upon a very moderate computation, 200 persons might easily be found to spare sixpence a week all the year round; which would be amply sufficient for two lectures. In the larger towns, where 5 or 600 persons might associate, five shillings a quarter would be sufficient to carry on three or four lectures, and leave between 150*l.* or 200*l.* a year for the purchase of books. The most complete establishment will always be that in which a library is combined with the lecture; and it is adviseable that, in places where at first there is not money or spirit enough to begin with both, a library only should be established, to which the lecture may afterwards be added.

The men themselves ought to have the chief share in the management of these concerns. This is essential to the success, and also to the independence of the undertaking; nor is there

the least reason to apprehend mismanagement. If benefit societies are, upon the whole, well conducted, we may rely upon institutions being still better conducted, where the improvement of the mind being the object, those only will ever take a part, who are desirous of their own advancement in knowledge, and of the general instruction of the class to which they belong. Neither is there any fear that the suggestions of persons in a higher station, and of more ample information, may not be duly attended to. Gratitude for the assistance received, and the advice offered, together with a conviction that the only motive for interfering is the good of the establishment, will give at least its just weight to the recommendations of patrons; and if it were not always so, far better would it be to see such influence fail entirely, than to run the risk of the apathy which might be occasioned among the men, and the abuse of the institutors themselves, which might frequently be produced by excluding from the control of their affairs, those whose interest are the only object in view. The influence of patrons is always sure to have at the least its proper weight, as long as their object plainly is merely to promote the good of those for whom the Institution was founded; and as soon as they are actuated by any other views, it is very fit that their influence should cease. There is nearly as little reason to apprehend, that the necessity of discussing, at meetings of the members, the affairs of the Institution, will give rise to a spirit of controversy and a habit of making speeches. Those meetings for private business will of course be held very seldom; and a feeling may always be expected to prevail, that the continuance of the establishment depends upon preserving union, notwithstanding any diversity of opinion in matters of detail, and upon keeping the discussion of rules and regulations subordinate to the attendance upon the lectures, the main object of the establishment. The time when information and advice is most wanted, with other assistance from the wealthy and the well informed, is at the beginning of the undertaking; and at that time the influence of those patrons will necessarily be the most powerful. Much depends upon a right course being taken at first; proper rules laid down; fit subjects selected for lecture; good teachers chosen —and upon all these matters the opinions and wishes of those who chiefly contribute to found the several institutions, are sure to have a very great weight.

It is now fit that we advert to the progress that has already been made in establishing this system of instruction. Its commencement was the work of Dr Birkbeck, to whom the people of this Island owe a debt of gratitude, the extent of which it would not be easy, perhaps in the present age not possible, to

describe; for as, in most cases, the effective demand precedes the supply, it would have been more in the ordinary course of things, that a teacher should spring up at the call of the mechanics for instruction: But long before any symptoms appeared of such an appetite on their part, and with the avowed purpose of implanting the desire in them, or at least of unfolding and directing it, by presenting the means of gratification, that most learned and excellent person formed the design, as enlightened as it was benevolent, of admitting the working classes of his fellow-countrymen to the knowledge of sciences, till then almost deemed the exclusive property of the higher ranks in society, and only acquired accidentally and irregularly in a few rare instances of extraordinary natural talents, by any of the lower orders. Dr Birkbeck, as is well known in this part of the Island, before he removed to London, where he has since reached the highest station in the medical profession, was settled for some time in Glasgow as Professor in the Anderson College; and about the year 1800, he announced a Course of Lectures on Natural Philosophy, and its application to the Arts, for the instruction of Mechanics. But a few at the first availed themselves of this advantage; by degrees, however, the extraordinary perspicuity of the teacher's method, the judicious selection of his experiments, and the natural attractions of the subject, to men whose lives were spent in directing or witnessing operations, of which the principles were now first unfolded to them, proved successful in diffusing a general taste for the study; and when he left Glasgow two or three years afterwards, about seven hundred eagerly and constantly attended the lecture.

It is somewhat singular, that although this admirable institution has ever since flourished under the able and worthy successor of Dr Birkbeck, and although there are many towns in Scotland, and some within a very short distance of Glasgow, where hundreds of artisans are collected, yet twenty years elapsed before the example was followed, of an experiment, which, for so long a period, was constantly before the eyes of men, and with uninterrupted success. This may in part be ascribed to the distresses of the times, as regards the lower classes, and to the political agitations, as respects the upper ranks: But we think it must also in part be attributed to the founder of the system having somewhat gone before the age; for if there had existed as great a propensity for learning among the mechanics during the first six or seven years, as now prevails, those being years of great manufacturing prosperity, and indeed of active speculation generally, there can be little doubt that lectures

would have been established upon the model of Dr Birkbeck's. It was not, however, till the year 1821, that Edinburgh followed the example,—and, as might be expected, with some material improvements. As the knowledge of the steps by which the adoption of Dr Birkbeck's plan in this city has been so successfully effected, may be of use elsewhere, we shall here give a succinct statement of them.

The promoters of the plan began by drawing up a short sketch of the proposed institution, and causing it to be circulated among the principal master mechanics, with a request that they would read it in their workshops, and take down the names of such of the men as were desirous of being taught the principles of those sciences most useful to artisans. In the course of ten days, between 70 and 80 names were entered; and a private meeting was held of a few gentlemen who were disposed to encourage the experiment. These resolved to begin a subscription for the purpose. In April 1821, they issued a prospectus among the mechanics, announcing the commencement of a Course of Lectures on Mechanics, and another on Chemistry, in October following,—with the opening of a Library of Books upon the same subjects, for perusal at home as well as in the room; the hours of lecture to be from eight to nine in the evening, twice a week, for six months; and the terms of admission to the whole, both lectures and library, fifteen shillings a year. A statement was also circulated to the publick at large, announcing the establishment of a '*School of Arts*,' with the particulars of the plan; and so well was it received, by all classes, that in September, notice was given of 220 mechanics having entered as students, and such a sum having been subscribed by the public, as enabled the Directors to open the establishment on the 16th of October. The following statement of the precise objects of the plan was given in this notice.

"The great object of this Institution is to supply, at such an expense as a working tradesman can afford, instruction in the various branches of Science which are of practical application to mechanics in their several trades, so that they may the better comprehend the reason for each individual operation that passes through their hands, and have more certain rules to follow than the mere imitation of what they may have seen done by another. It is not intended to teach the trade of the Carpenter, the Mason, the Dyer, or any other particular business; but there is no trade which does not depend, more or less, upon scientific principles; and to teach what these are, and to point out their practical application, will form the business of this establishment. He who unites a thorough knowledge of the principles of his art with that dexterity which practice, and practice only, can give, will be the most complete, and probably the most successful tradesman.

" As there is a great deal to be taught, and it is not the purpose of the School of Arts to give a mere smattering of knowledge, as the amusement of a vacant hour, but to afford solid instruction to those who will take it; it is not possible, during the first year, to do more in the space of time which tradesmen can reasonably spare, than to teach the more general principles of chemistry and mechanical philosophy, together with a brief notice of their practical application in some of the principal arts. A more minute and detailed instruction upon particular branches of art will form the subject of subsequent Courses of Lectures, after the Students have had an opportunity of acquiring an elementary education from the first Course of Lectures, and from the books they will be supplied with from the Library, and of thus becoming better prepared for understanding them."—*First Report*, p. 6.

When the lectures began, 272 students had purchased tickets; and the Institution was opened in the presence of the Magistrates of the city, and some of the most distinguished of its patrons, by a most excellent address from the Secretary, Mr L. Horner, on the part of the Directors. Dr Fyfe began his Course of Lectures on Chemistry, and Mr Galbraith on Mechanical Philosophy; and on the third night, 400 tickets had been sold. It became necessary here to limit the numbers, from a belief that the size of the room and the library could accommodate no more. As, however, a course of lectures on the Veterinary Art had been recently announced, twenty students were added in order to accommodate the farriers, some of whom showed such a desire to attend, that one came regularly on the night of the lecture, the distance of ten miles from the country. During the course of six months, 452 took out tickets. Of the 418 who began, 104 paid the full sum of 15s. for the whole year; the rest only paid 7s. 6d., which entitled them to half the course of lectures, and the use of the library during that quarter of the year. Of these 314, there were 86 who did not renew their subscription at the beginning of January 1822; and this is supposed by the Directors to have arisen in part from the interest decreasing with the attraction of novelty; for the season at which the payment of the second subscription fell due, was that of the new year's holidays, a season at which there are more temptations to spend money than usual. However, upon the vacancy created by the 86 students being known, 36 new ones came forward and entered. Nor can it be doubted, that the whole vacant places would have been filled, but for the disinclination naturally felt to begin in the middle of the course. Thus, after all, 322 paid for the whole year, and 366 were in attendance during the latter part of the lectures. The Chemical Lecture was the most attractive, and was always fully attend-

ed; the Mechanical not quite so numerously; the Farriery, by from 60 to 80; and a course of Architecture gratuitously given by Mr Milne (as was the Farriery by Mr Dick) was attended by from 150 to 200. The very moderate remuneration of 32*l.* each, was all that the other two lecturers received. The Library had, by liberal donations, and the money expended in purchases, amounted to 500 volumes; it was placed under the management of twelve students chosen by the Directors, and attending four by rotation each night, for the purpose of taking in and giving out books, that is, twice in a fortnight. The average number of books taken out each night was 210; and the eagerness to have them may be seen from this, that a fine of 6d. a fortnight being imposed for keeping them out longer than one fortnight, though not a volume was lost, nearly 200 fines were paid. The following contrivance deserves to be known, as likely to prove useful in obviating an inconvenience to which the issuing of books is liable.

'The rule adopted in giving out the books being, that those who apply first shall have the first choice, there was at first considerable confusion, from the eagerness of the Students to get the books they wanted; and various plans were tried to preserve better order without success, until that followed at the Anderson Institution of Glasgow was ascertained. It consists in arranging a series of benches in such a manner, that the Students take their seats in the order of their coming to the room, no books being delivered until a considerable number are arrived. They are then given out to the Students, as they successively arrive at the upper end of the series of benches. Although there was a very early attendance on the nights of giving out the books, on those nights when they were to be returned the inconvenience was considerable, from the greater number of the Students coming in the last half hour of the time allotted; it was, therefore, necessary to make it their interest to come early, and a rule was laid down, which has proved quite effectual, that the first thirty who return their books shall have the first choice the next night of giving out. The books have been kept very clean, very few have been damaged, and not one volume has been lost during the year.'—*First Report*, p. 18.

The Mechanical Lectures had hardly begun, when some of the students, finding the want of mathematical knowledge, proposed to the Directors to form themselves into a class, under one of their own number, a joiner, who had agreed to teach them gratuitously the Elements of Geometry and the higher branches of Arithmetic. This suggestion was warmly approved of, and some assistance in books being given, thirty met once a week for Geometry, and once for Arithmetic, and adopting the plan of mutual instruction; the class was arranged in

five divisions, each under the best scholar as a Monitor, going over on one night the lessons of the night before. The number of this class being limited to thirty, those who were excluded formed another on the same plan, under a cabinetmaker, also a student of the School of Arts. The joiner's name is James Yule; the cabinetmaker's David Dewar; and their successful exertions to teach their fellow-workmen, are deservedly a subject of great commendation. Mr Galbraith, the Mechanical Professor, adopted the plan of setting exercises to his pupils; and a list is published of those who chiefly distinguished themselves by the number and accuracy of their solutions, being 25 persons. In the four months, beginning at the termination of these lectures, a class was opened for Architectural and Mechanical drawing, consisting of two courses, of two months each, for twenty of the students; the sum paid being five shillings, and each pupil finding his own drawing materials. Of this they eagerly availed themselves—and each class received 25 lessons of two hours.

The experience of the first year, and particularly the fact that the students were of no less than forty-eight different trades, convinced the Directors that the best plan was to limit the lectures to the general principles of those sciences which are of universal application to the arts, and not to attempt, as had at first been intended, teaching the principle of the arts in detail. To this principle they adhered, except that a course of Farriery and of Architecture was again given the second year. In addition to Mechanics and Chemistry, they very judiciously established a lecture upon Mathematics, under Mr Wilson, which was attended by a hundred and fifty students, the greater number of whom took a part in the solution of questions, from time to time given out. A list of twenty-six persons is published, twelve of whom solved from twenty to forty in the course of the lectures. An additional half hour being set apart for *vivâ voce* examination, it is remarkable that only fourteen gave in their names as willing to submit to it. When the chemical Professor gave the same option, fifty offered themselves for examination. The whole number of students who entered during the second year was four hundred and thirty. The number limited being four hundred, that number was immediately filled up, and above eighty applicants were disappointed. The thirty over four hundred were admitted in the room of such as did not continue after the first quarter. The library was increased two hundred volumes, and the continued patronage of the public was extended to the plan by subscriptions.

The average receipts of the two first years were, from subscriptions, 448*l.* yearly, and from the students, 300*l.* The average expenditure was about 620*l.*, and a saving of 300*l.* was made towards building a lecture-room. The expenditure includes, for furniture and apparatus, 216*l.* a year; for books and binding, 110*l.*; and for expenses incident to the subscriptions, as advertisements, collection and meetings, about 70*l.*; leaving, of current necessary expenses, about 220*l.* only; so that, if the extrinsic subscriptions were at an end, or were confined to the accumulation of a fund for building, the students could themselves carry on the establishment, and have a surplus of 80*l.* a year for the wear and tear, and increase of the apparatus and the library; and if their contributions were increased to a pound yearly, which would probably make very little, if any, difference in the numbers of students, an additional 100*l.* would be afforded for the better payment of the Lecturers, or, if they continue satisfied, for the establishment of new lectures. We make this statement for the purpose of confirming the calculation formerly given, and showing, that, in places where the rich are less liberally inclined than in Edinburgh, the same invaluable establishments may easily be formed and perpetuated, by a judicious encouragement given at first to the mechanics, and without the necessity of relying upon continued assistance from those who first promoted and aided them.

We must not omit, however, to state, that the '*School of Arts*' is established upon principles essentially different from any other institution of this nature with which we are acquainted. The whole management is vested in fifteen Directors, chosen from among the subscribers, at an annual meeting. The students who attend the lectures, have nothing to do with the management, except certain individuals of them chosen by the Directors, and who act as committees for taking charge of the Library and apparatus. Care is taken, however, that a certain proportion of master mechanics shall always be in the direction, so that no regulations may be made which shall in any degree be hostile to the habits or feelings of the working classes. It is conceived that persons of education are better able to determine what course of instruction is best fitted to attain the objects in view, and which are the most suitable books for such a library,—that the students should have nothing to do, but to attend to the instruction;—that they should, in short, go to the School of Arts as to any other school, they themselves judging whether it is advantageous for them to lay out their money in that way or not. The *Subscribers* and *Students*, therefore, are kept quite distinct; the former are

only expected to *visit* the lecture-room *occasionally*, and they are entirely excluded from the use of the library; the *Students* are the privileged class. It is conceived that, looking forward to the time when the ardour of novelty shall have cooled, properly qualified teachers for such institutions can only be obtained by a remuneration that will make the situation an object of ambition to a well educated man; and that, to keep the students' fees low, which is quite essential, there must be, either by subscription or other means, an additional source of revenue. The lectures are strictly confined to such objects of science as will be useful to workmen *in the exercise of their trade;* and no book is admitted into the library but what relates to science or art. This constitution of the School of Arts differs therefore in some respects from the views we have taken in the early part of this article; but as the institution has continued to prosper for three years, and is universally popular with the mechanics of Edinburgh, we must leave it to time to decide which system is the best calculated to secure the permanence of such establishments.

We cannot take leave of this, our own *School of Arts*, without expressing the sense we feel of the important services rendered to the community by the individuals with whom it originated, and particularly by the Secretary, Mr Horner. To him it should afford, next to the satisfaction of rendering so great a service to the working classes, the best reward for his labours, that he may be assured there is no one exertion in which his justly lamented brother would have taken a deeper interest, and no object with which he would have been more willing to connect his name. *

We have had great satisfaction in looking over the list of subscribers, to find the names of persons of all parties and opinions; and we have had access to know that many of those individuals, whom, on general questions of politics, we are accustomed to consider as taking the less liberal side, have supported this establishment with a degree of zeal and earnestness which could only have proceeded from the most enlightened views of the important addition it is calculated to make to the happiness, prosperity, and security of the country.

When Dr Birkbeck reflected on the success of his plan, both at Glasgow, and now since it was established in a place far less

* Among the many liberal donations made to the Edinburgh School of Arts, let us mark, with unfeigned admiration, that of Mr Chantrey, who presented it with copies of his celebrated busts of Watt and Rennie, and one of Dr Franklin. These have been placed in the lecture-room.

abounding in artisans, it is not to be wondered at that he should have conceived the idea of giving its principles a wider diffusion, by the only means which seem in this country calculated for the general circulation of any scheme, its being patronised in London. He and a few of his friends accordingly called the attention of the metropolis to it about the end of last year, and the proposition met with all the encouragement that might have been expected, both from the master mechanics, the workmen, and the friends of knowledge and improvement. A meeting was held in November; a subscription was commenced; rules for the association were prepared; and a '*Mechanics' Institution*' was formed so promptly, that, in the month of January, the lectures were opened upon Mechanics by Professor Millington of the London Institution, and upon Chemistry by Mr Phillips. Between twelve and thirteen hundred workmen speedily entered, paying one pound each; and, crowding from great distances in the worst weather, and after the toils of the day were over, to slake that thirst of knowledge, which, as it forms so glorious a characteristic of these times, so will assuredly prove the source of improvements in the next age, calculated to throw all that has yet been witnessed into the shade. Dr Birkbeck himself most appropriately opened the establishment by an able Address; nor was the voluntary offer of his services less appropriate on the part of Professor Millington, who, with honest pride, declared to his audience, at the close of his introductory lecture, that he had originally belonged to the same class with themselves. A course of Geometry was also given by Mr Dotchin, and Dr Birkbeck delivered one upon Hydrostatics. A short course of Astronomy by Mr Newton, Editor of the London Journal of Arts and Sciences, has occupied part of the autumn; and Mr Cooper is now engaged in a very extensive series of lectures upon the application of Chemistry to the arts and manufactures. Temporary accommodation has hitherto been procured in the chapel in Monkwell Street, formerly Dr Lindsay's; and if, upon such a subject, we might entertain any faith in omens, surely a scheme for the moral and intellectual improvement of mankind could not be commenced under happier auspices than in the place which so virtuous and enlightened a friend of his country had once filled with the spirit of genuine philanthropy and universal toleration. It is intended, however, to place the Institution upon a permanent footing; and accordingly, very commodious premises have been provided, in a central situation, viz. in Southampton Buildings. A spacious hall, with rooms for the library and apparatus, will there be prepared.

The apparatus, already considerable, will, in all probability, soon be of a very superior description, and obtained at a very moderate expense, as different members of the Institution have agreed to devote their spare time to making it. Other persons, unconnected with it, but anxious to promote its interests from a friendly disposition to the progress of knowledge, have made presents of books and machinery; and there can be no doubt that this Institution, beside teaching a large body of people the most useful of the sciences, will assist in forming other establishments of the same kind in different parts of London.

But it is equally clear that these seminaries of popular education must soon spread over every part of the country. At Manchester, Newcastle, Leeds and other places, there have already been established institutions upon the same plan; and one of the most flourishing, in which 560 mechanics contribute to their own instruction, has been begun at Aberdeen. * At Kendal a lecture has been announced as about to be united with the 'Mechanics and Apprentices Library,' established there a few months ago. There are not above 8000 inhabitants in that town; and at Hawick, where there are only half that number, Mr Wilson from Edinburgh, † has delivered a course of lectures on Natural Philosophy to 200 artisans and workmen; in short, it should seem that a little more exertion alone is wanting to make the system universally prevail.

To encourage good men in these exertions, to rouse the indifferent and encourage the desponding, has been the object of these details. The subject is of such inestimable importance that we must be pardoned for addressing ourselves very anxiously in favour of it, to all men of enlightened views, and who value the real improvement of their fellow-creatures, and the best interests of their country. We are bound upon this weighty matter to be instant, in season or out of season. We speak not merely of seminaries for teaching

* The '*Mechanics' Institution*' of Aberdeen reflects the greatest credit upon the liberality and good sense of the richer inhabitants of that town, and upon the excellent spirit of the artisans. A library of 500 volumes has been already collected; a lecture-room fitted up for 600 students; courses of above sixty lectures on Chemistry and Mechanics delivered gratuitously; and a most valuable set of apparatus furnished.

† The plan of sending an experienced teacher to a place unable to provide one for itself, is much to be commended. We could wish to see men of science often going about from town to town labouring in this good work. They would entitle themselves to the never-ending gratitude of their country.

mechanics the principles of natural and mathematical sciences, but of schools where the working classes generally may learn those branches of knowledge which they cannot master by private reading. It must be a small town indeed, where some useful lecture may not, with a little exertion and a little encouragement, be so established that the quarterly contributions of the students may afterwards suffice to continue it. Moral and political philosophy may be acceptable even where there is no field for teachers of chemistry and mechanics; and where no lecture at all can be supported, a library may be set on foot, and the habit of useful reading encouraged. We constantly hear of publick spirited individuals; of men who are friendly to the poor and the working classes; of liberal-minded persons, anxious for the diffusion of knowledge and the cultivation of intellectual pursuits. But henceforward let no one assume any such titles if he has done nothing in his own neighbourhood to found a popular lecture, or if the circle be too narrow for that, to establish a reading club, which, in many cases, will end in a lecture. For such a club, there is hardly a village in the country too small; and we have shown that towns of a very moderate size may support a lecture.

But, great as the disposition to learn is among the working classes, and absolutely certain as a lecture would be of attendants wherever it was once set on foot, there is still a necessity for the upper classes coming forward to assist in making the first step. Those seminaries are still too new; they are too little known among the artisans generally, to be thought of, and demanded by themselves; still more difficult would it be for them to set about forming the plans for themselves; and the speculation would manifestly be too precarious to induce teachers to begin without some previous arrangement for their support. Even in the largest towns, it is hardly to be expected that the workmen should yet concert measures for their own instruction, although sufficiently numerous to require no pecuniary assistance in procuring the necessary teachers. But after the success of the experiments already made, it seems little less than shameful that there should be any considerable town without establishments for popular education. One man only is wanted in each place to ensure the success of the plan. Where there is such a man, and workmen in sufficient numbers,—there are all the materials that can be required. He has but to converse with a few master-workmen; to circulate, in concert with them, a notice for a meeting, or if it be deemed better to have no meeting, to ascertain how many will attend a class; and the room may be hired and

the lecturer engaged in a month. The first cost will be easily defrayed by a subscription among the rich; or, if that fail, the collection of a library will be made by degrees, out of the money raised from the students. The expense of providing apparatus ought not to deter any one from making the attempt. Many of the most important experiments may be shown with very cheap and simple machinery; and a skilful lecturer may make great progress in teaching his pupils, and enabling them to overcome the difficulties that stopt them in their private studies, with hardly any experiments at all.

Although it is evident that the present is the time for making an exertion to propagate such establishments, and, along with them, the desire of scientific instruction, we apprehend that, after a short interval, the wish for such education will beget an effectual demand, and teachers will present themselves to supply the want. Already it would be a safe adventure for a lecturer to engage in, where there are great bodies of artisans. In any of the large manufacturing towns of Lancaster and Yorkshire, a person duly qualified to teach the principles of mechanics and chemistry, and their application to the arts, would now find it easy to collect a large class, willing and able to remunerate him for his trouble; and it is highly probable, that, before long, there will be established, in each of those places, permanent teachers upon private speculation. To add reading societies, will require some concert; and for this purpose it will be necessary that some intelligent persons should take the lead, until those institutions are more general, and the management of them better known.

Among the many ways in which this may be effected, we have heard of none better than that which has been adopted, for three or four years, in the county of East Lothian, upon the suggestion, and under the superintendence of Mr Samuel Brown of Haddington. There are itinerant libraries of fifty volumes, which go from town to town in the county, remaining a certain time at each station. There are at present no less than nineteen divisions of fifty volumes each in the county of Haddington; and a similar plan has recently been introduced in Berwickshire. The Manager resides in the county town, and directs the revolutions; and when the little collection has gone through its appointed orbit, it returns to the head quarters from whence it set out. The scheme is chiefly carried into effect by the subscription of benevolent individuals. It is well deserving of imitation.

It is impossible to contemplate the funds provided in this country, and still more in Ireland, for what are commonly termed

charitable purposes, without lamenting that our ancestors were not as judicious as they were benevolent. A million and a half, or more, yearly, is expended by virtue of such endowments; and certainly but a very small proportion, possibly not a tenth part, beneficially, or even innocently, to the community: For only about a third part is the property of charities connected with education, and of that third by far the greatest share goes to *maintain* poor children, which is almost the worst employment of such funds. Of the remaining two-thirds, a very small proportion indeed is bestowed upon the only useful, or even harmless objects of charity, hospitals for the sick poor, and provisions for persons ruined by sudden and grievous calamities. We fear it is almost as hopeless to expect a better application of these ample funds in this kingdom, as it is evident that, upon every principle both of policy and of strict right, a very great portion of them at least ought to be more usefully applied; * but, by a salutary extension of the Mortmain Act, this evil may at least be checked. Funds may be beneficially employed in endowments, where the trustees have a discretion by the foundation; and, above all, a more wise distribution may be made of the great sums yearly collected for supposed charitable purposes in every part of the country.

Every person who has been accustomed to subscribe for the support of what are commonly called charities, should carefully ask himself this question, 'However humane the 'motive, am I doing any real good by so expending my mo-'ney? Or am I not doing more harm than good?' In either case, indeed, harm is done; because, if a case could be put of money so applied producing no mischief, yet, if it did no good, harm would be done by the waste of the money. But in order to enable him to answer the question, he must reflect, that no proposition is more undeniably true than this, that the existence of a known and regular provision for the poor, whether in the ordinary form of pensions, doles, gratuities, clothing, firing, &c. or in the shape of maintenance for poor children, in whole, or only in part, as clothing, has the inevitable tendency to create

* The only part which ought not, is that very inconsiderable portion which, according to the will of the founders, goes to support charities of a doubtful tendency, as, provisions for the aged who are poor through no want of economy in earlier life. In all cases where positive mischief is plainly done by the application of the funds according to the will of the founders, the Legislature is not only authorized, but bound to interpose; as the trustees have been by law supposed to do in certain glaring cases, as Small-pox and Foundling Hospitals.

not only as many objects as the provision will maintain, but a far greater number. Take, for illustration sake, an extreme case, but by no means a fancied one, (for there is in Bedford an endowment of this kind.) Suppose a certain revenue were provided by some charitably disposed person for the support of poor householders in a given town, and that it sufficed to maintain fifty—Who can doubt, that, for those fifty provisions, there would presently be a hundred competitors? Or, suppose a fund in any place devoted to maintain fifty children whose parents could not afford to support them, Can it be doubted that twice as many would prove their qualification for the provision? The immediate consequence of such provisions would be, to promote idleness and poverty beyond what the funds could relieve; but the continued and known existence of the provisions would infallibly train up a race of paupers; and the provision for children, especially, would promote improvident marriages, and increase the population by the addition of paupers. It is, therefore, a sacred duty which every one owes to the community, to refrain from giving contributions to begin such funds; and if he has already become a yearly contributor, it is equally his duty to withdraw his assistance, unless one condition is complied with, namely, that no new objects shall be taken into the establishment, but that those only who at present belong to it shall be maintained; so that the mischief may be terminated within a limited time, and nothing unfair or harsh done towards those who had previously depended on its funds.

Now, this wise and considerate manner of proceeding, would speedily place at the disposal of charitable and enlightened individuals ample funds for supporting works of real, because of most useful charity. Let any one cast his eye over the Reports of the Education Committee and Charity Commissioners, and he may form some idea of the large funds now profusely squandered under the influence of mistaken benevolence. Of the many examples that might be given, we select one, and to avoid even the semblance of invidious observation we shall not name it; but the details may be found in pp. 23 and 222 of the Report in 1816. The income was above 2000*l.*, of which 1500*l.* arose from yearly subscriptions and donations. This large fund clothed 101 boys, and maintained 65 girls; but the expense of boarding and clothing the girls was of course by far the greatest part of it, perhaps 1200*l.* Much abuse appeared to have crept into the management, in consequence of tradesmen acting as trustees, and voting on the orders to themselves, and on the payment of their own accounts. It was deemed right to check this; and a rule was adopted, at

a meeting of trustees, to prevent so scandalous a practice for the future. It was, however, rejected at a general meeting of the subscribers,—where, in all probability, the tradesmen had made a canvass, and obtained the attendance of friends. Nay, a learned Judge, who was one of the trustees, having afterwards proposed a resolution merely to prevent any trustee or subscriber voting on matters in which he was personally interested, it 'was 'rejected instantly, and therefore not recorded on the minutes,' (p. 224.); whereupon his Lordship most properly abstained from attending any future meeting, and, we trust, from ever contributing any more money to the fund.

This is one instance only of thousands, where the money collected from well-disposed persons, who take no further charge of a charity than to pay their subscriptions, is wasted by the jobbing of too active and interested managers. But suppose there had been no direct abuse, and that all the income had been honestly and carefully employed in promoting the objects of the establishment, by far the greater part of it would have been hurtfully bestowed. Instead of clothing 101 boys, and maintaining 65 girls, at the rate of 2000*l.* a year, the fixed income alone, of 500*l.* might have educated a thousand children, and left 1500*l.* a year free for establishing other schools, if wanted; and as two others of the same size would in all probability have more than sufficed to supply the defect of education in that district, (the uneducated being to the educated children there as 44 to 33, by the examination of the West London Lancaster Association, and the district having a population of less than 50,000 *inhabitants*), * a fund would have remained sufficient to support an institution for the instruction of 7 or 800 mechanics. Thus, the same money which is now not merely uselessly, but perniciously bestowed, might, by a little care, and a due portion of steadiness in resisting the interested clamours of persons who subscribe to it for the purpose of turning it to their own profit, be made the means of at once educating all the children in the worst district of London, and of planting there the light of science among the most useful and industrious class of the community. Now, within the same district, or applicable to it, there are probably other charitable funds, arising from voluntary contribution, to five or six times the amount of the single charity we have been considering; and it is most likely that there is hardly one of the benevolent indi-

* Supposing the schools required for a population of 50,000 to be in the proportion of one-ninth, schools for about 5500 would be wanted; and if there already exist schools for $\frac{1}{44}$ of that number, schools for 3100 more would be sufficient.

viduals who support this school, but contributes to one or more charities besides. How important, then, does it become for each man carefully to reconsider the use he is making, or suffering others to make, of that money which his humanity has set apart for the relief of his fellow-creatures, and the improvement of their condition; and how serious a duty is it to take care that what originates in the most praiseworthy motives, should also end in really beneficial results to the objects of his bounty!

We trust it is not necessary for us to close these observations by anticipating and removing objections to the diffusion of science among the working classes, arising from considerations of a political nature. The time, we rejoice to think, is past and gone, when bigots could persuade mankind that the lights of philosophy were to be extinguished as dangerous to religion; and when tyrants, or their minions, could proscribe the instructors of the people, as enemies to their power. It is preposterous to imagine that the enlargement of the understanding, and our acquaintance with the laws which regulate the universe, can dispose to unbelief. It may be a cure for superstition—for intolerance it will be the most certain cure; but a pure and true religion has nothing to fear from the greatest expansion which the intellect can receive by the study either of matter or of mind. The more science is diffused, the better will the Author of all things be known, and the less will the people be 'tossed to and 'fro by the sleight of men, and cunning craftiness, whereby 'they lie in wait to deceive.' To tyrants, indeed, and bad rulers, the progress of knowledge among the mass of mankind is a just object of terror: it is fatal to them and their designs; they know this by unerring instinct, * and unceasingly they dread the light. But they will find it more easy to curse than to extinguish. It is spreading in spite of them, even in those countries where arbitrary power deems itself most secure; and in England, any attempt to check its progress would only bring about the sudden destruction of him who should be insane enough to make it.

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* An amusing instance of this natural antipathy was afforded, when the Emperor of Austria visited Italy, soon after the cruel reverse of fortune which restored his dominions in Lombardy. A Professor was presented to him, and introduced as a learned man, who had made some important researches respecting the *constitution* of the atmosphere. The sound of the word was enough for his Imperial, Royal, Apostolic Majesty's nerves, and drew forth immediately this exclamation, '*Costituzione! Costituzione! Ah! e quella parola che ci ha fatto tanto male!*'—'Constitution! Constitution! Ah! it's that word that has done us so much mischief!'

ART. VI. *A Voyage to Cochin China.* By JOHN WHITE, Lieutenant in the United States Navy. London, Longman & Co. 1824. 8vo. pp. 372.

WITH the exception, perhaps, of the English, there is no people who ever wandered over the globe with such persevering industry as the Americans. Yet they have not hitherto contributed their due share of voyages and travels. Their voyages, indeed, having generally been made for the sole purpose of commercial gain, and conducted by men not always qualified to take advantage of their opportunities, could not well be expected to give birth to many interesting publications. The recent increase of their Navy, however, bids fair soon to remove these impediments; and among its first fruits, we hail with pleasure the appearance of this very interesting little volume, by an officer of good sense and observation, who describes, with apparent fairness, and much spirit, the manners of a country with which we are extremely little acquainted. Lieutenant White's book has the great merit of being short and cheap; and though here and there we find indications of book-making, we are disposed to give him credit for the better part of it. Before proceeding with our analysis, we had intended to favour our readers with a slight geographical and political sketch of the country to which it relates; and had gone through a good deal of heavy work in preparation for it, when we were very agreeably relieved, by learning that a book on this very subject was in preparation by Mr Crawford, a gentleman well known to the literary world by his Account of the Eastern Archipelago, a work, by the way, which we take shame to ourselves for not having noticed at the time of its appearance. We really have no inclination to put our hasty lucubrations in competition with those of a gentleman of his talents and means of information, and gladly postpone our account of Cochin China till we have had the advantage of seeing his.

Mr White, who is a Lieutenant in the American Navy, sailed from Salem, near Boston, in command of the merchant ship Franklin, in January 1819, on a trading voyage to Cochin China. His first chapter conducts us over beaten ground; but, in the second, he fairly grapples with his subject; and having entered the China sea, has a prodigious battle with sundry Malay proas, the details of which are given with the minuteness and importance of a general action, and the whole affray wrought up with a high finish. These Malays were more formidable than any we have before heard of; but our voyagers 'broadsides of grape, langrage and double round,'

taught them a lesson which they will not soon forget. In the end, indeed, the pirates appear to have had very nearly the best of it, for the American's artillery, as he calls it, lay all dismounted on the deck! But by dint of superior sailing he reached the anchorage of Mintow in Banka.

On the 8th of June, five months after leaving Salem, the navigators have their first interview with the natives of Cochin China, at the village of Vung-tau in the river of Don-nai. An officer was sent on shore to request the assistance of a pilot to conduct them to the city of Saigon. Shortly afterwards a large boat, full of men, and decorated with pendants and streamers, approached the ships. The chief who came on board is well described.

'The military chief was a withered, grey-headed old man, possessing however a great deal of vivacity, tinctured with a leaven of savage childishness, which, in spite of his affectation of great state and ceremony, would constantly break out, and afforded us infinite amusement. He had several attendants, who were perfectly subservient, and promptly obedient to all his orders; yet we observed that on all other occasions the greatest familiarity subsisted between them. One of the attendants carried a huge umbrella, with which he followed the old man to all parts of the ship, where his curiosity or caprice led him; and, when invited into the cabin, he would not descend without the umbrella, so tenacious was he of every circumstance of state and appearance. Another attendant was a handsome boy of about fifteen years of age, who carried in two blue silk bags, connected with a piece of cotton cloth, and thrown over his shoulder, the areka nut, betal leaf, chunam and tobacco, of which they chew immense quantities; and so universal is this custom among them, that I never saw a man of any rank or respectability without one of these attendants. They also smoke segars made of cut tobacco, rolled in paper wrappers, like the Portuguese, from whom probably they adopted this custom. Another servant carried his fan; and our risibility was not a little excited on seeing the old fellow strutting about the deck, peeping into the cook's coppers, embracing the sailors on the forecastle, dancing, grinning, and playing many other antic tricks, followed all the time by the whole train of fanners, umbrella bearers, and chunam boys, (for the attendants of the other chiefs had joined in the procession), with the most grave deportment and solemn visages, performing their several functions.

'The dress of the chiefs consisted of a very short and coarse cotton shirt, which had been originally white; trowsers of black crape, very wide, without waistbands, and secured round the waist by a sash of crimson silk; a tunic of black or blue silk, the lapel folding over the breast and buttoning on the opposite shoulder, which, as well as the shirt, had a very low collar, buttoned close round the neck, and reaching nearly to the knees; coarse wooden

sandals; a turban of black crape, surmounted by a hat made of palm leaves, in the form of a very obtuse cone; a ring for the insertion of the head underneath, and secured under the chin with a string. The style of the dress of the attendants was similar to that of the mandarin, but of much coarser materials.' pp. 36, 37.

After peering about the ship, this old chief began all at once to make love to the captain, by hugging him round the neck, and other suffocating endearments, which the American evaded as well as he could, while he stoutly maintained the weather-gage of his offensive visitor—wondering at the same time what all this could mean. The object was soon made known, by his taking a liking to every movable thing which came in his way. In order to divert his attention from a looking-glass and various other things which he had begged, a glass of brandy was offered him. This he lost no time in swallowing, and then he appropriated the whole bottle, placed it under his cloak, and immediately resumed his demands for more. 'The curtains, glass 'ware, wearing apparel, arms, amunition, spyglasses, and ca-'bin furniture, were successively the object of his cupidity.' After much trouble, however, he and his party were finally dislodged, at the expense of a pair of pistols, several cartridges of powder, shoes, shirts, six bottles of wine, three of rum, and three of French cordials, a cut-glass tumbler, two wine glasses, and a Dutch cheese, besides numberless minor presents to the attendants, whom it was thought proper to conciliate. By these means the voyagers hoped to gain the good will of the natives, and to be allowed to open a trade with the country. Their difficulties, however, were only beginning, and every species of trick was put in practice to delay and obstruct them.

The Captain's first visit to the shore was at the village of Canjeo, which is situated on the banks of a creek near to the great river of Don-nai.

'On our approach to the shore, our olfactory nerves were saluted with "the rankest compound of villanous smells that ever offended nostril;" and the natives of the place, consisting principally of men, women, children, swine, and mangy dogs, equally filthy and miserable in appearance, lined the muddy banks of this Stygian stream to welcome our landing. With this escort we proceeded immediately to the house of the chief, through several defiles, strewed with rotten fish, old bones, and various other nauseous objects, among the fortuitous assemblage of huts, fish-pots, old boats, pigstyes, &c. which surrounded us in every direction; and, in order that no circumstance of ceremony should be omitted, to honour their new guests, a most harmonious concert was immediately struck up by the swarm of little filthy children, in a state of perfect nudity (which

formed part of our procession), in which they were joined by their parents, and the swine and dogs before mentioned.' pp. 42, 43.

Here they were received by the old chief who had visited them on board. He entertained them in the following style:

'He gave orders to his attendants, and a rude table was set before us, on which were placed a coarse china tea-equipage, a large dish of boiled rice, together with a piece of boiled fresh pork, very fat and oily, and another of boiled yams. The old chief then began tearing the food in piecemeal with his long claws, and thrusting it into our mouths, between every thrust holding a large bowl of tea, made very sweet, to our lips, with the most cruel perseverance, to the utter hazard of suffocating us; till finally losing all patience at his tormenting hospitality, and finding prayers and entreaties of no avail, I stepped back, and clapped my hand on my dirk, darting at him at the same time a frown of high displeasure; on which he assumed such a droll look of embarrassment, wonder, and fear, as instantly subdued my anger, and threw me into an ungovernable agony of laughter, in which the old fellow joined with great glee.' p. 48.

The object which the Americans had in view, was to obtain permission to ascend the river in the ship, or at least to be allowed to go to Saigon in one of their boats; but whenever any allusion was made to these subjects, the old chief, who generally drank too much rum at his visits, always shook his head and drew his hand across his throat, 'as if,' says Captain White, 'to intimate that we should both lose our heads if that request 'were complied with.' At length, after much battling, it was agreed that an account of their being in the river should be transmitted to Saigon, and permission asked for their coming up to that city, and that an answer would be returned in two days.

In the mean time the strangers, now better acquainted with the practices of the natives, took care to place their moveables out of sight; but in spite of all their precautions, it was impossible to prevent pillage; and if, by any accident, the door of a storeroom was opened, there was always some one ready to pry furtively into it. When they could not steal, they set about begging in such a manner as generally to succeed. 'We 'found them,' says Captain White, 'a set of sturdy beggars, 'never expressing any gratitude for the presents which they re-'ceived, or omitting any opportunity of taking advantage of us, 'or stealing whatever lay in their way.'

The river is described as a very noble one. It was a mile wide, and fourteen fathoms deep in the channel. With the exception of the mountains of Baria, which terminate at Cape St James, the country in the neighbourhood is very low, fre-

quently inundated by the spring tides, clothed with almost impenetrable wood, like an Indian jungle, and infested with vast numbers of tigers and other ferocious animals. This great river has numerous mouths, forming islands similar in character to those at the Sunderbunds, where the Ganges empties itself into the bay of Bengal, or, as Mr White affectedly calls it, the 'Gangetic Delta.' As far as the eye could perceive to the south and east, the water was covered with boats, fishing among the weirs erected on the shoals. These weirs are thus described:

'They are constructed of poles, driven into the ground a few inches apart, extending, generally, about a quarter of a mile in length, and forming an obtuse angle, which projects towards the sea, with an opening at the angle, of about two feet wide, into a circular enclosure, outside of the angular point, about forty feet in diameter, composed of stakes placed equidistant in the ground, closely interwoven with osiers, in the manner of wicker-work. On the recess of the tide, the fish pass between the straight sides of the weir, through the opening at the angle, into the circular enclosure, and should any of them return, they are infallibly taken in the seines, which are placed at the outer extremities of the rows of stakes. Each of these weirs is furnished with an erection about twenty feet high, in the form of a gallows, and composed of trunks of trees, on which they dry their nets; being very conspicuous, they are excellent beacons, to warn the navigator of his approach to the shoals.' p. 54.

An account is then given of the peculiar mode of building the Cochin Chinese vessels; the most curious particular of which is, that some of them, of no less than fifty tons burthen, have bottoms constructed of basket-work.

'On examination, we found that they consisted of strips of bamboo, about one and a quarter inch wide, and one-eighth of an inch thick, very closely woven, in two entire pieces, each of which completely covered one section of the bottom below the wales. The timbers of this description of vessels are nearer each other than those of the other kind, and are so contrived as to be taken apart, and replaced again, with very little trouble, and no injury; and, as they make but one voyage in a year, always sailing with the favourable monsoon, after having discharged their cargoes, they are taken to pieces, and secured from the vicissitudes of the weather. Their bottoms, as well as those of the other sort, are covered outside to the thickness of half an inch, with *gul-gul*, which is a mixture of dammer, or pitch, oil, and chunam, or lime, and when properly amalgamated, is very tenacious and elastic, completely impervious to the water, and resists most admirably the encroachments of worms. They possess a great degree of stability, bearing a great press of sail, and are most excellent sea boats. They carry from one to three, very well cut, and neatly made *latteen* sails, with the exception of a few from

the north, which carry *lug-sails*, and are differently constructed, having square sterns, and their hulls approach nearer to the form of those of European model. Their sails are of matting; and we observed, that all the fishing boats had the *clue-pieces* of theirs coloured black. They use the wooden anchor, with one fluke, so common in the East. Their shrouds and cables are mostly of rattan, and their running rigging of *coiar*, the well known cordage made from the husk of the cocoa nut, or a coarse and short kind of hemp of different colours.' pp. 56, 57.

Every day brought fresh disappointments, and at last it became evident that the permission required was not likely to arrive. All sorts of methods, however, were devised by the natives to keep their guests in good humour, in order that they might beg and steal from them as much as possible before their departure. We recommend this part of the narrative to our readers as peculiarly amusing and characteristic. The want of an interpreter perpetually led them into mistakes, and that most fallacious of all modes of communication, the use of signs, seems to have misdirected them on many occasions. At length, however, they seem to have been completely wearied out by their reiterated delays and excuses; and were reduced to the necessity of declaring in some wrath that they must proceed to Huè, another port on the coast. The natives opposed no obstacle to this—and the navigators, after one more ineffectual attempt to procure a pass, and 'modelling their countenances into smiles,' are at last obliged to weigh their anchor and sail to the northward.

After touching at Cham Callao, they proceeded to Turon Bay, the port in which Lord Macartney anchored on his way to China in the year 1793, and of which we already possess a far more full and interesting account by Mr Barrow. The King of Cochin China, whom they were in search of had unluckily for them gone some weeks before to Toan-hoa, in the Gulf of Tonquiu. Here their old difficulties recurred, for want of some one who understood the language; and they do not appear to have availed themselves, to any useful purpose, of a person who wrote Latin. In this dilemma, they resolved to go all the way to Manilla in search of some one who could speak the Onam language. A historical account, not very well composed or digested, is next given of the country of Cochin China, and of its recent civil war. The reader may safely skip it, without much loss of information. The same may be said, with very little qualification, of the next four chapters, which contain a long account of Manilla, the greater part of which is given, not from Mr White's actual observation, but from the information of others, on whose accuracy we are far from hav-

ing an equal reliance. Whenever Mr White describes what he actually sees himself, he is spirited and interesting, and, we have no doubt, substantially correct,—though, if we did not happen otherwise to know that his account of the enormous segars used by the Manilla women is exact, we might have been inclined to suspect that he was indulging in some of the privileges of a traveller.

'It is of a taper form,' he says, 'its length ten and a half inches; diameter at the *butt*, or big end, two and a quarter inches; and at the smaller end, one and a half inches. It is composed entirely of tobacco, in parallel compact layers, and wrapped with the largest leaves of the same plant. It is ornamented with bands of floss silk, of various colours, which cross each other diagonally, the whole length of the cigar, and the intersections of the bands are ornamented with spangles; fire is applied to the smallest end of this unwieldy mass, and the large end is received by the mouth. One of these cigars, as may be supposed, will "last you" some eight or ten days' smoking. Pipes are seldom used except by the Chinese.' p. 165. The account of the locusts, beginning at page 140, on the other hand, is given partly from hearsay, and bears evident marks of exaggeration.

Early in September our author sailed from Manilla, in company with another American ship, the Marmion, which had recently arrived at that place. 'On reaching Cochin China, the same ceremonies were gone over, and the same system of pillage and provocation commenced against our persevering speculators, who were determined, at any cost, to get cargoes. Their first object was to obtain permission to proceed to the city of Saigon; and innumerable discussions took place on this point, which were adroitly managed by the natives, who generally fought off by some reference to anchorage and measurement dues, or to the customary *sagouètes*, or presents to the viceroy and the mandarins. The Americans, on their part, were careful to preserve a mysterious silence on these points, giving the Cochin Chinese, however, to understand, as well as they could, that their liberality would be proportionate to the commercial benefits they eventually received. During the long delay arising from these disputes, they had full time to examine the villages near them.

After five days spent off Canjeo, permission was given them to proceed to Nga-Bay, and subsequently to Saigon. On their way up, the vessel was boarded by a person whom they choose to call the Commissary of Marine, who investigated very minutely into their affairs, and, having ascertained the nature of their cargoes, their respective names, ages, and made a particular description of each person, drew the whole

up, and caused thirteen different copies to be made, to each of which the captain was requested to sign his name. But while this was going on upon deck, another source of disturbance occurred below. 'Their ears were saluted by a variety 'of sounds, resembling the deep bass of an organ, accompanied 'by the hollow guttural chant of the bull-frog, the heavy chime 'of a bell, and the tones which the imagination would give to 'an enormous Jew's harp.' This marvellous noise was explained by the natives to be caused by a shoal of fish, of a kind peculiar to the spot! We wish Mr White had given us a drawing of this musical fish, if he saw any of them.

After sailing fifty-nine miles up the river, the ships anchored, off the city of Saigon, in nine fathoms water—the river, then in flood, and thickened with yellow mud, running all the way at a depth of more than eight fathoms, with such velocity as only to be slightly retarded for two or three hours out of the twenty-four by the action of the tide, which flows considerably beyond the farthest point they attained.

The city of Saigon contains about 180,000 inhabitants, of which 10,000 are Chinese, and about as many Christians. It stands at the confluence of the two main branches of the Donnai, and extends nearly six miles along the shore.

'The houses are built principally of wood, thatched with palm leaves or rice straw, and are of one story. Some few are of brick, and covered with tiles. Those of the higher classes have hanging chambers, built under the roof-tree, about ten feet wide, extending the whole length of the building, with wooden gratings on each side for air, to which they ascend by ladders; those of the latter description are surrounded by a court, with a gate towards the street; but the dwellings of the poor are situated on the streets, and generally present a miserable appearance.' pp. 232, 233.

Of the fragility of these miserable hovels, it may give some idea to mention, that the ordinary way of stopping the progress of fire, is to employ a couple of elephants to trample down a dozen or two of the houses in the way of it, which they accomplish at once in a very few minutes. The streets are generally at right angles, unpaved, and swarming with pigs and nasty dogs. The inhabitants are disgustingly filthy in their persons and habits; and the whole place, out of doors and in, filled with bad smells of the most nauseous description—the predominant one, inside of the houses, arising from a rancid fish pickle, which they use with all their food, and from their own nasty dresses. In the centre of the city there is a great square-terraced platform, extending nearly three quarters of a mile on each side, on which, as at the Kremle at Moscow, the royal palace, the barracks, and all the public buildings, are placed.

It is the first elevated ground that occurs in ascending from the mouth of the river, and was originally, it seems, a natural conical mount, but levelled down and spread out by the grandfather of the present king. Its present elevation is about sixty feet above the level of the river. It is enclosed with walls of brick and earth about twenty feet high, and of great thickness.

'The regal palace stands in the centre, on a beautiful green, and is, with its grounds of about eight acres, enclosed by a high paling. It is an oblong building, of about one hundred by sixty feet square, constructed principally of brick, with verandas enclosed with screens of matting: it stands about six feet from the ground, on a foundation of brick, and is accessible by a flight of massy wooden steps.

'On each side, in front of the palace, and about one hundred feet from it, is a square watchtower, of about thirty feet high, containing a large bell. In the rear of the palace, at the distance of about one hundred and fifty feet, is another erection of nearly the same magnitude, containing the apartments of the women, and domestic offices of various kinds; the roofs covered with glazed tile, and ornamented with dragons, and other monsters, as in China.' (pp. 120, 121.) The King has not resided at Saigon since the termination of the late wars; but our voyagers were presented to the Governor.

'We entered the enclosure by a gateway in the high paling surrounding the governor's residence; in front of which, at the distance of ten feet, was a small oblong building parallel with the gateway, and apparently placed there as a mask. After we had passed this erection, we found ourselves in a spacious court; and directly in front of us, at about one hundred and fifty feet from the entrance, was the governor's house, a large quadrilateral building, eighty feet square, and covered with tiles. From the eaves in front continued a gently sloping roof of tiles, to the distance of sixty feet, supported by round pillars of rosewood beautifully polished. The sides of this area were hung with screens of bamboo. At right angles with the main building were placed (three on each side of the wall) platforms, raised about a foot from the floor, which was of hard, smooth earth. These platforms were each about forty-five feet long, and four feet wide, constructed of two planks, five inches thick, nicely joined together and highly polished. Between these two ranges of platforms, at the farther end of the area, was another platform, raised three feet from the floor, composed of a single plank, six by ten feet square, and about ten inches thick, resembling boxwood in colour and texture, and, from almost constant attrition, reflecting adjacent objects with nearly the fidelity of a mirror. On this elevation was seated, in the Asiatic style, cross-legged, and stroking his thin white beard, the acting governor; a meagre, wrinkled, cautious-looking old man, whose countenance, though relenting into a dubi-

ous smile, indicated any thing but fair dealing and sincerity. On the platforms, on each side, were seated, their different degrees of rank indicated by their proximity to the august representative of the sovereign, mandarins and officers of state of various dignity. Files of soldiers, with their two-handed swords, and shields covered with indurated buffalo hides, highly varnished, and studded with iron knobs, were drawn up in various parts of the hall. We walked directly up in front till we arrived at the entrance of the central vista, between the ranges of platforms on each side of the throne, when we *doffed our beavers*, and made three respectful bows in the European style, which salutation was returned by the governor by a slow and profound inclination of the head. After which he directed the linguists to escort us to a bamboo settee on his right hand, in a range with which were also some chairs, of apparently Chinese fabric, which the linguists told us had been placed there expressly for our accommodation. A motion of the governor's hand indicated a desire that we should be seated, with which we complied.' pp. 221–3.

In this fortress they found 250 pieces of cannon, many of them brass, and principally of European manufacture; and among them, 12 field-pieces stamped with the *fleur de lis*, and bearing to have been cast in the time of Louis XIV. The naval arsenal, however, is still more magnificent.

'There were about one hundred and fifty gallies, of most beautiful construction, hauled up under sheds; they were from forty to one hundred feet long, some of them mounting sixteen guns of three pounds calibre. Others mounted four or six guns each, of from four to twelve pounds calibre, all of brass, and most beautiful pieces. There were besides these about forty other gallies afloat, preparing for an excursion that the viceroy was to make up the river on his return from Huê. Most of these were decorated with gilding and carved work, "pennons and streamers gay," and presented a very animated and pleasing spectacle.' p. 235.

There is excellent building timber, it seems, of all descriptions, especially teak, of which he saw several great planks of 109 feet long. If the following account is to be relied on, it would give us a strong impression both of the enterprise and the oppression of the government.

'From the western part of the city, a river or canal has been recently cut, (indeed it was scarcely finished when we arrived there,) twenty-three English miles, connecting with a branch of the Cambodia river, by which a free water-communication is opened with Cambodia, which is called by the Onamese Cou-maigne. This canal is twelve feet deep throughout; about eighty feet wide, and was cut through immense forests and morasses, in the short space of six weeks. Twenty-six thousand men were employed, night and day, by turns, in this stupendous undertaking, and seven thousand lives sacrificed by fatigue, and consequent disease.' p. 237.

The voyagers are afterwards introduced to the Viceroy, who seems to have been a friendly, soldier-like person, and the only one almost of the natives for whom they conceived any respect or affection. A singular incident is mentioned in the account of their presentment to this Eastern potentate. Among the presents which they made on the occasion, was a fine *kaleidescope*, of which they took some pains to show the properties, and mentioned, that it was a recent and admired discovery in Europe. The Viceroy, however, no sooner peeped into it, than he said, that though it might be new in Europe, it was by no means so with them; and immediately ordered his attendant to bring in a number of instruments of the very same description, done up in red embossed paper, and visibly of Chinese manufacture; inferior in workmanship, but constructed precisely on the same principle with those of our ingenious countryman, Dr Brewster. Mr White seems to have an idea that this might have been also a Chinese invention; but we have no doubt that it had come from Europe through China; and it affords a very striking illustration of the rapidity with which inventions of all kinds are now circulated to the remotest quarters of the globe.

The Viceroy was pleased to entertain our voyagers with a repast, the singular character of which may be gathered from the following extract.

'The Chinese cooks in Onam perambulate the streets with an elastic strip of bamboo across their shoulders, from each end of which is suspended, by cords, a square board, resembling a wooden scale, on which they carry various dishes, ready cooked for the table. Among these viands, a very common object is a baked hog, covered with a coat of varnish, made principally of sugar or molasses. One of these itinerant purveyors of the stomach had been called in, and his board was laid upon the floor of the hall, on which he cut up the meat, and replenished our table from it, with his naked hands. This was, however, no time to be fastidious, and we laboured to do honour to our entertainment, and to gratify our benevolent host, who, in his anxiety to render our visit pleasant to us, had condescended, not only to superintend the ceremony of our table, but with his own viceroyal hands to convey the food into our very mouths.' pp. 314, 315.

The anchorage duties—which seem enormously high, being upwards of 1600 dollars for a brig of 200 tons—are levied, it appears, according to the dimensions of the ships; and Mr White gives a very characteristic and good-humoured account of this ceremony, which was followed by a strange scene of debauchery, and the whole party of natives eventually left the ship in no very creditable predicament. After this material point was settled, various approximations to trafficking took

place; but in proportion as the voyagers expressed a wish to purchase any article, it rose instantly in price, at which the buyers express, we conceive, a very unnecessary degree of astonishment.

'It would be tedious,' as Mr White says, 'to recapitulate the constant villany and turpitude which we experienced from these people during our residence in the country. Their total want of faith, constant eagerness to deceive and overreach us, and their pertinacity in trying to gain by shuffling and manœuvring, what might have been better and easier gained by openness and fair dealing; the tedious forms and ceremonies in transacting all kinds of business, carried into the most trifling transactions; the uncertainty of the eventual ratification of any bargain, (the least hope of wearing the patience of the purchaser out, and inducing him to offer a little more, being sufficient to annul any verbal stipulation), and there being no appeal, unless there is a written contract, which is never made till every art has been used, and every engine of extortion put in motion and exhausted to gain more; all these vexations, combined with the rapacious, faithless, despotic, and anti-commercial character of the government, will, as long as these causes exist, render Cochin China the least desirable country for mercantile adventurers.' p. 246.

It is difficult for us, at this distance, to speak upon such matters; but we cannot help thinking that they did not manage well with these strange people; and that part of their vexation was owing to their own credulity and liability to be discomposed. We think they might have anticipated the ill success of their plan of changing the Spanish dollar into copper pieces; and the whole detail of the proceeding shows how completely the natives had the game in their hands. They cheated the strangers in every way, insulted them to their faces, pelted them with stones, tried to ensnare them unwittingly in the committal of capital crimes, and finally drove them away from the country with only half a cargo, after upwards of four months' unceasing altercation.

We understand that the government of Bengal sent a mission to Cochin China and Siam in 1822. The object which the envoy Mr Crawfurd had in view was to establish, if possible, commercial relations of a more liberal nature than had existed heretofore. He was treated with ceremonious respect at both places; but made no great hand of the mission on the whole. The Siamese were still more impracticable than the Cochin Chinese, and are less enterprising and industrious. He was much struck with the excellent state of the fortifications at Huè, and with the number and discipline of the troops, who are clothed in uniforms, mostly of broadcloth, and divided into regiments and battalions, on European principles. He found the country, be-

yond the alluvial flats, of granitic or primitive formation. The recent establishment, however, of our settlement at Singapore, which we owe to the sagacity of Sir Stamford Raffles, has given a stimulus to the trade of those extensive regions, far exceeding what can be looked for from any commercial treaties, however favourable. This settlement has been established on the principles of a *free port*, in the widest acceptation of that term; and has succeeded beyond all calculation. The capital turned in it in the course of last year alone exceeded, as we have occasion to know, 13 millions of dollars in value. The traffic has hitherto been carried on chiefly by the Chinese, in junks of their own—and we have no doubt that immense quantities of our commodities will thus be introduced into that country, which would never have found their way by the restricted channel of Canton,—where the Hong merchants exercise a monopoly little less pernicious than that of the East India Company at home. It is by such experimental tests indeed alone that the prejudices of the world can ever be effectually cured. For no abrupt change is to be looked for in the commercial habits of any nation; and whoever peruses Mr White's book will be satisfied that a system of manners more bigotted, and more repugnant to all the purposes of trade, than those which now prevail in these regions, cannot well be conceived. The slow but certain operation of neighbouring good example, together with the immense advantage of a free communication with the English at Singapore, are perhaps the only possible methods of essentially improving the market of Cochin China, and eventually, perhaps, of ameliorating the condition and habits of this most uncourteous race.

There is nothing more remarkable in the accounts which we have of all the different nations whose coasts are washed by the China seas, than the pertinacity with which every kind of foreign intercourse is resisted. It matters not whether this intercourse be favourable to the natives or otherwise—whether its object be commerce or curiosity—or the necessity of obtaining supplies. Every thing foreign is considered as hostile, and is treated as such,—that is to say, is got rid of as speedily as possible. This characteristic feature becomes more and more marked as we go eastward. In Cochin China, Europeans are indeed admitted—but they are cheated, insulted, and thwarted in all their views in a manner which has no example in the West. In China, Heaven knows, we have work enough to maintain our footing; and nothing but the most urgent necessities of that State prevents our being ousted at once. Proceeding to the eastward, we come to Loo Choo, where the people, though possessed of all other virtues, if we are to believe the rose-co-

loured narratives of Lord Amherst's companions, have a particular liking for the departure of all visitors. The climax of this inhospitable spirit winds up in Japan, where it is the established practice to crucify all strangers, 'pour encourager les autres!'

Heretofore the ill-breeding of these people has been no more than a matter of curiosity; we shrugged our shoulders on reading the accounts which voyagers gave us from time to time, of their ineffectual attempts to open a friendly communication, but cared very little about it. Of late, however, we have been obliged to take a more immediate interest in the habits of the nations alluded to; first, on account of the opening of the Oriental Trade; and next, in consequence of the greater extension of the Southern Whale Fishery. With respect to the first, little need be said; our commercial interest is obviously dependent upon a cordial intercourse with the natives. But how it affects our whale fisheries, may not be so apparent; and as few, perhaps, of our readers are aware of the nature and extent of this very important branch of our commerce, we shall venture to lay before them a slight sketch of its rise and progress.

The southern whale fishery was first entered upon by our North American colonies, chiefly from Nantucket, some time before the accession of his late Majesty. Our Greenland fishermen were then ignorant of the manner in which the spermaceti whale was caught; and some enterprising persons in this country, who wished to establish that peculiar species of fishing, were obliged to engage Nantucket-men for the purpose. The fishery was accordingly commenced off the shoals of Nantucket, in the Gulf of Mexico, near the Western and Cape de Verd Islands; and even reached occasionally to the coasts of Guinea and Brazil; always just 'off soundings,' as it is termed by seamen; that is, beyond the edges of the banks on which soundings are obtained. At this time the American war broke out, and put a stop for a time to that branch of industry. It was commenced by vessels fitted out in this country in 1775; but it took many years to render it strictly a British fishery, since the Americans, whom we were forced to employ, used every endeavour to prevent our people from becoming whale-men. At the peace in 1783, the fishery was fully established, though very few ships were employed in it,—not, we believe, above three or four. In 1786, a new branch of it was opened for the black whale (or that which has the whalebone), on the western coast of Africa. Not less than 50,000 tuns of oil were brought to Great Britain, from that quarter, in the course of thirty years; and the lowest valuation of this quantity cannot be stated at less than 900,000*l.* The Americans probably obtained somewhat less than one half of this amount.

In the year 1788, the first attempt was made to fish in the Pacific ocean. The ship returned with a full cargo, and reported that sea to be full of sperm whales. An absurd panic had long prevailed respecting the navigation of Cape Horn, chiefly in consequence of Lord Anson's voyage. With all his merits, his Lordship certainly mismanaged that part of his undertaking in the most inexcusable manner. Instead of keeping his ships together, at a time when he had no enemy but the elements to struggle against, had he only allowed them to separate, with orders to rendezvous at some fixed point, the voyage might easily have been made, as it is now during all seasons of the year, by every class of single ships. The same passage can never be made by a fleet, without considerable delay; for any accident which detains one, must detain the whole; and as in a fleet accidents must always occur, the delays, as in Anson's case, become almost interminable. The accounts of the great number of whales, however, soon got the better of this terror, and many ships were speedily sent out. The fishery at first was tried between 20° and 12° south latitude, and afterwards from the southern coasts of Chili and off the Island of Chiloe,—eventually it was extended to every latitude between 40° south and the Galapagos Islands, which lie on the equator. Subsequently to this period, the East India Company permitted the whalers to carry their operations into the North Pacific Ocean, and along the north-western coast of North America, but not farther west than 180° of longitude.

In 1790, two other branches of this valuable fishery were opened, one to the island of South Georgia, where a great number of seals and sea elephants were annually caught for a long period; the other was, when the expedition to settle New Holland was sent out under Admiral Philips. The whale-ships carried out convicts, and afterwards fished in those seas.

The whales taken in the South Seas are called the whale-bone or black whales. The spermaceti, generally called the sperm whales, have no whale-bone, but are provided with large teeth. The brain of this fish, and the sediment of the oil, are made into what is called spermaceti. The first mentioned, or black whale, is generally found on soundings, on coasts, or on shoals in the ocean—and always goes into bays to calve. The sperm whale, generally-speaking, is not found on soundings, but near them. A black southern whale produces from about 5 to 8 tuns of oil. A sperm whale ranges from 3 to 13 tuns. The black whales are independent of one another. The sperm are generally found in shoals; and sometimes they are met with in

such numbers as to extendas far as the eye can see. The cargoes of black whale oil run from 200 to 400 tuns. Those of the sperm oil average about 200 tuns. The greatest cargo ever brought home was about 350 tuns. The greatest number of English vessels employed in the Southern whale fishery at one time has been 150 sail—the average tonnage of each being nearly 300 tons.

Without entering into particulars, it may be here generally mentioned, that our first information respecting the Spanish possessions on the shores of the Pacific, and, what is more important, the first commercial knowledge which they had of us and our goods, was through the medium of these whalers, who have undoubtedly, by this means, rendered a most essential service to both countries, whatever the Spaniards in the Peninsula may have thought of it. In the year 1790, a rupture took place with Spain, which, while on one hand it stopped any direct communication with the mother country, put an end to all delicacy on the subject of our intercourse with her colonies.

Early in the present century, our fishery had stretched itself quite across the ocean, and had reached the Molucca Islands, where the sperm whale is found in great numbers. The East India Company were induced about this time to extend the limits of the fishers to the northward as far as the Celebes and Philippine Islands. Finally, the opening of the Indian and Eastern oceans, to all British ships, has enabled these enterprising men to search for the whale, and to follow him wherever he goes. We may now confidently look to them, therefore, for many interesting discoveries; for it is their peculiar province to navigate in unbeaten tracks, in contradistinction to traders, who follow the safe and well known routes.

In 1819 the first English whaler was sent off Japan. Sperm whales were seen in abundance; and this soon becoming known, a rush was made to the spot, and not less than *fifty* British and as many American ships were there last year,—to the infinite astonishment of the Japanese. Of all these, only one attempted to get supplies at that place. After a world of difficulty, a very few refreshments were procured—and the vessel was then fairly towed out to sea by a multitude of boats, in spite of all that could be done by the crew! Our ships are now gradually creeping up to the northward, and if they are not interrupted by the Russians, it may soon be truly said, that there will scarcely be a nook or corner of the earth which our adventurous and hardy whalers have not probed with their harpoons.

As these whale ships are obliged to keep the sea for a long

time, the scurvy is apt to attack the people; and it becomes a matter of the first importance to discover ports where refreshments may be obtained. From Japan, little, we fear, is ever to be looked for. Hopes were entertained that the Pelew Islands might afford a resting place between the Moluccas and Japan, but the following anecdote discourages these expectations. A ship of about 500 tons, manned with thirty-six men, was passing near that group. The master, not suspecting treachery, indiscreetly allowed a number of the natives to come on board. They suddenly took possession of the ship—drove some of the people below, and others aloft in the rigging. At length the Captain succeeded in rallying his people, and, rushing at the natives with pots of scalding water, which fortunately was at hand, drove these naked savages over board, much in the way that Robinson Crusoe did with his hot pitch. Several of the crew, however, were killed in the contest, and others were wounded.

The Malays, who inhabit the coasts of many of these islands, are in general inoffensive and trustworthy, when confidence is fairly placed in them. But we know of a Malay on board a whaler, who lately took it into his head to 'run a muck,' as it is called. He killed the master, the 2d and the 4th mates, and two men—then jumped overboard, and in order to prevent his being made prisoner, dived repeatedly till he was drowned! Our amiable friends at Loo Choo are not given to such practices indeed; but they are quite as averse to the company of our poor salt-fed whalers as any of their neighbours; at least the following anecdote holds out little hopes from them.

The ship Greenwich, James Gibson master, being in great distress for want of fresh provisions, and more than half his crew being 'down with the scurvy,' ran for the Loo Choo Islands, in April 1821. They succeeded in making the natives understand that they were in want of water and refreshments. They were supplied accordingly, but very sparingly; at the same time the Loo Chooans positively refused all payment; their sole anxiety appearing to be to get rid of their guests;—they would not even permit them to land, and, in fact, expressed the greatest misery till they got under weigh and left the island. On this occasion, the master went himself with two boats, but all he could procure was two goats, about two bushels of sweet potatoes, and a few fowls. 'There seemed to 'be plenty of vegetables on shore,' says the log-book of the 'Greenwich, 'but the inhabitants did not like to sell any. 'Some of the fishing-boats came very close to the ship, and the 'people in them seemed to be highly delighted at the sight of

'us. They would have come on board, but we could not stop 'for them, it being near night, and we could but just lay clear 'of the land.'

In July, of the same year (1821), the Greenwich made another attempt to open a friendly communication with Loo Choo. And as every thing relating to these people possesses a peculiar interest with the public, we shall quote the exact words of this ship's log-book.

'July 6th.—Brisk winds from S. E. Plied towards the S.W. 'point of Loo Chew. Sent 2 boats on shore after refresh-'ments. At noon the boats returned with 2 bullocks, 1 hog, 'and 6 fowls, and a few bushels of potatoes.

'July 7th.—Moderate winds and pleasant weather. 2 boats 'on shore after refreshments. Stood off and on shore with the 'ship, at the time the Captain was making good trade with the 'inhabitants of the town. We were ashore too this morning. 'There was an old priest came from another town and put a 'stop to our trade. He likewise hindered our people from 'going about the town, and hurried the boats off with all pos-'sible speed, with a few potatoes and 1 hog. Stood off and on 'during the night. A.M., 2 boats went on shore again at the same 'town. On our landing, a parcel of strangers, that we did not see 'yesterday, stopped us from going into the town. They show-'ed us into a house on the shore, and treated us with tea and 'pipes of tobacco. We had a good deal of trouble in getting 'a few potatoes; but neither bullocks, pigs, goats, nor fowls, 'could we get for love or money. The lower class of people 'were very willing to let us have any thing we wanted, but 'that mongrel breed between the Chinese and Japanese hinder-'ed them from obliging us. At noon returned on board.

'July 8th.—Brisk winds from E. to E.S.E., and fine weather. 'P.M. Two boats ashore after refreshments; at 5 returned 'with half a dozen fowls and a few potatoes. Made all sail to 'the S.S.E.'

As this account is the only authentic one which has reached us of any visit to Loo Choo since that of the Alceste and Lyra, we make no apology for giving it in detail. We recognise in these rude sketches the features of our old friends, as drawn in the more elaborate works published by the officers who accompanied Lord Amherst's Embassy to China.

We much fear, therefore, that the objections, of the government at least, to strangers, is too great ever to be overcome. The accounts alluded to describe these people as being without arms, and as being every way friendly. If we recollect rightly, however, Captain Wilson makes almost an equally favourable

report of the Pelew Islanders—a hint which, with every respect for Captain Hall and his friends at Napkiang, we recommend to all whaling captains in those seas.

Since the publication of Mr White's book, we have learnt, with much indignation, but no great surprise, that our *friends* the Dutch, who owe to us their very existence as a nation, in the true spirit of their old policy, have become jealous even of the whalers, and have recently raised their port charges so high on all their islands in those seas, that the increased expense of calling for supplies, becomes a very important item in the disbursements of a whaling voyage. Consequently the ships are obliged, ever since this most miserable and inhospitable proceeding, to be fitted out, at great cost, with stores and provisions for two and a half or three years, and sometimes even for four. With all that money, however, can procure, with the very best provisions, and a profusion of every known antiscorbutic that will keep, our gallant seamen cannot be supposed to keep the sea for such a protracted period, without an occasional run on shore, and a dish of fresh meat and vegetables. It is bad enough to be treated as we are by the ignorant and prejudiced natives; but it is really to the last degree humiliating to think, that, in these days, the colonies of an European nation should imitate the barbarous Malays and Japanese, in their unsociable policy; and if they do not actually use the 'crease' and the cross, yet virtually do us almost as serious an injury, by blocking us out of their ports. We trust that the attention of Government will be promptly called to this abuse, which proper representations cannot fail to remove.

We cannot quit the subject of the China seas without adverting, in terms of the highest praise, to the extensive survey which has for so many years been carried on there, by order, and at the sole expense, of the East India Company. This noble undertaking, though scarcely known in England, is probably the greatest and the most useful hydrographical operation ever entered into by any government. It was commenced in 1806, and concluded in 1822, a period of sixteen years. Captain Daniel Ross, of the Bombay Marine, was intrusted with the execution of this gigantic task; and being a man of talents, scientific knowledge, and the greatest zeal and industry, he has performed it in a most masterly manner. Captains Maughan and Crawford, also of the Bombay Marine, were associated with him in this work; and to their abilities and exertions much of its success is owing. There were never less than two ships employed on this service; and such was the spirit with which the survey was viewed by the

East India Company, that when these ships were captured in the war, and carried to Batavia, two others were instantly purchased at Bengal to carry it on. The expense of the survey must have been, at the lowest calculation, considerably beyond a hundred thousand pounds; and it is very pleasing to remark, that in all this there is not the slightest speck of any monopolizing or illiberal spirit to be seen. As fast as the charts were constructed, they were engraved in England, and immediately placed at the disposal of all the world at very low prices. As it may interest the curious in such matters, we give, in a note, a list of these charts; and we have no hesitation in saying, that these, together with Captain Horsburgh's admirable Book of Directions, and numerous accompanying Charts, form the completest body of hydrographical and nautical knowledge that has ever appeared in the world. * The last named gentleman deserves especial mention on this occasion. He has for many years been Hydrographer to the East India Company; and it is no more than due to his extraordinary industry and sagacity to say, that he has contributed more, by his writings and by his original charts, to the cause of Eastern navigation, than all the other writers and voyagers in the same seas put together.

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* List of charts made by Captain Ross and his assistants, during the survey of the China Sea.—South coast of China west of Macao, 2 plates. Tien Pak, Hai-lin-shak, and Namo Harbours. Channels and Islands at the entrance of Canton River, 1 large plate. Macao to Lankeet. Canton River. Coast of China east of Macao to the entrance of the Straits of Formosa. Harlem Bay. Lamon and Lamock Islands. Gulf of Petchelee. Harbours on the east coast of China, 2 plates. South coast of Hainan. Paracels and coast of Cochin China, 4 plates. West coast of Palwan. Straits of Mindora and Apo Shoal. Natunas and Tambelan Islands, 2 plates. Straits of Billiton. Straits of Gaspar. South coast of Banca. Lucepara passage. Ilchester Shoal, a part of Lingin. Geldrias Bank, near Rhio Straits. Singapore harbour. North and South Sands. Malacca Straits. Arroa Islands in the same straits.

Captain Ross, along with Captain Crawford, is now examining the islands and coasts on the eastern side of the Bay of Bengal. The Bombay government have also at present two vessels carrying on a survey of the Persian Gulf; and that of Prince of Wales's Island has employed one of the Bombay marine vessels to examine the northern coast of Sumatra, the Straits of Dryon, and the adjacent parts, of which two plates are already engraved. An excellent survey of the east coast of Banca has been made by Lieutenant Robinson of the Bombay Marine, and three charts of the entrance of the Hoogly River by Captain Maxfield.

ART. VII. *Memoirs of Captain Rock, the Celebrated Irish Chieftain; with some Account of his Ancestors.* Written by Himself. Fourth Edition. 12mo. pp. 376. London, 1824.

THIS agreeable and witty book is generally supposed to have been written by Mr Thomas Moore; a gentleman of small stature—but full of genius, and a steady friend of all that is honourable and just. He has here borrowed the name of a celebrated Irish leader, to typify that spirit of violence and insurrection which is necessarily generated by systematic oppression,—and rudely avenges its crimes: And the picture he has drawn of its prevalence in that unhappy country is at once piteous and frightful. Its effect in exciting our horror and indignation is in the longrun increased, we think,—though at first it may seem counteracted, by the tone of levity, and even jocularity, under which he has chosen to veil the deep sarcasm and substantial terrors of his story. We smile at first, and are amused—and wonder, as we proceed, that the humorous narrative should produce conviction, and pity—shame, abhorrence, and despair!

England seems to have treated Ireland much in the same way as Mrs Brownrigg treated her apprentice,—for which Mrs Brownrigg is hanged in the first volume of the Newgate Calendar. Upon the whole, we think the apprentice is better off than the Irishman: as Mrs Brownrigg merely starves and beats her, without any attempt to prohibit her from going to any shop, or praying at any church, apprentice might select; and once or twice, if we remember rightly, Brownrigg appears to have felt some compassion. Not so old England—who indulges rather in a steady baseness, uniform brutality, and unrelenting oppression.

Let us select from this entertaining little book a short history of dear Ireland, such as even some profligate idle member of the House of Commons, voting as his master bids him, may perchance throw his eye upon, and reflect for a moment upon the iniquity to which he lends his support.

For some centuries after the reign of Henry II., the Irish were killed like game, by persons qualified or unqualified. Whether dogs were used does not appear quite certain, though it is probable they were, spaniels as well as pointers; and that, after a regular point by Basto, well backed by Ponto and Cæsar, Mr O'Donnel or Mr O'Leary bolted from the thicket, and were bagged by the English sportsman. With Henry II.

came in tithes, to which, in all probability, about one million of lives may have been sacrificed in Ireland. In the reign of Edward I. the Irish who were settled near the English requested that the benefit of the English laws might be extended to them; but the remonstrance of the Barons with the hesitating King was in substance this:—'You have made us a present of these 'wild gentlemen,—and we particularly request that no measures 'may be adopted, to check us in that full range of tyranny 'and oppression in which we consider the value of such a gift 'to consist. You might as well give us sheep, and prevent us 'from shearing the wool, or roasting the meat.' This reasoning prevailed, and the Irish were kept to their barbarism, and the Barons preserved their live-stock.

'Read "Orange faction" (says Captain Rock) here, and you have the wisdom of our rulers, at the end of near six centuries, *in statu quo*.—The Grand Periodic Year of the Stoics, at the close of which every thing was to begin again, and the same events to be all reacted in the same order, is, on a miniature scale, represented in the History of the English Government in Ireland—every succeeding century being but a renewed revolution of the same follies, the same crimes, and the same turbulence that disgraced the former. But "vive l'Ennemi!" say I:—whoever may suffer by such measures, Captain Rock, at least, will prosper.

'And such was the result at the period of which I am speaking. The rejection of a petition, so humble and so reasonable, was followed, as a matter of course, by one of those daring rebellions, into which the revenge of an insulted people naturally breaks forth. The M'Cartys, the O'Briens, and all the other Macs and O's, who have been kept upon the alert by similar causes ever since, flew to arms under the command of a chieftain of my family, and, as the proffered *handle* of the sword had been rejected, made their inexorable masters at least feel its *edge*.' pp. 23–25.

Fifty years afterwards the same request was renewed and refused. Up again rose Mac and O,—a *just and necessary war* ensued; and, after the usual murders, the usual chains were replaced upon the Irishry. All Irishmen were excluded from every species of office. It was high treason to marry with the Irish blood, and highly penal to receive the Irish into religious houses. War was waged also against their Thomas Moores, Samuel Rogerses, and Walter Scotts, who went about the country harping and singing against English oppression. No such turbulent guests were to be received. The plan of making them poets laureate, or converting them to loyalty by pensions of one hundred pounds per annum, had not then been thought of. They debarred the Irish even from the pleasure of running away, and fixed them to the soil, like Negroes.

'I have thus selected,' says the historian of Rock, 'cursorily and at random, a few features of the reigns preceding the Reformation, in order to show what good use was made of those three or four hundred years, in attaching the Irish people to their English governors; and by what a gentle course of alteratives they were prepared for the inoculation of a new religion, which was now about to be attempted upon them by the same skilful and friendly hands.

'Henry the VIIth appears to have been the first monarch to whom it occurred, that matters were not managed exactly as they ought in this part of his dominions; and we find him—with a simplicity, which is still fresh and youthful among our rulers—expressing his *surprise* that "his subject of this land should be so prone to faction and rebellion, and that so little advantage had been hitherto derived from the acquisitions of his predecessors, notwithstanding the fruitfulness and natural advantages of Ireland."—Surprising, indeed, that a policy, such as we have been describing, should not have converted the whole country into a perfect Atalantis of happiness—should not have made it like the imaginary island of Sir Thomas More, where "*tota insula velut una familia est!*—most stubborn, truly, and ungrateful must that people be, upon whom, up to the very hour in which I write, such a long and unvarying course of penal laws, confiscations, and Insurrection Acts has been tried, without making them, in the least degree, in love with their rulers!

'Heloisa tells her tutor Abelard, that the correction which he inflicted upon her only served to increase the ardour of her affection for him;—But bayonets and hemp are no such "*amoris stimuli.*" —One more characteristic anecdote of those times, and I have done. At the battle of Knocktow, in the reign of Henry VII., when that remarkable man, the Earl of Kildare, assisted by the great O'Neal and other Irish chiefs, gained a victory over Clanricard of Connaught, most important to the English Government, Lord Gormanstown, after the battle, in the first insolence of success, said, turning to the Earl of Kildare, "We have now slaughtered our enemies, but, to complete the good deed, we must proceed yet further, and—cut the throats of those Irish of our own party!" * Who can wonder that the Rock Family were active in those times?' pp. 33—35.

Henry the 8th persisted in all these outrages: and aggravated them by insulting the prejudices of the people. England is almost the only country in the world (even at present), where there is not some favourite religious spot, where absurd lies, little bits of cloth, feathers, rusty nails, splinters, and other invaluable relics, are treasured up, and in defence of which the whole population are willing to turn out and perish as one man. Such was the shrine of St Kieran, the whole treasures of which the satellites of that corpulent tyrant turned out into the street, pillaged the sacred church of Clonmac-

'* Leland gives this anecdote on the authority of an Englishman.'

noise, scattered the holy nonesense of the priests to the winds, and burnt the real and venerable crosier of St Patrick, fresh from the silversmith's shop, and formed of the most costly materials. Modern princes change the uniform of regiments. Henry changed the religion of kingdoms; and was determined that the belief of the Irish should undergo a radical and Protestant conversion. With what success this attempt was made, the present state of Ireland is sufficient evidence.

'Be not dismayed,' said Elizabeth, on hearing that O'Neal meditated some designs against her government; 'tell my friends, if he arise, it will turn to their advantage—*there will be estates for those who want.*' Soon after this prophetic speech, Munster was destroyed by famine and the sword, and near 600,000 acres forfeited to the Crown, and distributed among Englishmen. Sir Walter Raleigh (the virtuous and good) butchered the garrison of Limerick in cold blood, after Lord-Deputy Gray had selected 700 to be hanged. There were, during the reign of Elizabeth, three invasions of Ireland by the Spaniards, produced principally by the absurd measures of this Princess for the reformation of its religion. The Catholic clergy, in consequence of these measures, abandoned their cures, the churches fell to ruin, and the people were left without any means of instruction. Add to these circumstances the murder of M'Mahon, the imprisonment of M'Toole * and O'Dogherty, and the kidnapping of O'Donnel,—all truly Anglo-Hibernian proceedings. The execution of the laws was rendered detestable and intolerable by the Queen's officers of justice. The spirit raised by these transactions, besides innumerable smaller insurrections, gave rise to the great wars of Desmond and Hugh O'Neal; which, after they had worn out the ablest generals, discomfited the choicest troops, exhausted the treasure, and embarrassed the operations of Elizabeth, were terminated by the destruction of these two ancient families, and by the confiscation of more than half the territorial surface of the island. The two last years of O'Neal's wars cost Elizabeth 140,000*l.* per annum, though the whole revenue of England at that period fell considerably short of 500,000*l.* Essex, after the destruction of Norris, led into Ireland an army of above 20,000 men, which was totally baffled and destroyed by Tyrone, with-

* There are not a few of the best and most humane Englishmen of the present day who, when under the influence of fear or anger, would think it no great crime to put to death people whose names begin with O, or Mac. The violent death of Smith, Green, or Thomson, would throw the neighbourhood into convulsions, and the regular forms would be adhered to—but little would be really thought of the death of any body called O'Dogherty or O'Toole.

in two years of their landing. Such was the importance of Irish rebellions two centuries before the time in which we live. Sir G. Carew attempted to assassinate the Lugan Earl—Mountjoy compelled the Irish rebels to massacre each other. In the course of a few months, 3000 men were starved to death in Tyrone. Sir Arthur Chichester, Sir Richard Manson, and other commanders, saw three children feeding on the flesh of their dead mother. Such were the golden days of good Queen Bess!

By the rebellions of Dogherty in the reign of James I., six northern counties were confiscated, amounting to 500,000 acres. In the same manner, 64,000 acres were confiscated in Athlone. The whole of his confiscations amount to nearly a million acres; and if Leland means plantation acres, they constitute a twelfth of the whole kingdom according to Newenham, and a tenth according to Sir W. Petty. The most shocking and scandalous action in the reign of James, was his attack upon the whole property of the province of Connaught, which he would have effected, if he had not been bought off by a sum greater than he hoped to gain by his iniquity, besides the luxury of confiscation. The Irish, during the reign of James I., suffered under the *double* evils of a licentious soldiery, and a religious persecution.

Charles the First took a bribe of 120,000*l.* from his Irish subjects, to grant them what in those days were called *Graces*, but in these days would be denominated the Elements of Justice. The money was paid, but the graces were never granted. One of these graces is curious enough; 'That the clergy were 'not to be permitted to keep henceforward any private prisons 'of their own, but delinquents were to be committed to the 'public jails.' The idea of a rector, with his own private jail full of dissenters, is the most ludicrous piece of tyranny we ever heard of. The troops in the beginning of Charles's reign were supported by the weekly fines levied upon the Catholics for non-attendance upon established worship. The Archbishop of Dublin went himself, at the head of a file of musketeers, to disperse a Catholic congregation in Dublin,—which object he effected, after a considerable skirmish with the priests. 'The favourite object' (says Dr Leland, a Protestant clergyman, and dignitary of the Irish church) 'of the Irish Government and the English Parliament, was *the utter extermination* of all the Catholic inhabitants of Ireland.' The great rebellion took place in this reign, and Ireland was one scene of blood and cruelty and confiscation.

Cromwell began his career in Ireland by massacring for five days the garrison of Drogheda, to whom quarter had been promised. Two millions and an half of acres were confiscated.

Whole towns were put up in lots, and sold. The Catholics were banished from three-fourths of the kingdom, and confined to Connaught. After a certain day, every Catholic found out of Connaught was to be punished with death. Fleetwood complains peevishly 'that the people *do not transport readily*,'—but 'adds, '*it is doubtless a work in which the Lord will appear.*' Ten thousand Irish were sent as recruits to the Spanish army.

'Such was *Cromwell's* way of settling the affairs of Ireland—and if a nation *is* to be ruined, this method is, perhaps, as good as any. It is, at least, more humane than the slow lingering process of exclusion, disappointment, and degradation, by which their hearts are worn out under more specious forms of tyranny: and that talent of despatch which Moliere attributes to one of his physicians, is no ordinary merit in a practitioner like Cromwell:—" C'est un homme expéditif, qui aime à depêcher ses malades; et quand on a à mourir, cela se fait avec lui le plus vite du monde." A certain military Duke, who complains that Ireland is but half-conquered, would, no doubt, upon an emergency, try his hand in the same line of practice, and, like that " stern hero, " Mirmillo, in the Dispensary,

" While others meanly take whole months to slay,
Despatch the grateful patient in a day!"

'Among other amiable enactments against the Catholics at this period, the price of five pounds was set on the head of a Romish priest—being exactly the same sum offered by the same legislators for the head of a wolf. The Athenians, we are told, encouraged the destruction of wolves by a similar reward (five drachmas); but it does not appear that these heathens bought up the heads of priests at the same rate—such zeal in the cause of religion being reserved for times of Christianity and Protestantism.' pp. 97–99.

Nothing can show more strongly the light in which the Irish were held by Cromwell, than the correspondence with Henry Cromwell respecting the peopling of Jamaica from Ireland. Secretary Thurloe sends to Henry, the Lord Deputy in Ireland, to inform him, that 'a stock of Irish girls and Irish young men, 'are wanting for the peopling of Jamaica.' The answer of Henry Cromwell is as follows:—'Concerning the supply of 'young men, although we must use force in taking them up, '*yet it being so much for their own good*, and likely to be of so 'great advantage to the public, it is not the least doubted but 'that you may have such a number of them as you may think 'fit to make use of on this account.'

'I shall not need repeat any thing respecting the girls, not 'doubting to answer your expectations to the full *in that*; and 'I think it might be of like advantage to your affairs there, and 'ours here, if you should think fit to send 1500 or 2000 boys 'to the place above mentioned. *We can well spare them*; and who 'knows but that it may be the means of making them English-

'men, I mean rather Christians. As for the girls, I suppose 'you will make provisions of clothes, and other accommodations 'for them.' Upon this, Thurloe informs Henry Cromwell, 'that the Council have voted 4000 *girls, and as many boys*, to 'go to Jamaica.'

Every Catholic priest found in Ireland was hanged, and five pounds paid to the informer.

'About the years 1652 and 1653,' says Colonel Lawrence in his *Interests of Ireland*, 'the plague and famine had so swept 'away whole counties, that a man might travel twenty or thirty 'miles and not see a living creature, either man nor beast, nor 'bird,—they being all dead, or had quitted those desolate places. 'Our soldiers would tell stories of the places where they saw 'smoke—it was so rare to see either smoke by day, or fire, or 'candle by night.' In this manner did the Irish live and die under Cromwell, suffering by the sword, famine, pestilence, and persecution, beholding the confiscation of a kingdom and the banishment of a race. 'So that there perished (says S. W. 'Petty) in the year 1641, 650,000 human beings, whose blood 'somebody must atone for to God and the King!!'

In the reign of Charles II., by the Act of Settlement, four millions and an half of acres were forever taken from the Irish. 'This country,' says the Earl of Essex, Lord Lieutenant in 1675, 'has been perpetually rent and torn, since his Majesty's 'restoration. I can compare it to nothing better than the 'flinging the reward on the death of a deer among the packs of 'hounds—where every one pulls and tears where he can, for 'himself.' All wool grown in Ireland was, by act of Parliament, compelled to be sold to England; and Irish cattle were excluded from England. The English, however, were pleased to accept 30,000 head of cattle, sent as a gift from Ireland to the sufferers in the great fire! and the first day of the Sessions, after this act of munificence, the Parliament passed fresh acts of exclusion against the productions of that country.

'Among the many anomalous situations in which the Irish have been placed, by those "marriage vows, false as dicers' oaths," which bind their country to England, the dilemma in which they found themselves at the Revolution was not the least perplexing or cruel. *

* 'Among the persons most puzzled and perplexed by the two opposite Royal claims on their allegiance were the clergymen of the Established Church; who, having first prayed for King James as their lawful sovereign, as soon as William was proclaimed took to praying for *him*; but again, on the success of the Jacobite forces in the north, very prudently prayed for King James once more, till the arrival of Schomberg, when, as far as his quarters reached, they returned to praying for King William again.'

If they were loyal to the King *de jure*, they were hanged by the King *de facto;* and, if they escaped with life from the King *de facto*, it was but to be plundered and proscribed by the King *de jure* afterwards.

Hac *gener* atque *socer* coeant mercede suorum.—VIRGIL.

" In a manner so summary, prompt, and high-mettled,
'Twixt father and son-in-law matters were settled. "

" In fact, most of the outlawries in Ireland were for treason committed the very day on which the Prince and Princess of Orange accepted the crown in the Banqueting-house; though the news of this event could not possibly have reached the other side of the Channel on the same day, and the Lord-lieutenant of King James, with an army to enforce obedience, was at that time in actual possession of the government,—so little was common sense consulted, or the mere decency of forms observed by that rapacious spirit, which nothing less than the confiscation of the whole island could satisfy; and which having, in the reign of James I. and at the Restoration, despoiled the natives of no less than ten millions six hundred and thirty-six thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven acres, now added to its plunder one million, sixty thousand, seven hundred and ninety-two acres more, being the amount, altogether, (according to Lord Clare's calculation), of the whole superficial contents of the island!

' Thus not only had *all* Ireland suffered confiscation in the course of this century, but no inconsiderable portion of it had been twice and even thrice confiscated. Well might Lord Clare say, " that the situation of the Irish nation, at the Revolution, stands unparalleled in the history of the inhabited world." pp. 111—113.

By the Articles of Limerick, the Irish were promised the free exercise of their religion; but from that period till the year 1788, every year produced some fresh penalty against that religion—some liberty was abridged, some right impaired, or some suffering increased. By acts in King William's reign, they were prevented from being solicitors. No Catholic was allowed to marry a Protestant; and any Catholic who sent a son to Catholic countries for education, was to forfeit all his lands. In the reign of Queen Anne, any son of a Catholic who chose to turn Protestant got possession of the father's estate. No Papist was allowed to purchase freehold property, or to take a lease for more than thirty years. If a Protestant dies intestate, the estate is to go to the next *Protestant* heir, though all to the tenth generation should be Catholic. In the same manner, if a Catholic dies intestate, his estate is to go to the next Protestant. No Papist is to dwell in Limerick or Galway. No Papist to take an annuity for life. The widow of a Papist turning Protestant to have a portion of the chattels of deceased, in spite of any will. Every Papist teaching schools to be presented as a regular Popish convict. Prices of catching Catholic priests from 50s. to 10*l.*, according to rank. Papists are to answer all

questions respecting other Papists, or to be committed to jail for twelve months. No trust to be undertaken for Papists. No Papist to be on Grand Juries. Some notion may be formed of the spirit of those times, from an order of the House of Commons, 'that the Sergeant at Arms should take into custody all 'Papists that should presume to come into *the gallery!* (Commons' Journal, vol. iii. fol. 976.) During this reign, the English Parliament legislated as absolutely for Ireland as they do now for Rutlandshire—an evil not to be complained of, if they had done it as justly. In the reign of George I., the horses of Papists were seized for the militia, and rode by Protestants; towards which the Catholics paid double, and were compelled to find Protestant substitutes. They were prohibited from voting at vestries, or being high or petty constables. An act of the English Parliament in this reign opens as follows:—'Whereas attempts have been lately made to shake off the 'subjection of Ireland to the Imperial Crown of these realms, 'be it enacted,' &c. &c. In the reign of George II. four-sixths of the population were cut off from the right of voting at elections, by the necessity under which they were placed of taking the oath of supremacy. Barristers and solicitors marrying Catholics are exposed to all the penalties of Catholics. Persons robbed by privateers during a war with a Catholic State, are to be indemnified by a levy on the Catholic inhabitants of the neighbourhood. All marriages between Catholics and Protestants are annulled. All Popish priests celebrating them are to be hanged. 'This system (says Arthur Young) 'has no other tendency than that of driving 'out of the kingdom all the personal wealth of the Catho-'lics, and extinguishing their industry within it! and the face 'of the country, every object which presents itself to travellers, 'tells him how effectually this has been done.'—*Young's Tour in Ireland*, vol. ii. p. 48.

Such is the history of Ireland—for we are now at our own times: and the only remaining question is, whether the system of improvement and conciliation began in the reign of George III. shall be pursued, and the remaining incapacities of the Catholics removed, or all these concessions be made insignificant, by an adherence to that spirit of proscription which they professed to abolish? Looking to the sense and reason of the thing, and to the ordinary working of humanity and justice, when assisted, as they are here, by self-interest and worldly policy, it might seem absurd to doubt of the result. But looking to the facts and the persons by which we are now surrounded, we are constrained to say, that we greatly fear that these incapacities

never will be removed, till they are removed by fear. What else, indeed, can we expect when we see them opposed by such enlightened men as Mr Peel—faintly assisted by men of such admirable genius as Mr Canning,—when Royal Dukes consider it as a compliment to the memory of their father to continue this miserable system of bigotry and exclusion—when men act ignominiously and contemptibly on this question who do so on no other question,—when almost the only persons zealously opposed to this general baseness and fatuity are a few Whigs and Reviewers, or here and there a virtuous poet like Mr Moore? We repeat again, that the measure never will be effected but by fear. In the midst of one of our just and necessary wars, the Irish Catholics will compel this country to grant them a great deal more than they at present require, or even contemplate. We regret most severely the protraction of the disease,—and the danger of the remedy;—but in this way it is that human affairs are carried on!

We are sorry we have nothing for which to praise Administration on the subject of the Catholic question—but, it is but justice to say, that they have been very zealous and active in detecting fiscal abuses in Ireland, in improving mercantile regulations, and in detecting Irish jobs. The commission on which Mr Wallace presided, has been of the greatest possible utility, and does infinite credit to the Government. The name of Mr Wallace, in any commission, has now become a pledge to the public, that there is a real intention to investigate and correct abuse. He stands in the singular predicament of being equally trusted by the rulers and the ruled. It is a new era in Government, when such men are called into action: And, if there were not proclaimed and fatal limits to that ministerial liberality—which, so far as it goes, we welcome without a grudge, and praise without a sneer—we might yet hope that, for the sake of mere consistency, they might be led to falsify our forebodings. But alas! there are motives more immediate, and therefore irresistible,—and the time is not yet come, when it will be believed easier to govern Ireland by the love of the many than by the power of the few—when the paltry and dangerous machinery of bigotted faction and prostituted patronage may be dispensed with, and the vessel of the State be propelled by the natural current of popular interests and the breath of popular applause. In the mean time, we cannot resist the temptation of gracing our conclusion with the following beautiful passage, in which the author alludes to the hopes that were raised at another great era of partial concession and liberality—that of the revolution of 1782,—when also, benefits were conferred which proved abortive, because they were incomplete

—and balm poured into the wound, where the envenomed shaft was yet left to rankle.

'And here,' says the gallant Captain Rock,—'as the free confession of weaknesses constitutes the chief charm and use of biography—I will candidly own that the dawn of prosperity and concord, which I now saw breaking over the fortunes of my country, so dazzled and deceived my youthful eyes, and so unsettled every hereditary notion of what I owed to my name and family, that—shall I confess it?—I even hailed with pleasure the prospects of peace and freedom that seemed opening around me; nay, was ready, in the boyish enthusiasm of the moment, to sacrifice all my own personal interest in all future riots and rebellions, to the one bright, seducing object of my country's liberty and repose.

'When I contemplated such a man as the venerable Charlemont, whose nobility was to the people like a fort over a valley—elevated above them solely for their defence; who introduced the polish of the courtier into the camp of the freeman, and served his country with all that pure, Platonic devotion, which a true knight in the times of chivalry proffered to his mistress;—when I listened to the eloquence of Grattan, the very music of Freedom—her first, fresh matin song, after a long night of slavery, degradation and sorrow;—when I saw the bright offerings which he brought to the shrine of his country,—wisdom, genius, courage, and patience, invigorated and embellished by all those social and domestic virtues, without which the loftiest talents stand isolated in the moral waste around them, like the pillars of Palmyra towering in a wilderness!—when I reflected on all this, it not only disheartened me for the mission of discord which I had undertaken, but made me secretly hope that it might be rendered unnecessary; and that a country, which could produce such men and achieve such a revolution, might yet—in spite of the joint efforts of the Government and my family—take her rank in the scale of nations, and be happy!

'My father, however, who saw the momentary dazzle by which I was affected, soon drew me out of this false light of hope in which I lay basking, and set the truth before me in a way but too convincing and ominous. "Be not deceived, boy," he would say, "by the fallacious appearances before you. Eminently great and good as is the man to whom Ireland owes this short era of glory, *our* work, believe me, will last longer than his. We have a Power on our side that 'will not willingly let us die;' and, long after Grattan shall have disappeared from earth,—like that arrow shot into the clouds by Alcestes—effecting nothing, but leaving a long train of light behind him, the Family of the Rocks will continue to flourish in all their native glory, upheld by the ever-watchful care of the Legislature, and fostered by that 'nursing-mother of Liberty, the Church."

ART. VIII. 1. *Letters on the Evils of Impressment, with the Outline of a Plan for doing them away; on which depends the Wealth, Prosperity, and Consequence of Great Britain.* By THOMAS URQUHART. London, 1816.

2. *Basis of a Plan for Manning the Navy at the Commencement of a War, &c.* By the Same. London, 1821.

3. *Impressment: An Attempt to prove why it should, and how it could, be Abolished.* By Lieutenant R. STANDISH HALY, R. N.

4. *Suggestions for the Abolition of the Present System of Impressment in the Naval Service.* By Captain MARRYATT, R. N. London, 1822.

5. *Cursory Suggestions on Naval Subjects; with the Outline of a Plan for raising Seamen for His Majesty's Fleets in a future War, by Ballot.* London, 1822.

IT would be absurd, we think, at this time of day, to say one word on the manifest cruelty and injustice of our practice of Impressment,—since nobody, so far as we can learn, denies that it is in itself most cruel and unjust,—or seeks to defend it on any other ground than that of necessity. We shall confine ourselves, therefore, almost entirely to this view of the matter, and inquire whether, in reality, it be necessary or not. Its legality, at least in so far as depends on ancient usage and judicial recognition, we do not presume to question,—and suppose we need not give ourselves much trouble about a rhetorical statement, which seems to have been made with some success in the late debates in Parliament, viz. of the many accomplished and distinguished officers, who are said to have entered the service by this rough and compulsory channel. Many a kidnapped youth has become a wealthy planter, in former days, in Virginia; and Ali Bey, and many other Mameluke leaders, were bought as slaves to recruit the troops over whom they ultimately rose to command. Nobody, however, thinks of maintaining, on the force of these examples, that kidnapping is the best way of breeding respectable colonists, or the slave market the best supply for an army. There is, in fact, no argument but that of necessity, on which the controversy can be for a moment maintained,—though, to exhaust that, will be found to require more exact inquiries into facts, than loyal declaimers or simple readers are aware of.

The subject unluckily is one on which the Government is particularly anxious to repress all discussion—and deadly perils are accordingly predicted from every attempt to approach it. Yet there is no one topic so frequently discussed in conversa-

tion; and every now and then a pamphlet comes forth, with the old pathetic denunciations, or the old peremptory justification of the practice. We cannot say, indeed, that they generally draw much attention. People do not expect to find any thing new in them; and besides, in time of war it is thought impossible to venture on any novelty, and in peace, that there is nothing to complain of. We have five little works, however, on the subject now before us; and being ourselves of opinion that a time of peace, when there is no Press wanted, and no discontent to be roused into mutiny, is the proper season for making such prospective arrangements, for the supply of seamen, as may be thought practicable, we are glad to have an opportunity, by the appearance of so many simultaneous publications, to make some suggestions on the subject.

We need not, however, detain our readers very long with any account of the different pamphlets that are mentioned in the title. Mr Urquhart's and Lieutenant Haly's contain nothing very tangible; and tend rather, by the obscurity of their style, to confirm the opinion, that impressment is a necessary evil. To Captain Marryatt we are indebted for several important details as to the number of landsmen usually serving on board our ships of war, and the proportion of seamen indispensable for each ship in the naval service. He also proposes a plan for the abolition of impressment, which is, however, the same thing, under another name, though somewhat mitigated, by limiting the period of service. He has become sensible, we have been informed, of this incongruity, and has withdrawn his pamphlet from circulation. We mention it, therefore, not to criticise it, but because we have made use of some of the valuable information which it contains. The author of *Cursory Suggestions* 'has been nearly eight-and-twenty years in his Majes-'ty's service, and nearly eleven in the command of some vessel 'of war; few men,' he therefore supposes, 'have had better 'opportunities to form correct opinions as to the subjects he 'writes upon; and he has once before drawn up a summary 'view of the subject of impressment.' He defends some *kind of coercion* as *necessary* to procure men for our fleet; and as he thus puts the question on its true basis, and proceeds to support his view by more detailed arguments and assertions, than are commonly resorted to on that side of the question, we think we cannot introduce the subject better than by an examination of his facts and reasonings.

He begins by laying it down as an axiom, 'that During peace, 'this country will never possess a greater number of *seamen* than 'will be able to procure *employment* in his Majesty's ships and

'vessels, and in the ships and vessels employed in the mercan-'tile service.' Now, in the very outset, we would ask, what there is to prevent the country pensioning, if it be necessary, without employing, seamen, as well as sea-officers? If the State chose to keep 20,000 or 40,000 seamen idle on shore during peace, as well as 6000 officers, why could not that be accomplished? Whatever may be the gallant Captain's nautical experience, his reading, we are afraid, is not extensive, if he is ignorant that several plans have been suggested for providing men for the fleet, the principle of which is, 'that able-'bodied youths, tradesmen, artificers and others, shall be brought 'up and fitted for the sea service, and allowed a small sum per 'annum even when they stay at home, for every year they have 'been at sea.'* The fact also is, that, since the peace, and at present probably the number is not much diminished, *thirty-two thousand seamen have actually been pensioned by Government, many of whom are not employed either in the King's or the merchants' service.* The Captain's proposition, therefore, does not correctly state either what must generally be, or what at present is.

Being convinced, however, of its truth, he goes on to say, 'It necessarily follows, that if a war were to break out, there 'would be a much greater demand for sailors than the country 'could supply.'—'That as Government has *not the power to* '*offer high wages*, and as no substitute has ever been found to 'compete with this most powerful of all arguments, in inducing 'the sailor to volunteer for the navy in preference to the mer-'cantile service, it follows, that the *only* means Government 'can have recourse to for manning the fleet *must be coercive.*'—'The rate of seamen's wages,' he further says, 'is a point *al-*'*most immaterial to merchants*, provided (which is quite impossible) the 'whole mercantile interest have to pay in the 'same proportion.' But no individual merchant or shipowner is of the Captain's opinion; for they all try to get seamen for as little money as possible, never giving one farthing higher wages

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* See, among others, Sir William Petty's Political Arithmetic.—In King William's reign, a scheme was set on foot for a register of 30,000 seamen, for the constant and regular supply of the King's fleet, with great privileges to the registered men, and at the same time imposing heavy penalties, in the event of their non-appearance, when called for. This registry was abolished, not because it did not answer its end, but because it was considered as a badge of slavery by a statute of 9th Anne, cap. 21. Surely, however, it was infinitely less like slavery than the existence of the practice of impressment.

than circumstances oblige them to give. And though we certainly have no desire to encourage any wasteful expenditure on the part of Government, it is as absurd to say that they have not the means of offering higher wages to sailors, as it would be to suppose that the abolition of the oppression and misery attending impressment, would not be a full compensation for any increased expense the country might be put to in effecting so desirable an object.

Great mistakes, however, have been made by the apologists of coercion, respecting the additional number of seamen that would be actually required at the breaking out of war; and as the whole practice of impressment has reference to this one point, we shall endeavour, in the first instance, to elucidate it. The author of 'Cursory Suggestions' gives it at *double* the whole number employed in the King's and merchants' service during peace. Even this, greatly exaggerated as it is, seems to have been an after-thought; for in the text, *treble* the number is stated as a moderate calculation, while double is given as a correction in the Errata. Mr Urquhart states it at between 90,000 and 110,000 seamen, and Captain Marryatt at 110,000. But the truth is that it is impossible to fix this number beforehand, since it plainly depends on the *number of seamen employed* during peace, and on the naval force of our antagonist. Our establishment, at present, is 17,000 seamen and 8000 marines; and the additional number requisite in the event of war, would obviously be different, according as our opponent was France, Russia, Spain, the United States, or any two, or all of them. During the late war, we had at one period 145,187 seamen and marines in the navy; but we were then contending against nearly the whole of Europe and the United States. Such a state of things is not likely again to occur; and it is therefore improper to assume, with all these authors, that 130,000 men—the average number employed during the latter years of the war—will be at all times indispensable to render our navy efficient. Naval officers, anxious for employment, and Ministers, greedy of influence and patronage, will never admit that any number of seamen short of what the country can possibly raise and maintain, is sufficient. Accordingly, during the late war, when our victorious fleet had almost swept the ocean of every opponent, no effort was made to reduce our unnecessarily large naval establishment. Our victories seemed of little advantage, except to the gallant admirals who gained peerages, and the numerous body of officers whom the country, in the overflowings of its gratitude, delighted to honour and reward. After

the battle of Trafalgar, when all fear of invasion was over,—when our enemies had nothing at sea but a few straggling frigates, the same, and even a larger naval force was kept up than when the fleets of France, Spain, and Holland were undiminished, and our naval superiority far from being fully assured. Those who have a strong interest in keeping up a large fleet, certainly are not the best persons to decide what number of seamen may be requisite; and it is clear that, for the public interest, only such a number should at any time be employed as is sufficient to protect our trade, our foreign possessions, and our native shores. The force necessary for these purposes, we repeat, must always depend on the strength and skill of the enemy we have to contend with, and must be decided by the Legislature at the moment of commencing war. But, judging by the number of seamen required at the beginning of last war, we are inclined to think that the smallest number stated by either of the authors before us is much too large.

During the peace, and immediately prior to 1793, the number of men employed in the navy was 25,000. At the same period the merchant service, according to Macpherson, Annals of Commerce, employed 118,952 seamen. Before the war actually broke out, 25,000 additional men were voted by Parliament; and 85,000 men, including 12,115 marines, were granted for 1794. For 1795, the grant was 100,000, including 15,000 marines; and in 1797, the number was increased to 120,000, including 20,000 marines. Thus at the commencement of the war, instead of double the number of all the *men* (143,452) employed in the King's and merchants' service during the peace, only 60,000 were thought requisite by Parliament, or not near one half. Even after the war had continued four years, the number of men was only increased to 95,000, or not above two-thirds of that whole which, according to the Captain's statement, required to be immediately doubled. He, indeed, supposes that a number of additional hands would be wanted in the merchant service. But, from the check which various branches of commerce must receive at the breaking out of war, and the stop put to all trade with the enemy, we are inclined to believe that, on the whole, a greater number will not be wanted for the merchants' service. In so far, however, as impressment is concerned, we have only to attend to the number necessary for the navy. If merchants fit out privateers, or if more hands are required to navigate their ships, it is very material to keep in mind, that they procure them, as all other employers obtain workmen, by the offer of higher wages.

But it is of great importance to recollect, that the number of

men given above as belonging to the merchant-service, does not include fishermen, lightermen, watermen, and several other classes of half seamen, employed in small craft as coasters, and on our rivers and creeks. On the other hand, the 60,000 additional *men* required were not all *sea*-men; 8,115 were marines or soldiers. Of the remaining 51,885, *one fourth also might be, according to the Admiralty regulations, landsmen and boys:* and from Captain Marryatt's estimates it appears, that *a full third of the crews of all his Majesty's ships consisted, towards the close of the war, of these descriptions of persons.* There is reason to believe, that very few ships, at the commencement of the war, had more than two-thirds of their crew, what are called regular bred seamen; and we believe that not twenty of his Majesty's ships had *at any period of the war* so large a proportion as two thirds. Further, it must be observed, that the officers were included in the number of men voted; and the whole of these actually employed, may, at a low estimate, be taken at 4000. Assuming, however, to be quite within bounds, that only one fourth, or 12,971 of the 51,885 men voted were landsmen and boys, and taking the officers at 4000, we find, that in fact only 34,914 seamen were required for the fleet at the commencement of the war in 1793. At that period France had a more powerful navy than at present, and French sailors were then fearless and enthusiastic. The navies of Spain and Holland have, since, dwindled into insignificance; and though those of Russia and the United States are increasing, neither of them is yet so formidable as that of France was at the beginning of the revolutionary war. Our fleet was at that period also more than adequate to all purposes of protection both at home and abroad; for large squadrons were very unprofitably employed in the Mediterranean, in the West and East Indies, and in various other places, conquering islands and colonies.

Upon this view of the case, therefore, we think we may safely assume, that a fleet, equal to that fitted out at the beginning of last war, is likely, under ordinary circumstances, to be fully as large a naval force as we shall need at the commencement of another war. At present, however, we have only 17,000 seamen employed in the King's ships, while, prior to 1793, we had 21,000; consequently, to equip as large a fleet as in 1794, supposing the same proportion of marines to be employed, and one fourth only of the additional men required to be landmen and boys, there will be a demand for 38,914 seamen. Now, supposing this or any greater number of seamen to be, as they certainly are, in the merchant service, the important

question is, Can we afford to offer them such high wages as to induce them to enter the King's service? Every man of common humanity, who balances the capabilities of the country with the alternative in question, will instantly answer this question in the affirmative. The Government, however, has hitherto always decided, and is still disposed, we are afraid, to decide otherwise; and some authors, like the gallant Captain, justify its decision. We must entreat our readers, therefore, to attend to the grounds of this justification.

The leading and conclusive fact upon this part of the question is, that Government, during war, has not only always refused to give its seamen wages, in any way equivalent to what they can then earn in the merchant service, but has not even offered them such as they were actually receiving in that service before war broke out. The ordinary wages in the navy, now and during war, are from 1*l.* 1s. to 1*l.* 15s. per month. But the ordinary wages in the merchant service, during peace, and when there is no such extraordinary demand for seamen as war necessarily produces, cannot now be stated lower than 2*l.* 2s. But during last war, that rate rose to 4*l.*, 5*l.*, and 6*l.* That our Government could not, in such circumstances, man its navy by volunteers, at the rate of 1*l.* 7s. per month, must indeed be pretty apparent; and yet it would by no means follow, that it could only be manned by impressment. The plea is *Necessity*—that men *could not* be got without it,—and that, in spite of flourishing advertisements and active crimps, scarcely any were found to enter voluntarily. We can well believe it. Why should they enter a service where only half price is offered for their labour? or can anything be more preposterous than for Government to go into a market, and, finding no supply can be got *under the market price*, immediately to seize on the commodity by force, throw down half its value in return, and justify the proceeding on the score of *necessity?*

This, in fact, is an epitome of the whole question; and it is truly impossible to put it on any other foundation. We admit, at the same time, that if it had actually been necessary to outbid, or even to equal the enormous wages which seamen drew in the merchant service in the later years of the late war, the burden on Government would have been very oppressive. But the truth is, as we hope immediately to show, that this prodigious rise of wages was *occasioned almost entirely by the effects of this very practice of impressment*, in driving our seamen abroad, and into hiding, when their services were most wanted,—and that in reality, and on the whole, the country might purchase

the free services or the seamen at a less expense than it now costs to impress them.

The opinion delivered by the Captain evidently rests on the supposition, that the high rate of seamen's wages, during the late war, was the natural rate at such a period, and was solely occasioned by the war demand for seamen. But the term of apprenticeship at sea is seldom more than five years for very young lads, and generally it is not above three years. An intelligent youth may become a very good sailor in less time even than this; and, if healthy and active, may perform many of the duties of one from the moment of going on board. The additional demand for seamen at the beginning of war occasioning a certain rise in their wages, landmen and youths should, in the *natural* course of things, go from other employments, and supply our ships, both men of war and merchant men, with the proper number of hands, though they might not all possess the requisite proportion of seamen. But the demand for more seamen was also met, during the late war, by the great number of foreigners who were employed, soon after its commencement, both in the King's and the merchant service; that particular provision of the Navigation act, which forbids taking them in the latter, having been, as usual in time of war, suspended by the Legislature in 1793. In no other trade or occupation was there any similar influx of foreigners; and there is good reason to believe that they amounted at one time to *one eighth* of all the men employed in the navy, and to *one third* of all those in the merchant service. In the remarks prefixed to the late census by Mr Rickman, the number of foreign seamen serving on board our ships is stated at 100,000, which would be a full third *of the whole*. It may be doubted whether the war at any time created a demand for 100,000 seamen more than we had during peace; and this being supplied by foreigners, not in general requiring such high money wages as the English, there ought to have been only a very temporary, if any, rise in the rate of seamen's wages. In fact, however, their wages rose on the breaking out of the war, and continued rising, or very high, till it was brought to a close. Before 1793, their wages out of the port of London varied from 1*l.* 5s. to 1*l.* 15s. per man per month. Immediately after war was declared, they rose to 3*l.* 15s., and continued at this rate till towards 1800, when they rose to 4*l.* 4s. Towards 1803–1804, they rose to 5*l.* 5s., and were, in some instances, as high on the homeward voyage, in running ships, or ships sailing without convoy, as 6*l.* 6s. per month; and they continued at this high rate till the end of the war. Thus, after the fleet was fully

manned, and when there could be no demand for any large increase in the number of men, the seamen's wages continued to rise, and remained permanently higher than they were first carried by the influence of the sudden demand occasioned by war.

Now if this advance had been caused by the mere demand for seamen, independent of the violence used to obtain them, a similar advance must have taken place in the wages of the artificers who prepared the increased number of ships required, and for whose service there must have been a proportionably great demand. To equip fleets, shipwrights and sailmakers are as necessary as sailors. Both these classes of workmen, however, generally perform task-work, and, being paid proportionably to the labour and skill required, it is difficult to ascertain with precision what they actually gain. There is, however, in both trades a settled rate of wages;—and this rate *was not increased by the war*. Thus, before 1793, the rate of shipwrights' wages at London was 3s. 6d. per day in winter, and in summer, when working what is called day and quarter, or from five o'clock in the morning till seven o'clock at night, 4s. 4½d. This rate continued unaltered till 1804, when, after a *considerable disturbance*, it was raised to 5s. a day through the year, no day and quarter work being allowed. By working task-work, for which, however, only the best workmen are taken, they might sometimes gain nearly double the rate of the daily pay. Thus, when the greatest momentary demand existed for their labour, these workmen got but a trifling addition to their pay, while the rate of the seamen's wages was fully trebled for several years, and in many instances quadrupled. The rise in the rate of shipwrights' wages also was occasioned principally by the general rise of prices, and scarcely at all by the increased demand derived from the war. The general rise of prices, however, is at all times of little consequence to the seaman, because food and lodging are provided for him by his employers. Before 1793, the average rate of sailmakers' wages was 21s. per week; towards 1797, they rose to 24s., subsequently to 27s.; and before the close of the war to 30s., at which rate they now remain, though in general the men do not obtain full employment. It is peculiar then to the seamen, that their wages rise at the breaking out of war, and continue high as long as war lasts; and this rise, whether compared to the sum they receive both before and after the war, or to the wages of other labourers, can only be caused by that impressment to which they, and they only, are exposed.

That this species of coercion must be met on the part of the

merchants, by the offer of higher wages, is evident from its own nature. Sir Matthew Decker long ago said, 'The Grand 'Seignior cannot do a more absolute act, than to order a man to 'be dragged away from his family, and against his will run his 'head before the mouth of a cannon; and if such acts were frequent 'in Turkey upon any one set of useful men, would it not *drive 'them away to other countries, and thin their numbers yearly*, and 'would not the remaining few DOUBLE OR TREBLE THEIR WAGES? '—WHICH IS THE CASE WITH OUR SAILORS IN TIME OF WAR, to 'the great detriment of our trade and manufactures.' When Sir Matthew wrote, the United States of America were British colonies, and could neither employ nor protect our seamen. The effects of impressment, both in driving them away and increasing their wages, will now be doubly pernicious; for America offers them certain employment and a safe asylum. The gallant Captain whose opinions we are combating also states, 'If Go- 'vernment, from necessity, proceed to use *coercive measures*, the 'merchant will also offer *higher wages* and greater advantages 'than heretofore, in much the same ratio with which the measures 'of government are enforced.' Thus he also sees, that the high rate of seamen's wages during war *is the effect of impressment*. As the capability of the country to *purchase* their services will become more evident as this fact is better established, we shall endeavour to show what influence the dangers peculiar to the naval service, and the waste of life occasioned by battle and shipwreck, have on wages. We hope, at the same time, to satisfy the reader, that no reason can be discovered in this influence, why our population should avoid the naval service.

Except impressment, sailors on board merchant vessels are exposed to very few more dangers when the country is engaged in hostilities, than when it is in a state of peace. Some trifle must be allowed for the probability of being captured, and losing their emoluments, while they are consigned to a dungeon in a foreign country: But merchant vessels do not in general make resistance; and on board them consequently, sailors run no more risk during war of being knocked on the head, or of losing a leg, than during peace. The war, therefore, of itself, does not cause wages to rise in them. In privateers, and vessels carrying letters of marque, where the men are exposed to the chances of battle, the increased danger is found to be adequately compensated by a probability of obtaining prize-money; and *wages, in point of fact, are never higher on board them, than on board ordinary merchant vessels.* They being only fitted out during war, when wages, owing to impressment, are exorbitantly high, people serving on board them are

always well paid. What they receive, therefore, forms no criterion for judging either of the natural rate of seamen's wages, or of the sum it might be necessary to give for the voluntary service of seamen in the King's ships.

The effects of impressment in raising the wages of seamen, do not, however, terminate with the war, but operate even during peace. Six months rarely pass without rumours being circulated that press-warrants are to be issued; the fear of which has, in some measure, the same effect as if they were actually issued. We have known several instances during peace, of young men whose only reason for not going to sea, or for returning to their friends and engaging in other employments, after beginning their career as sailors, was the fear of impressment. 'Respectable young men,' says Mr Urquhart, whose experience as a shipmaster and shipowner for several years is on this point of some authority, 'will not now 'enter into the sea service, from fear of being impressed, and 'having their hopes blasted through life.' The wages of seamen in merchant vessels, during peace, are therefore somewhat higher on account of impressment than they otherwise would be.

It has been already stated, that the wages of seamen out of the port of London, were from 1*l.* 5s. to 1*l.* 15s. per month, before the commencement of the war in 1793. At present, they are from 2*l.* to 2*l.* 5s. The average, therefore, between last peace and the present, is 1*l.* 18s. 3d. per man per month. Seamen, we are informed, can at present be had in the United States of America for 11 dollars; or, assuming the dollar to be equal to 4s. 3d., at 2*l.* 6s. 9d. per month, this being, in fact, the average of seamen's wages throughout the Union. Taking into consideration the fact that articles of clothing, the chief necessaries the sailor has to purchase,—food and lodging being found him when employed,—are dearer in America than in Britain, it would appear that the wages of seamen are not higher there than here. Two guineas a month, therefore, may be taken as the general average rate of seamen's wages. If we add to this two pounds Sterling per month, the estimated expense of victualling each seaman in the navy, we may take the whole pay of seamen, compared with the pay of other labourers, at 4*l.* 2s. per month of 28 days, or very nearly 3s. per day. Now, this sum is considerably less than the wages of shipwrights and sailmakers; and we believe it may even be taken as less than the average wages of skilled artisans in Great Britain, which is generally stated at 3s. to 3s. 6d. per day. The average rate of wages, therefore, in merchant vessels, even en-

hanced as it is by impressment, is not, during peace, higher than the rate of wages in other employments. It is also somewhat curious to observe, that while the rate of wages for all other artisans is considerably higher in the United States than in Britain, the rate of seamen's wages is not higher. During the war even, the rate of seamen's wages in that country followed, at a distance, the fluctuations of the rate in this. In the United States, when our merchants were giving five guineas, sailors could be had for 20 dollars. Owing to the facility with which seamen transport themselves from one country to another where they are better paid for their labour, their wages are likely to be more on a par, in different and distant countries, than the wages of other labourers. Owing also to the peculiar practice which is the subject of our remarks, the wages of seamen will always be very nearly on a level in America and in Britain; rather lower, perhaps, in the latter country, during peace, and considerably higher, as in fact we find them, during war.

There are several occupations on the water, as those of fishermen, pilots, boatmen, &c. in which men are more exposed to danger and hardships, than seamen on board merchant vessels. But although the pecuniary rewards in these occupations are not great, there is never any want of men. For example, in the evidence given before the Committee of the House of Commons on Foreign Trade, which sat in 1822, it is stated, that the boatmen of the Southern coast of England, were so numerous that they were in great distress for want of employment. The wages of these classes of sea-faring men depend on casualties, and therefore cannot be estimated; but their mode of living is a sufficient proof that they are not, on the whole, much better paid than seamen in the merchant service. It is also a general fact, that no country, qualified by nature to carry on trade by sea, and engage in fisheries, has ever been checked in its career of industry by a want of men, ready, for a comparatively small remuneration, to encounter all the dangers of the ocean. Our own history supplies numerous examples of sailors growing riotous for want of employment; but none of offers of employment which nobody was ready to embrace. The celebrated Navigation Act was originally passed because our ships were lying idle, and our sailors out of employment. The frequent change of scene which is a sailor's lot, and his alternate privations and enjoyments, make his both a pleasing and a healthy occupation. It is moreover spirit-stirring, and not dull and deadening, like throwing a shuttle or twisting a cotton thread. When these circumstances are added to the facts we have stated, our readers, we trust, will be satisfied, that the supposed hardships of a sailor's life

have little or no influence on his wages, and none in preventing any proportion of our population, which can find employment and pay at sea, from voluntarily becoming seamen.

But all the dangers proper to sea-going, independent of those which arise from fighting, are as great and alarming on board merchants', as on board the King's ships,—on board small and heavily-laden coasters, navigating amidst rocks and shoals, as on board the magnificent castles which float with such ease and majesty over the deep blue sea. Nay, from the very circumstance of the King's ships being equipped for fighting, which requires more hands than are necessary for the mere management of the vessel as a sailing machine,—from there being on board of them proper persons to attend to the different departments; and also, from the superior manner in which his Majesty's ships are provided with cordage, spars, &c. no expense being spared as to the materials, however niggardly and avaricious the Government may be as to paying the seamen,—there can be no question that the dangers and hardships incident to sea-going, as well as the labour required from the men, are in fact much less in the King's, than in merchant vessels.

But the danger and horror of battle, say some of the advocates for cruelty, terrify men from serving their country at sea; and can only be effectually counteracted by the violence of impressment, the gentle castigation of the cat-o'-nine-tails, and degrading our ships by making them gaols for felons. This, however, is absurd, as well as insulting. Courage is one of the most common qualities of human nature; and the love of enterprise and prize-money—the hope of distinction, or national rivalry—have always been found to make the perils of war rather a recommendation than otherwise to the profession. Not to dwell, however, on disputable matters, we shall state some facts to show, that very scanty rewards are sufficient to induce men voluntarily to brave the dangers of naval warfare.

In the *first* place, there is no class of vessels which procures seamen with greater facility than privateers, although, on board them, the men are exposed to all the dangers of battle, without at all times possessing that surgical aid which can do so much to heal and relieve the pain of wounds. They also hold out no prospect of that permanent provision for the seamen if disabled, which is always bestowed on those who are wounded in the national service. Of the facility with which this class of vessels procures men, we shall quote one memorable example. ' The *traders* of Liverpool, ' says Mr Chalmers, * ' alone fitted

* Estimate of the Comparative Strength of Great Britain, p. 40, Ed. 1810.

'out, at the beginning of the war with France, between the '26th of July 1778 and the 17th of April in the following year, 'one hundred and twenty privateers, each armed with from 10 'to 30 guns, but mostly with from 14 to 20. From an accu-'rate list, containing the name and appointment of each vessel, 'it appears, that these privateers measured 30,787 tons; car-'ried 1986 guns, and 8754 men.' In less than eight months, therefore, the merchants of one only of the ports of this empire were able to collect and send to sea a number of fighting men equal to the seventh part of the whole additional number of men required within one year after the breaking out of the war in 1793. At this time, too, there was a war demand for men in the King's ships, and the merchant ships from the same port were as numerous as usual; so that there can be no doubt but that voluntary enlistment is quite sufficient to procure men for fighting ships. At the very moment we are writing, the newspapers of almost every day contain accounts of vessels captured by pirates, or by men who have scarcely one chance more of making prize-money than the men who serve on board legalized privateers and men-of-war; and yet they freely encounter all the dangers of the sea and of war, and, in addition, all the ignominy of crime, and all the chances of dying by the hand of the public executioner. They are outlaws, we know; but they have partly become so from a love of that brisk excitement occasioned by the dangers which less enterprising mortals imagine are sufficient to deter our hardy countrymen from voluntarily entering on board our glory-covered navy.

Neither do the men-of-war ever want *officers*, though exposed as much as the men to all the dangers of battle and of the sea. During the greater part of last war, our ships were crowded with volunteer officers; and the Admiralty was in a manner besieged by those who, having already tasted both the bitters and the sweets of the service, were anxious to be again employed. The pay of naval officers is not, however, so great as to tempt men from civil occupations. Prize-money and pensions may sometimes enable them to pass the evening of their lives in opulence; but, in most cases, the greatest economy only preserves them from want and distress. The average of their regular emoluments indeed places them above the level of the upper servants of their brethren who have engaged in commerce, or devoted themselves to the liberal professions. But, notwithstanding the smallness of their wages, more men can always be obtained for officers than the country can employ. The present number of officers amounts to about 10,000; and of these there are about 2500, including only Admirals, Captains, and Lieute-

nants, *more than were ever employed at any one period of the war, or than can ever be employed.*

There is one particular class of officers to which we shall still further advert, because their conduct, and the conduct of the Government towards them, illustrates all the principles we wish to see acted on with regard to the seamen. Up to the middle of the late war, there was a great want of well-educated Medical men in the navy. The barbarous manner in which the sick and wounded were treated, was long assigned as one cause of the unpopularity of the service, and was in fact made a specific ground of complaint by the sailors in the mutiny of 1797. Fortunately, the rank in society, and the wealth of the medical profession, secured for its members that degree of protection from the Government which, judging by its conduct towards the seamen, would not have been accorded to them as men. Notwithstanding the great want of surgeons, the Admiralty never thought of impressing them. It advertised its wants, and offered a suitable remuneration. Several measures were gradually introduced to add respectability to the situation of ship's surgeon, till, in 1805, the medical officers of the navy had a rank assigned them, with salaries, not large, if compared to their expensive education, but very handsome, according to the general scale for remunerating officers in the navy. By this they were secured from insult, and ensured a comfortable subsistence. In a short time, a stream of medical men, from all parts of the country, almost forced away the Transport Board. It was no longer a question which University should send some of its starveling students for ship-doctors, or what apothecary should elect this mode of providing for a riotous apprentice, but to which of the numerous respectable candidates the vacant situation of assistant-surgeon should be given. This example is particularly instructive; because there is no class of persons employed in the navy who suffer more than medical men, from the inconveniences of the sea and the unpleasantnesses of discipline. They are in general well-educated and indulgently brought up, and, having reached the age of manhood before they go to sea, are considerably annoyed by the mode of living, which passes unheeded by those who have been accustomed to it from their infancy. In this case, the Government wanted a particular class of officers, just as it wants seamen; it held forth encouragement for them to come forward, and more came than could be employed.—It is incumbent on the advocates of impressment to show, why, if we acted on the same principle towards the seamen, similar results would not be produced.

Though unwilling to tire our readers by too many details, we must still quote another illustration of the principle we are

endeavouring to establish. The Marines are exposed to the same hardships, dangers and privations, as the seamen, being fed and treated in the same manner on board ship, and having no more privileges than the seamen, except the confidence reposed in them. Yet the pay of the marines is from 17s. 5d. to 1*l.* 2s. 1d. per month, in proportion to the length of their service; while the veriest landsman, wearing a blue jacket, receives, without any deduction, 1*l.* 1s. from the moment of going on board. They have therefore no advantages whatever over the seamen but those of limited service and occasional relaxation on shore, both of which could be easily extended to volunteer seamen; and yet this corps was always able, with little or no difficulty, to obtain plenty of men. It not only supplied the increased number of ships with the full complement of marines, but that complement was increased. In 1793, the proportion of marines to the whole number of men voted, was 12,115 out of 85,000, or one-seventh; in the latter years of the war, the proportion was generally 31,400 out of 130,000, or considerably more than one-fifth; and great as was this increase, in 1813 the marine corps had more than 5000 supernumeraries. Since peace, the marine corps has not been reduced in the same proportion as the seamen; and they now amount to more than one-third of the whole.

It would appear also, from the increase in the number of marines in the latter years of the war, that the waste of life occasioned by battle and shipwreck had little or no influence on their wages: and there is obviously no reason why it should have any greater influence on the wages of seamen. We are able however to state, pretty correctly, the probable waste of life in the naval service; and it will be found so little beyond the average mortality in other trades and professions, as not to be worth consideration. From the accurate sick-lists, and other accounts of the crews, which are kept on board men-of-war, it is easy to ascertain the state of the crews as to sickness and the number of deaths; and it appears, that the average mortality of the navy during three years of the late war was 1 in 30.29. More than a half of this number died of disease, and the rest fell a sacrifice to the various accidents, including battles, shipwrecks, upsetting of boats, &c. to which sailors are liable. We are informed, that in several of the trades of the metropolis, the members of which, like the sailors, are between the ages of 16 and 60, the average mortality is greater than among seamen; showing that, with all the accidents to which they are liable, the chances of life are in their favour. The following Table shows, at one view, the number of killed and wounded in the five great naval victories of the late war, which anni-

hilated the opposing fleets of all Europe. The accounts are taken from Mr James's Naval History, and differ a little from the accounts published at the time in the Gazettes; but we believe them to be more correct. They make the number of killed and wounded greater than the Gazette accounts; and we therefore have no motives for our preference, but the conviction of their greater accuracy.

Date of the Naval Victory.	Name of the Admiral who commanded the Fleet.	On board the Fleet.	Number of Men Killed.	Wounded.
June 1st, 1794.	Lord Howe.	17,241	290	858
Feb. 14th, 1797.	Earl St Vincent.	9,900	73	227
Oct. 11th, 1797.	Lord Duncan.	8,221	203	622
Aug. 1st, 1798.	Lord Nelson.	7,401	218	678
Oct. 21st, 1805.	Lord Nelson.	18,725	449	1241
	Totals	61,488	1233	3626
		Total killed and wounded		4859

If we compare these accounts with the numbers of killed and wounded in land battles, it will be evident, that the risks of naval warfare are not very great. The single battle of Talavera, in killed, wounded, and missing, cost the country more men than all these naval victories. Without including the missing, the number of killed and wounded was 4,714, being only 145 less than the number of killed and wounded in all the naval battles. The proportion of the killed to the wounded was somewhat greater in the naval victories, than in the indecisive land-battle; in the former there being 1,233 killed, while in the latter there were only 801. There were only 18,500 men at Talavera, however, while in the naval actions there were at least 60,000, making the proportion of killed in the land battles, in proportion to the number of men engaged, more than twice as great as in the naval victories. This makes the statement probable, though we know not on what authority it rests, that the comparative loss of life during the late war, was three times greater in the army than in the navy.

Having by these remarks cleared away some supposed difficulties, and shown that there are no circumstances naturally and necessarily connected with sea-going which should cause sailors to receive much higher wages than other labourers, and none necessarily connected with the naval service which should oblige Government to give higher wages than sailors receive in merchant vessels during peace, we shall proceed to compare the

expense of hiring their voluntary service with the cost of impressing them.

Sailors being only labourers of a particular class, unless a general rise should take place in the rate of wages, 2*l.* 2s. per man per month in addition to their food, being about the average wages of artisans, and rather more than the average of their wages between last peace and the present, will be quite sufficient to buy their voluntary services. At present, including petty officers, who are taken from the seamen, the average rate of wages in the King's service is about 1*l.* 8s. The number of seamen required at the commencement of war being taken at 38,914, making, with the 17,000 men now employed, 55,914, their wages, at 2*l.* 2s. per man per month, will amount to 1,526,452*l.* per year. But the wages of the same number of men, at present, amount to 2,017,634*l.* It must, however, be recollected, that the sum we have stated would buy the services of able seamen, while, in the estimate of present wages, a great number of ordinary seamen are included. In fact, therefore, so large a sum would not be necessary; but supposing it should, the difference is only 508,818*l.* per year. We admit that this is a very considerable sum: But, in the first place, if it be no more than the fair price of the services it is intended to purchase, with what pretence of justice can it be withheld?—or can any thing be more monstrous than for a rich and lavish Government like ours, to use the most cruel violence and oppression; to compel its best and bravest servants to work for it, for less than, but for its interference, they could obtain from private employers? After all, the sum we have mentioned is not double the amount of what is annually bestowed, both in years of war and peace, on *officers* who cannot possibly be employed,—while the sum required for the seamen is only during years of war. Not to be stinted in our concessions, we shall admit, that, at the commencement of a war, merchants would offer somewhat higher wages than Government, and that the latter might, in consequence, find it necessary to increase its offers,—we will even admit that 4*l.* per month might, for the moment, be demanded; but this sum is so much larger than the ordinary earnings of boatmen, lightermen, and other maritime labourers and artisans, that it could only be the fault of Government if they did not soon crowd to our men-of-war and merchant ships, and sink the wages on board of them to the average level. Admitting, therefore, that a somewhat larger sum than 1,526,452*l.* would be required for the first year of war, and even supposing it to be wholly an additional charge, can it be put in competition with all the moral and social evils, and, we must also add, the expense, of impressment?

The last consideration alone, we think, is decisive of the whole question—as we have no doubt that we shall be able to show that the nation pays a great deal more, in money alone, to say nothing of feelings and character, for the system of impressment than many times the additional wages by which its necessity might be avoided. And, in the *first* place, if it be clear, as we trust it now is, that the high rate of wages in the merchant service during war, is entirely owing to the practice of impressment, it is obvious, that in this way alone a far greater burden is laid on the country than the additional wages for which we are contending. It is obvious enough, that all the sums the merchants are thus obliged to pay, must ultimately be paid by the country at large, in the advanced price of their commodities. Now, the number of men in the merchant service is always greater than that of the seamen in our fleets.—But the rise which impressment occasions in their wages is admitted to be from 3*l.* to 4*l.* per month,—whereas the addition which we propose in the King's ships, is only from 12s. to 15s. It follows, therefore, that if the necessity of the greater rise could be avoided by conceding the smaller, the country at large would save three or four times the amount thus justly and profitably advanced by the Government.

In the *second* place, it is obvious, that the establishment for impressing and securing the men must cost a considerable sum. During the late war, according to '*Steels*' *Lists*,' the number of stations where we had press-gangs varied from 45 at the commencement, to 34 at the close of the war; and at these different stations there were employed from 18 to 25 Captains, and from 47 to 59 Lieutenants, with a number of men amounting on an average to not less than 20 at each station. Here then we had at least 1000 men, or as many as would man a first-rate, employed, not to contend against the national foes, but to impress our own people! We have calculated the expense of this machinery for capturing our seamen, and are quite certain that it amounted to very little short of 100,000*l.* a year. Lieutenant Tomlinson * states, that 3000 persons were employed in the impress service, at an annual cost of 176,280*l.*, during the war of 1756; who, it would appear from his statements, did not procure a much greater number of men than they themselves amounted to. He adds, that there were 2250 men employed on board guardships, 'considered in no other light than as reservoirs for impressed men,' and that they cost 156,000*l.* per annum. At the same time, there were 40 tenders employed to convey the impressed men

* Author of a pamphlet published in 8vo. in 1774.

from the spots where they were seized to the ships in which they were to serve; and the same intelligent officer estimates their expense at 20,280*l.* per year. During the late war, instead of three guard-ships which Lieutenant Tomlinson mentions, there were never less than five line-of-battle ships, and sometimes eight, one 50 gun ship, three frigates, and five sloops, employed for the purpose of securing impressed men. In all other employments, too, workmen find their way to the spots where their services are requisite; and our seamen find their own way to America. The expense, therefore, of conveying impressed seamen to the King's ships, is entirely occasioned by the impress system. During the late war, the number of men employed on board guard-ships and tenders amounted at the very lowest to 1500, who, together with the vessels, calculating by the 'Naval Estimates' for 1800, must have cost the country at least 157,085*l.* per year.

But the expense of this system of constraint is not limited by the cost of the machinery for seizing and securing impressed men in the first instance. There must be, it is obvious, and there are, bodies of men on board ships, to retain impressed men in obedience, and prevent them carrying off the ships. Would any man stay a single hour in a ship to which he has been carried by force like a slave,—in which he has the sweepings of our gaols for his companions,—where his pay is only the third part of the sum he could earn if he were at liberty,—and where he is subjected to a system of flogging that is scarcely surpassed, except that it is carried into execution under the formalities of law, by the whippings to which the West Indian slave is exposed?—would any impressed man, we ask, stay on board our ships a single hour, if he were not retained by others? Now, those who enforce this system of coercion and constraint on board ship, are, first and chiefly, the armed officers, and afterwards, under their direction, the armed soldiers or marines. We know that both these classes of men are useful to contend against an enemy,—that they both fight and keep impressed men in awe,—that they are both heroes and gaolers; but, in this latter character, they are prodigiously expensive to the country.

The number of Captains and Lieutenants *actually employed* on board our ships, is not too great probably for the exigencies of the service; but the number of midshipmen greatly surpasses all useful bounds. The principal employment of these young gentlemen is to look after the seamen. And the worst of it is, that after their youth has been wasted in this unpleasant service, it becomes the duty of the country to provide for them, which is done by promoting them, though there is no room for them in

actual employment, to the rank of Lieutenants, Captains, and Admirals. We estimate, that the annual expense to the country, for half-pay to the *superfluous* officers of these four classes, is 324,486*l.* per year; and admitting that *half* of this is caused by Parliamentary influence, we shall have 162,243*l.* as an annual charge, *occasioned by impressment*, for superfluous officers.

With regard, again, to the Marines, we conceive it to be quite plain, that more than one half of them are retained and paid for, chiefly, if not altogether, for the sake of the coercion they exercise over the discontented, because impressed, seamen. If they were intended chiefly to be disembarked on an enemy's coast, or to form a flying camp, or to be employed as skilful marksmen, they would be trained to these purposes, and only sent on board ships in active service. The reverse is however the fact. They are embarked in a still greater proportion on board guard-ships, which never go to sea, than on board sea-going ships; they are rarely practised in the hazardous undertaking of disembarking in haste with cannon and stores, so as to form a flying army; and they are as rarely good marksmen. The marines are of no use when in barracks, as far as defending the country is concerned; and when on board ship, they have no other *exclusive* duty to perform, than to keep impressed men in obedience. Sailors can easily be trained to do all the duty of soldiers; but soldiers sent on board ship for the purpose of keeping the sailors in obedience, cannot mix with them; and therefore never learn the duties of sailors. They are not, therefore, as efficient a body of men for the purposes of national defence as sailors. The latter also are only paid when they are actually embarked, while the marines are paid in barracks as well as on board ship. Taking the return of the state of the marine corps, laid before the House of Commons in 1821, as the basis of our calculations, we can state, that this body of soldiers to keep sailors in obedience, cost, during the war, on an avarage, about 400,000*l.* per annum MORE *than as many sailors would have cost*, as there were private marines actually embarked.

There is, however, another item to state, which, independent of moral considerations, would, of itself, turn the mere money balance decidedly against impressment. The principal cause of the late war with America, was the resistance that country made to our right of search, and the tenacity with which we persevered in it. The Americans would probably have never thought of contending against this right as applied *to goods*; at least the popular feeling in that country, unsupported by which, the Government could not have carried on war, would not have been exasperated against us, had it not been for our practice of searching American vessels for British *seamen*. The *right* which

we persevered in supporting, and which we went to war to support, was the right of continuing uncontrolled the oppression of our own seamen. It would seem, however, from the fact of wages in American ships being at present nearly on a par with wages in British merchant ships, and from the rate of wages in both having been nearly equal, or rather higher in ours at every period of the war, that there was no motive whatever for our seamen to desert their country, but the ill treatment they received. And yet they burst asunder all those ties which bind men to their native land, gave up family, friends, and kindred,—to seek, amidst strangers in a foreign country, security from the hated practice of impressment! But for that, our seamen never would have deserted; and therefore, whatever might have been our right of search in theory, it would never have been a subject of dispute, for it would never have been brought into practice. Impressment was the cause why our seamen deserted; and their desertion brought on war, to preserve a right to impress them wherever they could be found! We are entitled, then, to charge the whole expense of the late war with America to our system of impressment. We do not pretend to calculate the millions which it cost; but we feel that it is quite impossible to estimate the moral injury occasioned by our repeated naval defeats. If every one of our seamen were to receive ten pounds a month, their services would be cheaply purchased, compared with the consequences of that war—carried on to prevent them finding a refuge from the tyranny of our naval laws, and still worse naval customs.

It would also appear from the fact, that labourers of every kind, *except sailors*, receive much higher wages in the United States of America than in England, that impressment, by making sailors thus unnaturally plenty and cheap in that country, has enabled it to form a navy much sooner than it could otherwise have done. But for this circumstance, the wages of seamen would have been, for some years to come, so much lower in this country than in America, that the Americans would have had little more trade than that of their own coasts. Impressment has, therefore, contributed to make that country a great maritime power; and has also enabled her successfully to compete with Great Britain in every branch of foreign trade. It is quite clear at least, that, but for the comparative low rate of seamen's wages in America, and their comparatively high rate in our own country, both of which were caused by impressment, we should have retained more, though it is not easy perhaps to decide how much, and the Americans would have acquired less, of the carrying trade. If we add to the other expenses of impress-

ment the loss thus occasioned to the empire, we shall swell the amount to many millions—and afford another striking illustration of the many collateral and unforeseen evils that always arise from a systematic course of injustice in any department of the government.

We might have some patience under this system, ruinous as it is, could it be considered as the means by which the men have been procured whose exertions have achieved so many brilliant victories. The truth is, however, that they have been obtained in spite of it. The officers of our ships—the marines and landsmen, who are as brave as the rest of their countrymen —and the boys, who grow up to manhood in the naval service, are all volunteers. To ascertain exactly the relative expense of impressment, we ought obviously to know what number of men it has actually procured: But on this important part of our subject, we regret that we have been unable to procure correct information. We solicited this in the proper quarter; but having obtained no satisfaction, we can only refer to some general facts, which show that impressment has never been the efficient means of procuring men for our fleet.

'I should imagine,' says Lieutenant Tomlinson, 'the Ministry would be glad to embrace any plan for manning the fleet with volunteers which carries a reasonable probability of success, as they sufficiently experienced the slow progress of raising seamen by impressing them in 1770 and 1771. For after a hot impress of five calendar months, *i. e.* from the 22d of September 1770 to the 22d of February 1771, besides the advantage of the first surprise; and after sweeping London of great numbers of those idle dissolute people who commonly enter on board men of war the first breaking out of an impress, and after all the gaols had been swept, and the refuse of the kingdom gathered together, they only mustered in their ships about thirty-three thousand men (exclusive of marines) *of all denominations*, in which were a great many officers, and a very considerable number of servants, besides the complements of all the tenders, &c.; so as to make the number of people raised, who really were seamen, very inconsiderable for the time, and under the very advantageous circumstances wherewith that impress was favoured, especially when we consider that the navy was supposed already to muster *sixteen thousand men* (marines included) when the impress broke out. But, to my certain knowledge, a very considerable number of those that were raised were the most miserable objects I ever saw in the navy, or heard tell of.' He adds in a note—'I do not mean to intimate, in the least degree, by what is above said, that there was any neglect concerning the means necessary to be used for raising more good seamen at that time, but only to show how much more tedious the raising of seamen by impressing is than people in general suppose. And the rea-

son of it will be in a great measure accounted for, when we recollect that, in September 1770, *three thousand seamen fled ashore from the colliers*, between Yarmouth roads and the Nore, and that great numbers *always flee into the country* upon those occasions, and *betake themselves to husbandry* and various other employments; and also, that many *flee to Holland*, &c. as shown in the course of this work.'

We know from personal sources of information, that a similar statement might be made as to the number of men obtained by impressment at the commencement of the war in 1793. Notwithstanding all the efforts which were then made, our ships were, for two or three years, not above two-thirds manned as to numbers, and the quality of the men was also very bad. We will venture indeed to assert, that the number of men obtained by impressment in eighteen months, throughout the whole kingdom, did not amount to 30,000. One of the ways in which *seamen* keep out of the clutches of the press-gang, is described in the following passage. Indeed, it is obvious that all their ingenuity will be tasked for this purpose; and after the resolution of the Cabinet to make war on the seamen, is known by its being carried into effect, they are wary enough either to keep concealed or flee their country; and it is only when some solitary victim forgets himself over his grog, or in the arms of his mistress, that he becomes the prey of the press-gang.

'Independently of these modes of escaping the service,' says the author of Cursory Suggestions, 'there are various means of evading the impress, which were successfully had recourse to by our seamen during the latter years of the last war, and which seem scarcely to admit of remedy under the old system.'—'I have before remarked, that all *outward-bound vessels had their crews protected from the impress*, and that consequently the men belonging to them ran little risk of being impressed till their return to England. It was the practice with masters of such vessels, when homeward-bound, to avail themselves of opportunities of landing their impressible men on various parts of the coast in the three Channels, *before* they entered into any port in which there were either press-gangs or ships of war. Boats were always on the look-out for such vessels, and readily undertook to land the impressible men, and to supply the ships from which they took them with old men, who were not impressible, or with men who were *protected* as pilots or fishermen, to assist in working them into port. The sailors who were thus landed remained in the country on the coast, where no press-gangs could reach them, in a state of idleness, until the vessels they belonged to were in readiness to proceed on another voyage, or until opportunities offered for them to join other *outward-bound* vessels, into which they were secretly conveyed at the out-ports, or on the coast, when the weather was favourable for such vessels to proceed on their voyages; and when they were once on board, they were protected from

the impress. Hence arose the difficulties that were experienced in procuring good seamen for the navy during the latter years of the war; and hence also the outcry, that good seamen were no longer to be found. *'All the best seamen, the steadiest and best behaved men, avoided the impress without difficulty.'*

It is a well authenticated fact, that, at the close of the war, by far the greater part of our *sea*men had been brought up in the King's ships, or were men-of-war's men. When our trade employed, on an average, 180,000 seamen, the complaint was universal, that there were no merchant-bred seamen in the King's service. The merchants did all they could to prevent their men being impressed, and engaged only foreigners, apprentices, or discharged veterans, that they might have protected men. From the time, in short, when Edward III. embarked his archers on board ship, up to the close of the late war, where officers, marines, and men-of-war's men formed more than two-thirds of the crews of our ships, the majority—the great majority of the men who have conquered for us on the ocean—have voluntarily entered the service of the country.

Whatever number of men, also, may have been obtained by impressment, is probably more than counterbalanced by the numbers who desert. However much desertion from engagements, may be held in detestation, desertion, when a man is impressed, is practically regarded as innocent; and the practice is thus made familiar to the minds of the seamen, by the prevalence of that system. We have no data to estimate the precise number who desert; but we have seen whole boats' crews desert; and have known the seamen, in spite of every precaution, steal the boats at night, and escape in tens and twenties. It is a fact, too, that they have taken away even ships,—as, for example, the Hermione and Danae,—putting to death without mercy the officers and marines, who were the means of carrying into execution this tyrannical system. Nay, what is still more pernicious, and yet a stronger proof of their desperation, they have manned the ships of our enemies, and have ravished from the brow of their ungrateful country the wreaths of victory with which they had adorned it, and which, had they been well treated, it would have been their pride and their glory to have made more fair and flourishing. During the late war with America, it was confidently stated in the public prints, that 16,000 British seamen were employed in the merchant vessels and men-of-war of that country, and we see no reason to doubt that this was under the number. America is now their asylum. From the passage we have already quoted from Lieutenant Tomlinson, it appears, that formerly they

fled to Holland. But independent America presents so many more advantages, and so many more temptations than Holland, that it must attract much greater multitudes. The same author states the number of seamen who deserted in his time at 5000 annually, though he does not vouch for the correctness of the statement. The number of desertions is a point which, we trust, will be cleared up by some one who has access to the naval '*Weekly Returns.*'

'In January 1814,' says Captain Marryatt, 'I was appointed Lieutenant of his Majesty's ship Newcastle. She did not sail from England till the latter end of June in the same year. During this interval, we were obliged to have frequent draughts of men, in consequence of the desertions that took place. In one instance, at Bantry Bay, the men were so determined, that they walked down the side of the ship in presence of the *sentinel at the gangway* (a marine), and of the officer of the watch, took possession of one of the ship's boats, and, *notwithstanding they were fired at with ball cartridges* (*by the marines*), *persisted in their attempt*, and ultimately succeeded in gaining the shore. In stating this and subsequent facts, I conceive it my duty to observe, that it was not a dislike to the Captain and officers of the ship, but a *dislike* to the *compulsive service*, that instigated the men to this conduct.'—'This spirit of desertion was so prevalent, especially among regularly bred seamen, many of whom joined the enemy, that when the Newcastle chased the Constitution, in February 1815, off Madeira, she was nearly 100 men short of her complement of 350.'

When the number of men who are driven to desertion by impressment, is added to the number employed in the various departments of the impress service, it must, we think, be evident, that this miserable system, on the whole, and in the long-run, deprives the fleet of more men than are obtained by its means, without taking into consideration the number which the very existence of such an odious practice prevents from entering.

'But it is useless,' we shall be told, 'to dwell on the evils 'of a practice, the injustice of which has long been acknow-'ledged, unless some means can be pointed out to remedy 'them.' If our observations are correct, however, there is no evil to be remedied or avoided—*but Impressment itself:* and we have therefore nothing to do but to declare that it shall not be revived. The sea is almost the native element of the inhabitants of our extensive seacoast, and seagoing is a glad and a healthy occupation. Crowned with victory, our fleet would have been the favourite resort of our immense maritime population, had it not been for the stigma cast on it by impressment. But can men of good character be expected voluntarily to enter a service into which felons are sent as a punishment? Will any man, worth

having, repair to our ships to herd with criminals? Certainly not. As far as relates to the mode of paying the men, to the quality of the provisions, and to all the minute arrangements of the civil service of the navy, our system is generous and almost perfect. Some steps have even been taken to check cruel and indiscriminate punishment; and it is only necessary to decree the abolition of that impressment which is now actually extinct, and to restrain the officers still more, not in the power of exacting obedience, but in that of inflicting punishment—not in their means of preserving order, but in enforcing their caprices by cruelty, to induce all the young, the ardent, the *elite*, in short, of our population, voluntarily to enter the naval service.

Owing to the bad system we have hitherto pursued, some prospective measures might be necessary to procure us men at the beginning of a war. The only want which impressment can be supposed to supply, is that of *sea*men at the breaking out of a war, if war should commence *suddenly*. In a very short time all sorts of men will be obtained by their entering voluntarily. Our care, therefore, should be to provide, during peace, *sea*men for the commencement of a war. We should determine, then, as the basis of prospective measures, that the King's ships should be made, during peace, seminaries for educating seamen for the King's service at the breaking out of war. Common sense dictates, that as many *blue-jackets* should be kept in the pay and service of the fleet during peace as it requires *men*. Instead of augmenting the proportionate number of marines and officers on board ship during peace, we would augment the number of thoroughbred seamen. Every man-of-war, therefore, sent to sea, should carry as many seamen as possible, consistently with the preservation of their health. Not a single soldier should be embarked, to give our ships the appearance of prisons; and every man on board should be as capable of directing a great gun, of handling a musket and pike, and of steering a ship and managing her sails, as he could be made. At the commencement of a war, we would distribute this number of good seamen among double the number of ships in which they were employed during peace; and we would complete the crews of these ships, either by drafts of soldiers, by enticing other seamen and landsmen by the offer of higher wages, and bounties if necessary, or by such other just and honourable means as might tempt men voluntarily to come forward in the service of their country. Supposing that 25,000 thorough-bred seamen were embarked on board our ships during peace, then, at the breaking out of a war, by adding 20,000 soldiers and landmen, we

should be able *immediately* to equip and man double the number of ships we previously possessed, which, in almost any circumstances, would be quite sufficient for any *immediate* purpose. On the present system, precisely at the moment when the services of our seamen are most wanted, their bosoms are filled with indignation at the outrages they suffer; and before they can be brought to face the enemy, their spirits are subdued by the filth, sickness, and discipline of a guard-ship. Instead of this enfeebled, or indignant race of men, we would have none but those whose arms were nerved by the zeal with which they hastened to the combat. To the number of men we could obtain by voluntary enlistment, we would add those who are now employed in impressment; and then the country, strong in the love of its immense maritime population, would be provided against every emergency, and have no reason to dread the united navies of all the despots of Europe. If impressment be revived after some years' cessation, the probability is, that the seamen will either openly resist, or that, forsaking their country in a body, and carrying with them, perhaps, the ships of their employers, they will seek protection in the United States of America; while the bolder spirits among them may repair to the southern part of that Continent, and there, or in the islands belonging to it, renew the piracies of the Buccaneers. We trust, however, that these miseries and hazards will be avoided, and that the Legislature will *now* take measures that Impressment, at present happily extinct, may never be revived.

ART. IX. 1. *Journal of a Visit to some parts of Ethiopia.* By GEORGE WADDINGTON, Esq. Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and the Reverend BERNARD HANBURY of Jesus College, A. M. F. A. S. 4to. London, 1822.

2. *A Narrative of the Expedition to Dongola and Sennaar, under the Command of his Excellence Ismael Pacha.* By an American (Mr ENGLISH) in the service of the Viceroy. 8vo. London, 1822.

THE upper course of the Nile, from Egypt to Abyssinia, passes through a country which might, till very lately, be considered as nearly unknown. Few even of the most enterprising travellers were willing to venture upon tracts so rugged, occupied by tribes so lawless; and though Bruce, and a French physician of the name of Poncet, touched it at some points, in their way from and to Abyssinia, they both preferred making

the greater part of their journey across those immense deserts, which extend east and west of the course of the river. Yet the region is by no means devoid of interest. Its aspect, though rude, is bold and peculiar; and though it be now chiefly inhabited by ferocious savages, whose great employment consists in dragging bands of slaves across these huge deserts, yet it presents us with the most interesting historical monuments,—the memorials of a people, whose name and institutions were celebrated from the remotest antiquity.

In noticing Mr Burkhardt's volume, we were led over a part of this tract, before untrodden by modern travellers. A still better opportunity was soon after afforded for extending our knowledge of these regions, by the expedition lately sent by the Pacha of Egypt, to conquer the Nile to its source, and render himself the master of all who drink its waters. Under cover of this armament, three travellers of different nations, Mr Waddington, Mr English, and M. Caillaud, penetrated far beyond Burckhardt's limits, and into districts at least as interesting as those which he visited. M. Caillaud, we understand, reached farthest of any, having followed the Egyptian expedition to the utmost point of its career, which terminated at Singué, in the 10th degree of latitude: But till he, or rather his Editor, M. Jomard, shall terminate his voluminous work, we cannot have the pleasure of following him and Mr English to Sennaar and the banks of the Abiad. The track to which Mr Waddington limited his survey, comprising the kingdoms of Dongola and Merawe, seems to us, however, to furnish matter for some interesting observations, both on account of the striking features which they present, and because the relation which exists between their past and present state, appears to us essentially misunderstood by geographers of the present day.

It will be proper to begin with a brief account of this expedition of the Pacha, undertaken to conquer an empire a thousand miles in length, and half a mile in breadth! for this last is the average extent to which the Nile, even assisted by artificial channels, can change the character of the uninhabitable surrounding waste. This was not the most tempting of acquisitions: But the Sovereign of Egypt, when seized with the mania of conquest, must not be fastidious in his selection; for his immediate vicinity presents nothing but wastes of moving sand, which no one will dispute with the rash mortals who attempt to occupy them. The force destined to effect this mighty achievement consisted of nearly ten thousand persons, not quite half of whom made any profession of fighting; and of these there were only fifteen hundred Bedouin cavalry, who could be consider-

ed as fine troops; but the whole being well appointed with fire-arms, and bearing with them twelve pieces of cannon, a phenomenon yet unknown on the Upper Nile, they felt a just confidence, that nothing would bar their career into the heart of Africa.

The first enemy they encountered were the remains of the Mamelukes, those once turbulent rulers of Egypt, whom Mahomed Ali, by a deed treacherous and terrible, yet certainly politic, had rooted out of a country, which could never be peaceful while they were in it. Driven from their first refuge at Ibrim, they took possession of a spot in Dongola, which they dignified with the title of New Dongola. Every thing is relative. The Mamelukes, who desolated Egypt, improved Nubia. They built a handsome little town, and, by enlarging the means of irrigation, extended fertility over the surrounding district. When now summoned by Ismael Pacha, son to Mahommed Ali, and commander of the expedition, they proudly replied, 'We will make no terms with our servant!' Being unable however to muster more than 300 men, and looking for no support from the natives, with whom they were in open hostility, they broke up, and retreated to Shendi. But being there overtaken by the arms of the Pacha, they either dispersed, or were allowed, on submission, to live as private persons at Cairo. There has of late, it appears, been a Mameluke insurrection in Upper Egypt, but not of serious importance.

The next foe whom the Pacha met were a native race of formidable and peculiar aspect. The Shageia, or Sheygya, are mostly subjects to the King of Merawe, whose dominions lie along that part of the Nile which bends to the east and north, after passing Dongola. No African race presents a character more strongly marked. Though their colour be jet black, their form suggests nothing of the negro. The regularity of their features, the softness of their skin, the lustre of their eye, remind us of the finest specimens of the Arab race, and might even rank them as Europeans. Mr W., indeed, hesitates not to declare, that their clear glossy black appeared to him the finest colour that could be *selected* for a human being! Be this however as it may, the Shageia seem to have attained to a degree of intellectual culture unknown to any other African nation south of Egypt. Learned men are held in high estimation; and the leading branches of Mahommedan science are taught in schools, to which youth from the neighbouring countries resort. Mr Burckhardt saw some books that had been copied at Merawe, as beautifully written as any by the scribes at Cairo. The bulk of the nation, however, is devo-

ted to very different pursuits; and in their habits appear much to resemble the early feudal militia of Europe. They have servants from Nubia and other neighbouring districts, upon whom they devolve the cultivation of the ground, while they give themselves up almost wholly to war and military exercises. Their force consists mainly in cavalry, and their horsemanship is considered equal to that of the Mamelukes. The forays of this people extend on one side to the Upper Cataract of the Nile, and on the other as far as to Darfour. They rush to battle with a delight, and even gaiety, of which there is scarcely any other example. A virgin, richly attired, and seated on a dromedary, gives the signal, by calling out *Lilli-lilli-loo*, a sound used also at their festivals. The Shageia then 'ride up to the very 'faces of their enemy, with levity and gaiety of heart as to a festi-'val; they then give the *Salam aleikoum!* "Peace be with 'you!"—the peace of death, which is to attend the lance that instantly follows the salutation: mortal thrusts are given and received with the words of love upon their lips. This contempt of death, this mockery of what is most fearful, is peculiar to themselves,—the only people to whom arms are playthings, and war a sport.'

This daring prowess, which would have rendered these warriors truly formidable to troops, which, like those of the Pacha, were at best but a brave militia, went for nothing, through one defect. Though not without the means of procuring fire-arms, they had disdained their use, and proudly adhered to the weapons of their ancestors, a long sword, two lances, and a shield of hippopotamus skin,—implements of defence which were of little avail against the flying death which their new enemies could pour in upon them. Being unacquainted besides with every mode of healing gunshot wounds, a ball lodged even in the remotest extremity of the body, frequently caused bleeding to death.

Notwithstanding this fearless pride, the Shageia seem to have had some sense of the superior power of their enemy: For they tendered homage and a moderate tribute, provided he would pass by, and molest them no farther. When told, however, that the Pacha aimed at nothing less than to convert them absolutely into *fellahs*, (labouring peasantry), their fury was raised to the highest pitch. To the threat, that he would drive them beyond their country, they replied, 'He may drive us to 'the gates of the world, but we will not submit.' They were heard shouting from their encampment, 'You may come a-'gainst us from the north, and from the east, and from the 'west, but we will destroy you.' The Pacha endeavoured to intimidate them by a display of fire-works; but they called out,

'What! is he come to make war against heaven too!' and their courage was elevated by the idea of having heaven for their ally. Several skirmishes were fought with doubtful success. At length, while Ismael's troops were lying secure, and in a somewhat straggling state at Korti, they found themselves suddenly enveloped by three or four thousand of the 'black horsemen of the 'desert.' He could form his line very imperfectly, when the assault began, and with such fury, that the Egyptian vanguard was driven in at every point. As soon, however, as the vollies of musquetry began to play, and the Shageia found that the magic by which their necromancers had undertaken to intercept the balls had no power, they declined the unequal contest. Most of the cavalry saved themselves by flight; but the infantry were almost entirely cut to pieces. So ineffective indeed were their weapons, that the Egyptian army had not one killed, and only seventeen wounded, while six or seven hundred of the Shageia lay stretched on the field. The latter now took refuge in a high mountain position, entrenched within a chain of stone forts, whence, deeming themselves secure, they sent forth loud shouts of defiance. The Pacha, in fact, hesitated not a little in advancing to the assault; but he succeeded in throwing a shell into the encampment. The barbarians at first crowded round it, and were amused by its movements; but when it burst, and wounded several, they cried out, that the spirits of hell were come against them, and were too mighty for them—abandoned their position, and put themselves in full flight. The Pacha overtook them at Shendi, where, by prudent measures, he in a great measure overcame their enmity. The fellahs and women were sent back to cultivate their fields; and a considerable body of the warriors were prevailed upon to accompany him in the expedition against Sennaar.

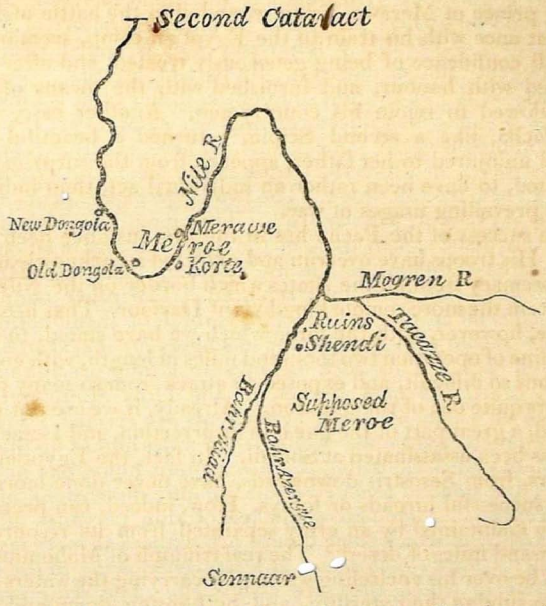
Mahommed Ali appears to have conducted this war on a conciliatory plan, to which, however, some of his proceedings are in strange contrast. Above all, if he be, as reported, ambitious to rank among civilized potentates, he must renounce the horrid practice of buying human ears at fifty piastres a piece. The consequence of this savage traffic was seen by the travellers, who frequently discovered the peaceful fellah lying beside his plough or his watering machine, a victim to the ruthless avarice of the troops. It was asserted that women and children had been thus sacrificed; but Mr W. had reason to doubt the truth of this report, from not seeing any of their bodies lying unburied; for the soldiers held the frightful maxim, that it was a breach of their allegiance to the Sultan to grant burial to his enemies. Hence, in following the traces of the

army, its victims were found, at every hundred steps, lying exposed to the air in a dreadful state. Yet, in the midst of these atrocities, we find traits of courtesy which might have done honour to the brightest age of European chivalry. Thus, the young prince of Merawe, being wounded in the battle of Korti, came at once with his train to the Egyptian camp, seemingly in the full confidence of being generously treated, and after being received with honour, and furnished with the means of cure, was allowed to rejoin his countrymen. Another case, where the Pacha, like a second Scipio, returned a beautiful black damsel uninjured to her father, appears, from the surprise which it excited, to have been rather an individual act, than indicative of the prevailing usages of war.

The success of the Pacha has in the first instance been complete. His troops have overrun and extorted an acknowledgment of supremacy from all the States which border on the Nile, and even from the more remote kingdom of Darfour. That he should be able, however, with the force which we have stated, to maintain a line of operation two thousand miles in length, with communications so difficult, and exposed to attack from so many points, appears quite out of the question. Already, if we are not misinformed, a great part of the line is in insurrection, and Ismael himself has been assassinated at Shendi. In fact, the Egyptian conquerors, from Sesostris downwards, have never done more than make successful inroads or forays. How, indeed, can protracted war be maintained by an army separated from its resources by a thousand miles of desert? The real triumph of Mahommed Ali would be over his encircling wastes, by carrying the waters of the Nile to subdue their sterility, and by hunting down and fixing the roving tribes which desolate his borders. He has not, indeed, neglected this source of prosperity; and the opening of the canal of Alexandria has been an illustrious work. But he might have done much more had his attention not been divided by these vain attempts at distant conquest. There is one expedition too which will never be forgiven to him by mankind and posterity—that in which he has been bribed to engage against the rising hopes of Grecian liberty.

The country now described by Mr Waddington and Mr English, is enclosed by a great bend of the Nile, which, though pretty distinctly pointed out by Eratosthenes, had been lost sight of by modern geographers. About 150 miles below the junction with the Tacazze, the river changes its usual northerly course to one almost due south; after pursuing which, for about the same distance, it again bends and resumes the northerly direction, which it ever after retains. As the ordinary maps are here

quite erroneous, we annex, from Mr Waddington's materials, a rough sketch, which will be found necessary for understanding the subsequent observations.



Thus, the Nile forms here three almost parallel channels; on the most easterly of which are situated Shendi and Berber, already traversed and described by Bruce and Burckhardt. The middle one, on which the kingdom of Merawe, and the western one, on which that of Dongola are situated, are now, for the first time, subjected to any careful survey. These territories present the same general aspect which characterizes the whole region which borders the Nile above Egypt. The habitable part consists merely of a narrow belt, which the Nile, sunk in deep rocks, does not, as in Egypt, spontaneously overflow, but over which it is laboriously forced by the efforts of men and machinery. The breadth of the space thus artificially irrigated seldom exceeds, and does not average, a mile; after which it passes immediately into that awful expanse of desert, which occupies the whole continent from the Red Sea to the Atlantic. The broken rocks which overhang the river, the brilliant verdure of the intermediate bank, and the vast and dreary back-ground, produce a variety of pic-

turesque and peculiar aspects. These two reaches of the Nile are distinguished above the rest of its course, by a greater breadth of fertility, more skilful culture, and consequently a greater population. Dongola has the island of Argo, 35 miles long, and every where productive; while the territory of Merawe is described as peculiarly luxuriant, and irrigated with a skill and diligence not surpassed in any part of Egypt.

After all, the most interesting object in this tract is offered, by a range of most magnificent monuments at Merawe, the capital of the kingdom of the same name. There are the remains of seven temples, of which the largest is 450 feet long, (nearly equal to St Paul's) by 159 broad. The two largest apartments are 147 feet by 111, and 123 by 102. This temple is generally in a very ruined state; and some of the materials are in so confused and shattered a position, as to indicate, that they had been broken down and unskilfully replaced. The other temples are of much smaller dimensions, but several of them better preserved; and in two, most of the chambers are excavated out of the solid rock. This rock belongs to a lofty precipitous eminence, called Djebel el Berkel, or the Holy Mountain, along the foot of which all these monuments are erected. Here are also seventeen pyramids; while, seven miles higher up the river, at a place called El Bellal, there is a more numerous and lofty range; but none of them rival the gigantic dimensions of those of Memphis. A general character of ruin pervades all these monuments, of which some indeed are reduced to mere masses of rubbish; a state which seems at least partly owing to the friable sandstone of which they are composed. The sculptures and ornaments which can still be traced, bear marks of very different periods of art,—some extremely rude, others rivalling what is most perfect in the temples of Egypt. The prevailing representations, as their antiquity would lead us to expect, are Jupiter-Ammon and Bacchus. A young divinity, supposed to be Horus, was also repeatedly observed. Osiris, Isis, and the other Egyptian characters, occurred, but less frequently.

The observation of these monuments naturally leads us to consider this region under its most interesting aspect—as enshrining the relics of the greater and more important kingdoms which, in a former age, occupied the same site.

No name in the ancient world was more venerable than that of Ethiopia. As early as Homer, its people are described as the most ancient of nations, and their rites as sacred beyond all others: And independent of the fabled grandeur thus assigned by superstition and poetry, history, in a distinct, though not detailed manner, represents the Ethiopians as a powerful people,

considerably improved in the arts of life. A distinction must however, be made in the application of the wide-spread name of Ethiopia. In one sense it implied generally the country of the Blacks, and thus included the whole of Central and Tropical Africa. But the region to which this name was applied in a peculiar sense, the civilized and learned Ethiopia, that to which Egypt, whether truly or not, looked up as the fountain of her arts and religion, was confined to the banks of the Upper Nile, and most peculiarly to the island-kingdom of Meroe. The site assigned to this kingdom and to its celebrated capital of the same name, was such, that it must have been passed over by some of our recent travellers:—And their descriptions, if accurate, should have afforded to Europe the means of ascertaining where it stood, and what monuments it has left behind. A judgment, in fact, has been very decidedly formed; but as it appears to us to be extremely questionable, if not absolutely erroneous, we must be indulged in a short discussion of the question.

All the ancient authorities treat of Meroe as an island, formed by the junction of the Nile with the Astapus, believed to be the Azergue, or river of Abyssinia, and with the Astaboras, which undoubtedly is the Tacazze, called still Atbara. The city of Meroe, then, to be within the island thus formed, must, it is supposed, be above this last junction, where indeed it is said by Eratosthenes actually to be. Accordingly, near Shendi, about forty miles above that junction, there have been discovered a range of temples and pyramids, of very considerable extent and magnificence. Bruce, on his passage, partly observed these monuments, and threw out a conjecture that they marked the site of the city of Meroe, and that the kingdom was composed of the extensive region between the Azergue and the Tacazze. This view of the subject, as to the kingdom at least, has been generally adopted in the English maps. M. Caillaud and Mr English have recently examined these ruins, as well as those at Merawe; and though Caillaud shows some disposition to prefer the site of Merawe, this idea is crushed in the bud by his Editor, Jomard, who entirely adopts the opinion first suggested by Bruce. Mr Waddington would gladly, for his own credit, have caught at the idea of Caillaud; but, on looking into the ancient authorities, he conceived it untenable, and acceded to Shendi. Every other hypothesis, indeed, seems now to be given up; and it appears, from a cotemporary journal, that Mr Bankes, the diligent explorer of the East, has been employing his draughtsman, Mr Linant, to delineate the ruins of Shendi, as those of Meroe.

Notwithstanding so great a concurrence of authorities, we cannot but think it pretty clear, that the city of Meroë was not at Shendi, but at Merawe, and that the kingdoms of the same name coincide; though Meroë, in its glory, probably extended to Dongola on one side, and Shendi on the other.

The first coincidence is that of name; which is complete; for both Burckhardt and Waddington observe, that the modern appellation, though written Merawe, has the precise sound of Meroë. Resemblance of name, indeed, is often accidental, but strict identity not so often; and, amid the general change, it is still common, especially in those unfrequented tracts of Africa, that great capitals should retain their name, (Axum, Augila, Assouan). At all events, resemblance, and still more identity, becomes almost decisive, when there is a coincidence also of circumstance and situation. Now, here we have, bearing the name of Meroe, a modern capital, having in its vicinity monuments that exactly correspond in character, magnitude and antiquity, to those which ought to mark the site of that celebrated metropolis of Ethiopia. There are no other ruins in this country which can be compared to these; for according to the measurements of Caillaud, those of Shendi are decidedly inferior. The length of the greatest temple there is not quite 280 feet; of that at Merawe it is 450. The height of the highest pyramid at Shendi is 25 metres (81 feet); of that at Merawe 103 feet. The base of the former is 67, of the latter 152 feet. Now, all the ancient accounts unite in representing Meroe as without a rival among the cities of Ethiopia; but if Shendi be Meroe, there must have been a much more splendid capital nearer to Egypt, and yet unknown to Egypt. We have then a combination of circumstances in favour of the position of Merawe, which only the most decided proof would be sufficient to negative.

Such proof is, with some apparent reason, supposed to exist in those ancient statements which appear absolutely to require, that Meroe must be above the junction of the Nile and the Tacazze. But a closer examination will probably alter our views as to the decisive nature of these statements. It has never been observed, that by far the highest ancient authority is in direct contradiction to them. To this preeminence Ptolemy seems fully entitled, from the advanced era at which he lived, the great extension of commerce and communication in his time, and, in fact, the more accurate and detailed manner in which he lays down his positions. His residence too at Alexandria, then the centre of the commerce of Africa and the East, gives peculiar weight to his authority respecting Egypt and the surround-

ing countries. We shall extract, then, as it is of no great length, his chapter respecting Meroe. (Book IV. ch. 8.)

'Meroe is rendered an island by the river Nile coming from the west, and by the river Astapus coming from the east.

'In it are the following towns—

	Longitude.	Latitude.
Meroe, - - - -	61 30	16 26
Sacolche, - - -	61 40	15 15
Eser, - - - -	61 40	13 30
Village of the Dari, - -	62	12 30
Then the junction of the Nile and Astapus,	61	12
Then the junction of the Astaboras and Astapus,	62 30	11 30'

We need only glance at this table, to perceive that Ptolemy places Meroe far (quite as far as Merawe actually is) below the junction with the Nile, of the Astapus, the Astaboras, or any great river whatever. He makes the difference of latitude indeed much too great; but into this error he appears to have been betrayed, by extending his itineraries nearly in a direct line up the river, without allowing for the very circuitous course which it here takes. Beyond Meroe, the knowledge of Ptolemy is first bedimmed; but from Egypt all the way to that point, he gives a close and continued chain of positions; and there is every reason to think, that the intercourse between the countries would be pretty frequent. It seems, then, scarcely possible, that Ptolemy should have been mistaken as to this point; or that so grand a feature should have escaped his notice, as that of the Nile, which, for more than a thousand miles, had not received even a rivulet, receiving, below Meroe, so mighty a tributary as the Tacazze.

The statements of Herodotus, though less detailed, appear to point pretty exactly to the same spot. According to him, travellers ascending the Nile above Elephantine, journeyed first forty days by land to avoid the cataracts; then embarked, and were conveyed in twelve days to Meroe. The place of embarkation would evidently be about the frontier of Dongola, where the long chain of cataracts terminates. Twelve days thence to Merawe, would be keeping up very exactly the same rate of travelling; whereas to Shendi it would be out of all sort of proportion. Again, Meroe is stated to be midway between Egypt and the Land of the Exiles, described by other writers as an island formed by the Nile, and which we think is evidently Sennaar, to which the paralled streams of the Azergue and Abiad give much of an insular aspect. Now, Merawe is very exactly midway up the Nile, between Egypt and Sennaar; but Shendi would break up altogether the equality between the two divisions.

Strabo, from Eratosthenes, gives a statement, which appears to point pretty directly to Shendi, and is indeed the only one

that can cause a doubt. But elsewhere he describes Meroe as '*bounded upwards on the south* by the junction of the rivers 'Astapus, Astaboras, and Astasobas.' This agrees very closely with our idea on the subject, and is quite contrary to that which would represent the Astaboras (Atbara) as the *northern* boundary of Meroe. His statement also, that Meroe is the last kingdom of the Ethiopians (Blacks), after which the Nubae commenced, and occupied the Nile downwards to Egypt, is still true only in regard to Merawe.

But how, then, it will be asked, was the idea so prevalent among ancient geographers, that Meroe was formed by the junction of the great rivers? and how does Ptolemy himself, in *the title* of his chapter, imply that statement, though its contents are in direct contradiction to it? The following will, we think, afford a sufficient account of the manner in which the error originated.

All who are conversant with the early history of geography, must be aware of the many errors with which it abounded. Among these none are more frequent than such as respect the continuous course of great rivers, and the distinction between islands and large peninsulas. The latter terms, indeed, are often used as synonymous,* though, perhaps, only through the influence of this original error. Now, the reader need only look at the above sketch of the country here considered as Meroe, intersected by three parallel branches of the Nile, to perceive at once how excessively natural it was, that the first imperfect accounts should represent it as an island enclosed by river branches. The original opinion, indeed, which is still to be found in Mela, (I. ix. 10.), and Pliny, (V. 9.), was, that the Astapus and Astaboras were branches of the Nile itself, first separating and forming Meroe into a species of Delta, and then reuniting;† an idea which seems to have a peculiar reference to the parallel streams of the modern Meroe. Then, when it was found that the Nile hereabouts received some large tributaries, it was very natural to consider those tributaries as the river branches employed in the formation of Meroe. The original idea thus formed of Meroe as an island enclosed by them, appears to have become rooted in the minds of geographers, even after they had obtained data by which it was directly negatived. How inconsistent the statement which, under this influence, Ptolemy placed at the head of his chapter, was with the details given by him in it, will be manifest, by observing the

* Peloponn*esus*, Chers*onesus*.

† According to Pliny's idea, it was the Niger above the separation, and the Nile below the junction.

vain attempt which the person who afterwards constructed the maps attached to his work, has made to reconcile them, and the strange delineations with which he has thus perplexed all succeeding inquirers.

Such are the considerations which, in our apprehension, establish the identity of the ancient with the modern Meroe. If the discussion has been tedious, it should be remembered that it involves, not merely a curious problem in geography, but the site of monuments calculated to throw light on the arts and history of one of the most celebrated nations of antiquity. One question of considerable interest, as it respects the progress of science and civilization, still requires our consideration. The arts and monuments of Egypt and of Ethiopia, exhibit that strict similarity which marks a common origin. But was Ethiopia or Egypt the original fountain? The former opinion is adopted by Mr Waddington, on the authority of Diodorus, and is supported with some ingenuity, and with pretty strong ancient authorities. As our own opinion, however, leans strongly the other way, we shall close this article with a few observations on the subject.

In conceiving that the arts and improvements of civilized life proceeded from Egypt to Ethiopia, rather than in the contrary direction, we by no means rest mainly even on the high and early testimony of Herodotus. A much stronger ground of conviction is supplied from the general laws by which that progress is invariably regulated. What are the circumstances amidst which social improvement is first seen to spring up? They are,—an extent of fertile and easily cultivated territory, wide interior communications, and an easy intercourse with foreign nations. All these are united in Lower Egypt; all are wanting in Ethiopia,—that narrow cultivated ridge, separated by such immense deserts from the rest of the universe. It is argued, indeed, that as Ethiopia, secure within her natural barriers, was never conquered unless by a temporary inroad of Sesostris, while her sovereigns repeatedly subdued and reigned over Egypt—it must have been Ethiopia which imposed her laws and arts upon Egypt. But this circumstance will not weigh much with those who have carefully marked the progress of human things. So strong is the attraction for man, of the arts which refine and exalt his nature, that if they are once brought into contact with him, whether by the weak or the strong, the victor or the vanquished, their cultivation is commenced with equal ardour. Upon Mr Waddington's principle, we should conclude that Greece must have conquered Rome, whose literature and arts were wholly Grecian. It is

well known how China and Indostan have civilized their conquerors. We are firmly convinced that the improvement of Egypt originated in the Delta, and that it was the successive conquests of the rude upper tribes, which gradually transferred the seat of empire and art to the southward, and even into the bosom of the desert.

Some arguments are derived from the aspect and structure of the Ethiopian temples. The circumstance of their being in a great degree excavated out of the rock, is supposed to mark an approach to that early Troglodytic existence, of which extensive traces are still found in this part of Africa. But surely the mighty structures of Ibsambul and Merawe were erected by men in a very different stage of society from that of the rude dwellers in caves. This peculiarity seems founded on the natural reason, that the Nile in its course through Nubia, is bordered by bold and precipitous rocks, which already, in many instances, assume the aspect of structures reared by human hands. In Egypt, the mountains are of a form less adapted to this object; and they are situated at some distance from the river, the sole centre of action and resort. That country, however, also contains magnificent sepulchral monuments cut out of the rock—sufficient to suggest and teach to Ethiopia the art of ornamental excavation. The ruder character of Ethiopian monuments has been supposed to indicate an earlier date; but besides that this character is not general, it seems quite natural in copies or imitations made by a ruder people. Finally, the more ruined state of the monuments at Meroe seems easily accounted for by other causes than the ravages of time. The materials are admitted to be more defective,—the masonry would probably be less skilful, and the traces of external violence seem more decidedly marked.

ART. X. 1. *Eighteenth Report of the Directors of the African Institution; read at the Annual General Meeting held on the 11th day of May* 1824. *With an Appendix and a Supplement.* 8vo. pp. 284. London, Hatchard. 1824.

2. *Report of the Committee of the Society for the Mitigation and Gradual Abolition of Slavery throughout the British Dominions; read at the General Meeting of the Society, held on the 25th day of June* 1824. *Together with an Account of the Proceedings which took place at that Meeting.* 8vo. pp. 112. London, Hatchard. 1824.

3. *Substance of the Debate in the House of Commons, on Tues-*

day the 1st, and Friday the 11th, of June 1824, *on a Motion of Henry Brougham, Esq. respecting the Trial and Condemnation to Death, by a Court Martial, of the Rev. John Smith, late Missionary in the Colony of Demerara. With a Preface, containing some new Facts illustrative of the Subject. Published with the Sanction of the London Missionary Society.* 8vo. pp. 310. London, Hatchard. 1824.

4. *East India Sugar; or, An Inquiry respecting the Means of improving the Quality, and reducing the Cost of Sugar raised by Free Labour in the East Indies.* London, Taylor. 1824.

In resuming the discussion of those most important questions connected with the State of the Slaves in the British colonies, we must begin by setting before the reader some particulars in the recent history of this subject, and of the abolition of the slave trade, with which it is intimately connected. These are of sufficient interest to detain us for the present, and to occupy this article; but the consideration of them is fruitful in reflections touching nearly the whole field of West Indian controversy.

The first thing which calls for animadversion, is the continued protection afforded to the slave traffic, either directly or covertly, by all those legitimate governments which we had so great a share in restoring. The King of the Netherlands went the furthest in providing laws for putting it down, and acceding to arrangements for carrying them into execution. But his laws and his arrangements are, like those of our own colonial legislatures, intended to be quoted rather than enforced, to be dwelt upon in defending the makers of them against their adversaries, and not by any means to be acted upon with vigour and good faith.

'The continuance of this horrible trade' (says the British Commissioner at Surinam), 'or its abolition, within the dominions of the Netherlands Government, to which his Netherlands Majesty is solemnly pledged by treaty, depends entirely upon the tenor of the orders which they may send out to their colonial possessions; but the treaty has now been concluded nearly five years, and (excepting in my present colleague, M. Lammens, who is but just appointed, and is scrupulous of interfering with the duties of the executive government here) I cannot perceive, in any other of the Surinam officers of his Netherlands Majesty, either civil or military, the slightest appearance of any peremptory orders in the *bona fide* spirit of the treaty.'

The following passages, extracted from two despatches of the same zealous and active functionary, merit profound attention.

'The Slave Trade, it is obvious, is not a practice to be overcome by gentle admonitions, or merely negative prohibitions, or any thing short of the energetic measures pursued by the British Government, conducted as it is by miscreants whose inhuman character no language can adequately designate, and the profits of which are nearly in proportion to the risk; but so far from the authorities of this colony having hitherto made any active use of the means which are in their hands for the suppression of this murderous traffic, I am reluctantly compelled to acquaint your Lordship, that the Comet, Dutch frigate, and Swallow brig of war, both commissioned under the treaty, and also a brig of war called the Thetis, maintained at the expense of, and belonging to, the Colony, have been, one or other of them, laying off the town more than once when slave-vessels have been hovering off the mouths of the rivers (and some of which, I have reason to fear, have effected a disembarkation of their cargo), without ever quitting their moorings, instead of cruising occasionally up and down the coast to interrupt or observe them.

'I beg to take this opportunity of informing you, that Charles Beverley, the slave-trader, who has been the principal subject of my late despatches, and who lately made his escape from confinement, has again been taken and recommitted to the criminal gaol; but, from what I can learn, it appears that all idea of proceeding against him under the Dutch Abolition-Laws is now given up. I have only further to add, that I have again, since his recaption, renewed my proposal to the Governor, of sending him with the witnesses for trial to an English colony, as a subject of his Britannic Majesty, for a breach of the English Abolition Laws, which his Excellency continues to decline.'—*Eighteenth Report*, pp. 51, 52.

Portugal, however, far outstrips the Low-Countries in this race of iniquity. She had abolished the trade, nominally at least, to the north of the line,—and refused to make the prohibition general, upon the ground that the supply of slaves was necessary to her settlements in Brazil. When Brazil declared its independence, and a complete separation was effected, Portugal was urged to extend her former law, the reason of the limitation having wholly ceased: But a peremptory refusal was instantly given, accompanied with a threat, that all treaties with England would be considered as at an end, should she proceed to act upon any such views; and a new reason for maintaining the slave trade was now assigned. The supply of the Brazils was said no longer to be a matter of any moment, because a sufficient stock of slaves existed there; but the settlements in Africa and Asia were in want of them; and on this

account the crime of man-stealing must still be committed! It appears, that, in one year, 1822, there were shipped from Africa, for Rio Janeiro, 31,240 Negroes, of whom 3484 died on the passage. Into Bahia, above 8000 were imported the same year; and if a like proportion perished after leaving Africa, the whole amount of the Portuguese trade, for that one year, must have been 40,200, and of deaths on the voyage, 4466. In 1823, we have the best means of knowing, that the total number shipped for Rio alone amounted to 21,472, of which nearly 1800 died on the passage; and we have reason to think, that there was at least an equal importation, and an equal mortality, into the other Brazilian ports. We have very recently been favoured with an exact account of the importations into Rio for the first six months of the present year, from January to May inclusive; and from this we are concerned to say, that this detestable traffic seems again on the increase,—the total number shipped in this *half* year, for this one port, amounting to 16,563, and the mortality to no less than 2247. Nor is this infernal traffic by any means confined to the districts south of the line; the law affecting to prohibit it on the north being most scandalously evaded. Thirteen vessels were condemned in the same year at Sierra Leone, where they were brought in by English cruisers. These had 1700 slaves on board, all shipped in the forbidden district. The scene of official fraud which the proceedings disclosed in some of these cases, deserves to be exhibited to the contempt of mankind.

'Some of the cases involved perjuries without end, and atrocities of the most outrageous and revolting kind, and implicated in the guilt attending them Portuguese functionaries on the coast of Africa of the very highest class; and all of the cases afforded proofs of the most reprehensible disregard, on the part of the Brazilian authorities, of the stipulations of the treaties with this country. The licenses granted to these ships permitted them, while their destination was declared to be to Africa south of the Line, to visit St Thomas's, Cameroons, Calabar, &c. which no motive could be assigned for their visiting, but that of carrying on an illicit slave-trade. Nay, the authorities in Brazil appear to have concurred with the contrabandists, in giving fictitious names to places north of the Line, borrowed from places south of the Line, for the purpose of deceiving the British cruisers and the Mixed Commission Courts. The name of Molembo, a place south of the Line, to which the Portuguese Slave-Trade is still permitted, has been transferred, for this profligate purpose, to a place near Onim, in the Bight of Benin.'—*Ibid.* pp. 8, 9.

The Judge of the Mixed Commission Court, in speaking of a vessel captured with 172 on board, says, that '*the Governor* 'of Bissao was himself an interested participator in the illegal 'embarkation of slaves, a certain number of the slaves being

'his property; some of them being entered in the memoranda 'as shipped and received from his official residence,—as if all 'decency was cast off from the government of the settlement!'

'The examinations in this case develop the most complicated tissue of fraudulent expedients for defeating the ends of justice;—among them, fabricated log-books, exhibiting a voyage from the Brazils to Cabenda, by way of the Cape de Verds, when the real destination was Bissao; and schedules pointing out *the bribes* by which the connivance of the Judge, Governor, &c. was to be secured at the port of discharge in the Brazils. This vessel had already made several very successful and gainful voyages under the shelter of these ingenious expedients. The owner, in one of his letters, declared his intention of putting an end, by this voyage, to his course of slave-trading, as, "provided," he says, "that it were the pleasure of the Almighty that every thing should be placed in safety, they would have reaped a good harvest." In consequence, it may be presumed, of his capture on this occasion, which prevented his gathering the fruits he had anticipated, he appears, by the Sierra Leone Gazette, to have returned to the coast in the succeeding year, and to have successfully effected another voyage.'—*Ibid.* pp. 9, 10.

Justly as we may be disappointed and indignant at these facts, it must yet be admitted, that the Governments, both of the Netherlands and Portugal, stand advantageously distinguished from the others whose conduct we are now to survey in one important particular. They have agreed to give England a neutral right of search for detecting and punishing offences against their regulations respecting the traffic. Thus, dreadful as the extent of the Portuguese slave trade is, and must continue to be, south of the line, as long as it is permitted and even encouraged by the laws of that 'legitimate' sovereign, 'his Most 'Faithful Majesty,' the Portuguese, who attempt to carry it on north of the line, may be seized by our cruisers:—So that the shameful connivance of their own government, and the still more scandalous participations of its functionaries in the gains made by breaking their own laws, will not always enable them to escape detection. But *the* FRENCH rulers have constantly refused all arrangements of this kind; resolved, as it should seem, plainly to avow, by their whole conduct, and almost in distinct terms, that whatever prohibitions they may pretend to enact, they in reality have not the least intention of preventing a line of enterprise so dear to them as the slave trade. From hence it follows, that the Spaniards also carry on the traffic with absolute impunity, in flagrant violation of the laws which their government has affected to pass against it. Those laws make it illegal, in Spanish vessels, and by Spanish navigators; but a Spanish subject may legally carry it on in a French vessel. And the French flag, not being subject to the

right of neutral search, becomes an effectual cover for the Spanish trade. Yet, slight as the prohibition of the Spanish law is, it has been evaded; the Spanish flag is used so frequently, that six vessels sailing under it were condemned at Sierra Leone in 1822. So greedily tenacious, indeed, are the slave traders of every part of their vile occupation, that they will not, till forced, abandon even this petty branch of it, and betake themselves to the shelter of a foreign flag. Thus it happens, that the trade is carried on in the only colony which Spain retains, the island of Cuba, almost, if not quite as extensively and as openly, as it could have been, had no pretence been made of abolishing it. The Commissioners thus write to Lord Londonderry respecting it; and they certainly refer to the only circumstance which can form any justification of the mother-country.

'It is scarcely necessary to point out to your Lordship how entirely unproductive of any advantage have been the representations which, upon various occasions, we have made to the chief authority of the island. We have been always well received,—and redress, as far as it was practicable, promised; but the illicit Slave-Trade increases, and is daily carried on more systematically. The first alarm at the danger of the Negroes being declared free is gradually passing away; and the failure of the attempt of the Count Torreno to render more effectual the law respecting the abolition, together with the little interest manifested by the Government upon the subject, has generally given rise to the opinion, that the Spanish Nation and Government are very indifferent about it, or do not dare, in the present state of their American possessions, to offend the only colony which has remained tranquil and faithful, by enforcing the execution of a measure which is in the highest degree unpopular. We have no hesitation in giving it as our opinion, that, but for the large stock of Negroes imported during the three years previous to the abolition, and the present very low price of sugar, the Slave Trade would, at this moment, be as brisk and extensive as during any period whatever.

'Such a state of things existing before our eyes, is most painful and mortifying to us; but your Lordship is aware that every thing, consistent with our powers and instructions, has been done on our part to put a stop to it.'—*Ibid.* pp. 59, 60.

But the conduct of the French Government casts that of all the others into the shade. Compelled by the indignant voice of the publick to profess an intention of abolishing the trade, and having bound itself by treaty to take this step, a law was passed, manifestly with the design of being made, from its very birth, a dead letter. Ever since it was enacted, the traffick has flourished as before. A British cruiser, in ten days, fell in with nine French slave ships. Their names were all transmitted officially to the Government at Paris by the British ambassador.

In one year, 190 cargoes of slaves were taken in by vessels in the river Borney, and 162 in Calabar; and by far the greater part were French. The particulars were, in many of these instances, furnished to the government in the same way. All this was passing under the eye of French cruisers; and the commodore on the African station expressly declared, that he had no instructions from his government to seize any French vessels, however manifestly they might be destined for the slave trade, unless they had slaves actually on board. In the course of three months, thirty slave ships were openly fitted out in the port of Nantz alone; with the full knowledge and participation of multitudes in that populous city. From the lists printed in the House of Commons papers 1823, of vessels fitted out in that port, the average tonnage must have been 170, and the average number of Negroes carried in each 255, supposing them all to have carried, in the proportion of three slaves to two tons, which appears, from the instances given, to have been the allowance. Thus, in three months, Nantz fitted out piratical adventurers enough to carry between seven and eight thousand Africans into West Indian slavery; and as we find that one vessel, laden with 327, lost 80 on the voyage, it is very likely that above 1800 perished in the course of these expeditions. In five months, above 80 slave cargoes were taken by French vessels from the river Borney. If these were of the same average amount, and formed only the half of all the slave trade to which the French flag afforded protection, it should seem, that above 40,000 wretched victims of criminal avarice were carried away by the connivance of the Most Christian King's government, in spite of his laws and treaties, to abolish the trade altogether; and of these 40,000, above 9000 may have perished miserably on the voyage; though not more miserably than the survivors who were saved, to live in bondage.

'These distressing facts,' to use the strong but appropriate language of Sir Charles Stuart, 'if they prove any thing, prove, 'that wherever the French flag appears, protection and impu-'nity are granted to the slave trader; and that the abuse of the 'laws enacted in France against this traffic, notwithstanding 'the allegations of the party disposed to encourage the mis-'chief, afford practical examples of the consequences which 'must result from this evil, by occasioning encroachments on 'the territories of friendly powers in Africa, and exciting 'bloody wars among the natives. 'The magnitude of the 'evil' (he adds) 'must compel the French Government now 'to determine, whether they will refuse to execute their en-'gagements, and sit down under the imputation of being the 'power to whom all those interested in such a cause turn their

'eyes as the avowed protectors of this commerce; or vindicate 'their character for good faith and humanity in the eyes of the 'rest of the world, by assimilating their legislation to that of 'those countries which have the greatest interest in maritime 'and colonial affairs.'

The answer of the French Government to all these representations has been, we will not say most unsatisfactory only; it has been a mere evasive, indirect, and systematick design to avoid any thing like an efficacious abolition of the traffick. 'Up to 'the present time,' says M. de Villele, 'the King's Govern-'ment had imagined that it had sufficiently proved the firm re-'solution it had always entertained, of repressing that odious 'traffic. The severity which it has displayed, whenever it has 'been possible to bring it to conviction, would appear to re-'move all doubt on this subject.—I do not deny that certain 'avaricious speculators may have risked such expeditions in de-'fiance of the laws; but these are only infractions, such as no 'Government can altogether prevent; and perhaps it might 'not be impossible for me to discover, even in England itself, 'more or less recent instances of this nature. The King's Go-'vernment has been neither less active nor less severe than the 'English Government, in detecting and punishing them. The 'measures which it has taken in this respect, are such as it has 'judged necessary, to ensure, in the most effectual manner, the 'execution of its own arrangements, with regard to an object 'the importance of which it duly appreciates.'

It requires no little proficiency in what Sir F. Burdett once very happily called 'the confirmed habit of official assertion,' to hazard such statements as these, in the face of facts as notorious as the light of day, from which, in France at least, the guilty deeds of the slave trader have never sought to screen themselves; in the face, too, of facts equally notorious in England. Who doubts the activity of *individuals* in this country, were the constituted authorities to slumber? Yet what instances of slave trading have been brought to light? One outlawry and two convictions, we believe, are all that have been had in England since the traffick was made a felony; and no one has ever pretended that the act of 1811 is evaded. In fact it was completely effectual, as far as regarded the direct traffick carried on by British subjects; and nearly so, in respect of all importations into our colonies. But in Nantz the traffick is openly carried on, and the African coast swarms with French slave traders, the Government remaining nearly passive, and appealing to a list of about 70 vessels seized, during seven years, by which it appears that 49 *were acquitted*, and among them some of the very worst and most notorious cases, as the *Rodeur*, the details of

which are fresh in the recollection of our readers, (Ed. Rev. Nov. 1821): and of the 30 condemned, nearly half were petty traders in the Isle of Bourbon, brought to trial by the zeal of *one* very excellent officer, who happened to be there; four were seizures of English cruisers, and several were the same ship repeatedly entered. But that measure, which the French Government might have taken, and has always refused to take, which would effectually have stopt the traffick, is the attaching to it *an infamous punishment*; treating it, not as a matter of penalty or forfeiture, which may be insured against like any other pecuniary risk, but as A CRIME, to be punished severely when detected, like other grave and infamous offences. The bare denunciation of such a law, would have stamped it so as to deter all but the most abandoned of men from continuing to drive the trade; and a single example under the law, would have effectually deterred even the most abandoned from pursuing a course, the risks of which could not be compensated by any gains.

The correspondence between the British Ambassador and M. de Chateaubriand, abounds somewhat more in professions on the part of the French, than that with M. de Villele. There is no lack of 'assurances,' and 'repeated assurances,' and 'renewed assurances,' of the 'King's Government feeling no less interest than that felt by the British Government to repress the trade.' But all the steps to be taken for the purpose are confined to the law as it stands, without a word about declaring it criminal; indeed an expression used by M. Chateaubriand is somewhat ominous upon this matter; he calls the slave traffick 'this species of speculation!'—and as such they are resolved to treat it in their legislation, without, however, taking the most ordinary precautions to put in execution their law, inefficient as it is. Thus a French slave-ship arrives at Pernambuco, having carried over 165 slaves beside her crew, though her burthen was only 75 tons. The master is received by the French Vice-Consul, M. L'ainé, not as a violator of the law, but a regular trader, and appears in the official register of that functionary as 'coming from Martinique with one hundred and odd *passengers!*' The Consul states, that he 'has no *official* knowledge of the vessel having brought in slaves,' and that he 'has no instructions how to act in such a case!' Equally ignorant, and by virtue of his office too, we presume, and to the full as ill provided with instructions, is the commander of the Hirondelle sloop of war, lying in the same harbour, and close by the slave-ship. No wonder that, to use the English Consul's language, 'remark should be excited even in Brazil, by the circumstance 'of a French Vice-Consul, and the commander of a French 'man-of-war, voluminously instructed as they are known to be

'on most points, being left without directions how to act against 'a daring violator of the laws of France.'

It affords some relief, after marking the disgraceful conduct of the French Government, to observe the proceedings of the Liberal party. In strict consistency with those pure and enlightened principles to which, through all reverses of fortune, they magnanimously adhere, they have formed an Abolition Committee, and published under its superintendence various excellent tracts for general circulation. Among these we rejoice to see placed on the same list with the Duc de Broglie's admirable Speech, a translation of Mr Clarkson's Essay, and of Mr Buxton's Speech, May 1823, with a Prefatory Discourse on Colonial Bondage by M. Charles Coquerel. The Society has also offered a prize of one thousand francs for the best work on the Abolition of the Slave Trade, particularly as it regards the interests of France. We have adverted to the inefficient measures adopted by the Spaniards; but it is fair to the constitutional administration to observe, that the new penal code adopted by the Cortes embraced the offence of slave trading, and substituted, for the decree of December 1817, an enactment, which gave the Negroes informing, either against the importer or the purchaser, their liberty, and a large head-money. When France overran Spain for the purpose of overthrowing the Cortes and restoring the most execrable of tyrannies, this law against the slave trade was abrogated with the rest of the constitutional code! and the law of 1817, proved ineffectual by the experience of six years, was restored with the other accompaniments of the Despot's return.

If the Constitutional Government of Spain could make some progress in enforcing the abolition, notwithstanding the immense difficulties and numberless dangers that surround it, with the violent prejudices of the colonial interest to combat, and the deference not unnaturally claimed by the only remaining settlement in part at least to be yielded, we might naturally expect, that those countries where the spirit and the principle of freedom prevail, without any of those obstacles to its universal development, would distinguish themselves by their zeal in extirpating the most hateful of all slavery, and putting down both the traffick and the property in slaves. Consolatory as the view of the American continent is to every friend of the rights and the welfare of his species, there is nothing in that magnificent spectacle more delightful than the lessons of terror, and of shame, which it reads to the tyrants of the old world. Those of shame may, indeed, be thrown away upon them; but terror is a monitor whose voice is far too well known to fail in teaching with effect. Nor can we help indulging the

expectation, that as those vast regions peopled with freemen never can exist long without the destruction of despotism in Europe, so, if the noble example set by the emancipated colonies of Spain, in utterly repudiating the slave traffick, and providing for the freedom of the Negroes already settled there, shall fail to operate upon the proprietors of the American Islands, the dread of worse consequences than a gradual improvement and ultimate liberation of the slaves may force them to do right as a choice of evils. In Columbia, all children of slaves born since 1818 are free by law; and a fund is formed by a tax, and successfully applied, to purchase the freedom of those born before that period. The following passage is taken from the Report of the minister of the Interior to the Congress, presented last year.

'The law of the 19th of July of the year 11, which gave liberty to all the new-born offspring of slaves, which abolished the traffic in Negroes, and established committees of manumission, has been executed throughout the republic. In December of the same year, being the term fixed by law for liberating such slaves as the funds appropriated for this purpose were competent to redeem, several received their liberty, blessing the Legislators of Colombia who had granted them such happiness. The number liberated last December was still greater; and the Government entertain well-founded hopes that the funds will annually increase.

'It seems that, in certain provinces of the republic, an apprehension exists, that, by the gradual extinction of slavery, the productions of the soil, and the working of the mines, will be diminished. This is an event that may happen; but it is unquestionably a minor evil to the inhabitants of those provinces, compared with that of living amidst a volcano, ever ready to explode with dreadful effect: it is better that their agriculture and mines should suffer partial ills, to which gradual remedies may be applied, than, by continuing the former personal slavery, insensibly heap up combustibles for a terrible conflagration. It is well known that, in this particular, our Legislators have been animated by the most profound foresight and justice.'—*Ibid.* p. 226.

We have great satisfaction in adding to this official Report some information contained in a private letter from an intelligent person in the Caraccas, and of so late a date as last April. After expressing the delight which he had experienced in reading Mr Buxton's Speech, and the others upon the same side of the question, and declaring his opinion of the safety and practicability of extending the Columbian law to the slave colonies; he adds, 'This would secure an agricultural population, from habit and necessity, to cultivate the land as is the case here, where three-fourths of the labouring class are free, and earn about one shilling sterling a day in some parts, and sixpence in others. In crop

time, in some places, wages rise to four rials a day: it depends a good deal upon the plenty or scarcity of labourers in different parts, and the price of provisions. All allow they do more work in a day than slaves, and you have only the trouble to pay them every Saturday night. But I do not expect to see this plan effected, as it has been here, by the slave-owners themselves, assembled in Congress, at the recommendation of the immortal Bolivar, who gave a great example by setting his own slaves free without any conditions. He then leased out his estates, and they remained as free labourers upon them. The kings of Spain, with all their sins upon their heads, were too wise to allow the colonists to make laws for their slaves; and those of Louis XIV. are of a very different complexion from those enacted by the colonial council at Martinique.'—*Ibid.* p. 228.

He then alludes to the glorious victory gained over the Royalist fleet in the Lake of Maracaibo by Padilla, a Mulatto, and the storming of Puerto Cabello by General Paer. These gallant exploits, says he, completely cleared the republic of the enemy's troops; and he thus proceeds:

'We have ever since enjoyed perfect peace and tranquillity in every part of it; and agriculture and trade are increasing daily.—The laws are every where obeyed, and religious opinions not interfered with, provided you treat with decorum the established worship. The emancipation law produces the best effects. The slaves are contented with the prospect of their own eventual freedom, and the certainty of that of their children. Thirty-three were liberated out of the Manumission fund at Bogota alone during the three days of the annual national holidays last Christmas. I have not seen returns from the rest of the republic. Add to these the number born free during the year; and then let me ask, if the White population of this country has not an honester claim to their own liberty than any other in America, when they respect that of others without distinction of colour? We see in the senate Colonel Pinango, an excellent officer, both of infantry and engineers, who is a member of that body, although he is a dark Mulatto. He is an enlightened man, and of the best character.'—*Ibid.* p. 229.

The United States have all along distinguished themselves by their enmity to the slave trade. They early in the day took up the question, which had been first raised in this country, and they had the transcendant merit of outstripping all others, and being the first to effect its abolition by a law passed to take effect as soon as, by the constitution of the Federal Union, any general enactment could affect the trade of the individual States. When England, in 1811, declared it to be a crime, and punishable accordingly, our kinsmen in the New World were again our rivals in the honourable contest of sound and virtuous legislation; and again they went before us in acting upon our own principles. In 1820 they declared slave trading to be piracy, and denounced *the pains of death* to any citizen of the

United States who should be convicted in engaging in it, whether under the American or a foreign flag. When Mr Brougham's act (51 Geo. III.) was first discussed, upon his motion in June 1810, it had been admitted that capital punishment should, if necessary, be afterwards substituted for transportation; but it was deemed advisable at first to make it a clergiable felony, both upon general principles, respecting penal legislation, upon a due consideration of the peculiar scruples entertained by a very large and respectable body of abolitionists, and upon the ground that a very great step was about to be made in treating, for the first time, as a crime, that which had for ages been protected by Parliament, and regarded by the nation at large as one of the grand branches of the national commerce. It does not appear that the act has been at all deficient in the attainment of its object; the Slave Trade, as far as British subjects are concerned in it, seems to have been finally destroyed. But as America had made the traffic piracy, it was clear that if England should join her in treating it in the same way, and the two powers should, as a consequence of these enactments, agree to the mutual capture of each other's vessels found engaged in it, not only would the possibility be at once prevented, of either flag being employed to cover the traffick, but a broad foundation would be laid for obtaining a general consent of nations to treat it every where as piratical, when, to use Mr Canning's words, so becoming the magnanimity of the country on whose behalf he spoke, and so opposite to the language used by the wretched hirelings of the ministerial press, 'the two 'greatest maritime nations in the world should so far compro-'mise their maritime pride, as to act together for the accom-'plishment of such a purpose.' The proposal was communicated to our Government by the President of the United States, and, being acceded to, occasioned a bill to be brought in last Session, which passed into a law on the 31st of March 1824. It provides, that all subjects of Great Britain engaging directly in the Slave-trade any where, and all persons whatever so trading within the British dominions or settlements, shall be deemed Pirates, and punished accordingly with Death and forfeiture. A treaty with the United States has been concluded, by which the vessels of each power are authorized to detain those of the other found engaged in this piracy, and deliver them over to the authorities of the country they belong to, for the purpose of being dealt with according to the laws, now common to both States.

Another measure of great importance, indeed, as far as respects direct and immediate effects, far more important than the Piracy act, was carried through Parliament during the same

Session by Dr Lushington. This truly able and zealous promoter of all good works had, the year before, introduced a bill for consolidating the Abolition laws; and, among other improvements in the code, he had propounded the prohibition of the slave trade between Island and Island of the old British colonies, which, as the reader is aware, had been excepted out of all the abolition acts. This bill was at first thrown out in the Lords; but the learned and excellent author renewed it with better success; and a branch of the trade, the only one that remained, and hardly less inhuman than the African traffick itself, has now been prohibited like the rest.

From the measures adopted to extirpate the Trade in slaves, we now turn to the progress that has been made in preparing for the gradual, but complete abolition of Negro Slavery. The formation of the societies in London, Liverpool and elsewhere, whose object is to promote this most desirable consummation, has already been mentioned in this Journal. The fate of Mr Buxton's motion in July 1823, is also well known; the effects of the resolutions which the Government offered in the room of his motion, are fresh in the recollection of all, and may be described in a few words. No party was satisfied, hardly even the ministers who proposed them, and least of all the planters, to please and to screen whom this was contrived, while upon the state of the slaves, they could not possibly produce any change, directly or remotely,—being a mere repetition of things often before stated, both by Parliament and the executive government. But the propositions were agreed to by the abolitionists in the House of Commons, because the Government pledged itself to take the work into its own hands, and to carry through such reforms as might be necessary for the accomplishment of the design thus countenanced by an unanimous vote of the Legislature.

The London Society has continued its labours since the period of Mr Buxton's motion, with increased activity, and it has been powerfully and generally seconded by Societies all over the the country. Two hundred and twenty of these associations have been formed; a number of publications have been circulated; and nearly six hundred petitions presented to Parliament, in addition to between two and three hundred the Session before, all praying for immediate attention to the improvement of the condition of the slaves, and their gradual admission to the rights and station of free men.

The principles which the London Society promulgated, as the groundwork of its operations, and which all the societies in the country have adopted, may certainly be said to have receiv-

ed the sanction of the House of Commons. The following is the statement of them in the Resolutions passed at the first meeting, 31st January 1823. As the zeal and unanimity with which they have been received throughout the country, indicates plainly that they accord with the universal feeling upon the subject, it is of importance, in further discussing the question, that we should keep them in our view.

" That the individuals composing the present meeting are deeply impressed with the magnitude and number of the evils attached to the system of Slavery which prevails in many of the Colonies of Great Britain, a system which appears to be opposed to the spirit and precepts of Christianity, as well as repugnant to every dictate of natural humanity and justice.

" That they long indulged a hope, that the great measure of the Abolition of the Slave Trade, for which an act of the Legislature was passed in 1807, after a struggle of twenty years, would have tended rapidly to the mitigation and gradual extinction of Negro bondage in the British Colonies, but that in this hope they have been painfully disappointed; and, after a lapse of sixteen years, they have still to deplore the almost undiminished prevalence of the very evils which it was one great object of the Abolition to remedy.

" That under these circumstances they feel themselves called upon, by the most binding considerations of their duty as Christians, by their best sympathies as men, and by their solicitude to maintain unimpaired the high reputation and the solid prosperity of their country, to exert themselves, in their separate and collective capacity, in furthering this most important object, and in endeavouring, by all prudent and lawful means, to mitigate, and eventually to abolish the Slavery existing in our Colonial possessions."—*Antislavery Report*, pp. 2, 3.

The House of Commons unanimously came to certain resolutions, which, as far as any practical effect went, may indeed well be deemed nugatory, but are material, as affording a sanction to *the principles* laid down by the Society, as asserting the expediency of improving the condition of the slaves; and as recognising their claims to emancipation as soon as they shall be fit for enjoying freedom.

' 1. " That it is expedient to adopt effectual and decisive measures for meliorating the condition of the Slave Population in his Majesty's Colonies.

' 2. " That through a determined and persevering but judicious and temperate enforcement of such measures, this House looks forward to a progressive improvement in the character of the Slave Population, such as may prepare them for a participation in those civil rights and privileges, which are enjoyed by other classes of his Majesty's subjects.

' 3. " That this House is anxious for the accomplishment of this

purpose, at the earliest period that may be compatible with the well-being of the Slaves, the safety of the Colonies, and with a fair and equitable consideration of the interests of all parties concerned therein.

'4. "That these Resolutions be laid before his Majesty."'—*Anti-slavery Report*, p. 3.

In these Resolutions the West Indians themselves acquiesced; manifestly from the hope that they would postpone to an indefinite period the liberation of the slaves, and prevent that which they mainly dread as fatal to the abuses of the system, and certain to terminate its oppression,—the interposition of Parliament, when the colonial assemblies persist in neglecting their duty and violating their promises.

Soon after the Resolutions were passed, instructions were sent to the colonies where the Crown has the power of legislation, directing certain restrictions to be imposed upon the powers of the masters in punishing their Negroes; and the reception which these instructions met with, is in the recollection of the reader. In Demerara, particularly, through the great mismanagement of the local authorities, who contrived to excite groundless alarm in the planters, and equally unfounded hopes in the slaves, and to conceal the real nature of the measures adopted until it was too late, a slight commotion was occasioned among the Negroes, of a nature quite unprecedented in such a situation, and far more resembling a combination of European workmen to strike for wages, for time, or other indulgence, than a rebellion of African slaves. It is clearly proved, by the account of the planters themselves, and the official documents, that *violence* was no part of the plan pursued by those called Insurgents; that no lives were taken, or even threatened by them, until long after the disturbance was at its height, and the troops engaged in quelling it; that even then only two persons were killed by the Negroes; that no injury whatever was offered to property; that they all along avowed their wish to be, only the obtaining what was understood to be granted them by some new law, which the government and their masters were supposed to be withholding from them; and that their declared principle was to take no life, because said they, our pastor has taught us that life is not ours to give! Hundreds of these poor creatures, however, were put to death in the field; and immediately after quiet was restored, many of the survivors were torn in pieces by an infliction of the scourge, more merciless than any thing upon record in modern times, and in Christian countries. A pious minister of the gospel, whose conduct had been marked by the most scrupulous dis-

charge of every duty, and by a moderation truly wonderful in a man of ordinary feelings surrounded by the scenes of cruelty he had been living in, was seized in his house, dragged to a loathsome dungeon, stript of his papers, brought in a moment of peace before a court-martial, *tried*—if we must say *tried*—after a fashion, which, unprivileged as we are to speak the plain truth, we dare in nowise attempt to describe—condemned to death for that which he never did, but which, if he had done it, was not a capital offence—detained in prison when stricken with the most severe malady, until he was relieved from persecution by death!

The West Indians had now gone too far. They had been perfectly successful in raising the cry of Negro insurrection; they had turned the consequences of their own resistance and blunders combined, into a plausible topic of alarm, representing the disturbance excited by themselves as a rebellion produced by the efforts made in favour of the Negroes; they had but too well calculated on the facility with which, in England, the terror of rebellion spreads, and for a season takes men's reason and almost their senses, from them; and they enjoyed the success which never fails to attend rumours of violence, in far distant regions, exaggerated by falsehood and by fancy, and ascribed to causes more false and more fanciful still, by interested or by ignorant men. But they used not soberly their advantage—and they forgot that it was only for the moment. No sooner was the case discussed—no sooner was the Missionary's trial sifted, than one voice of universal indignation burst forth, and overpowered all resistance. In Parliament and out of Parliament, among all parties and all sects—save only the worst of the High Church Party,* habitual enemies of every thing like the rights of freemen, and grossly attached to whatever is violent and domineering in the exercise of power—one sound was to be heard of unmingled reprobation at the act, and sovereign contempt for the reasons urged in palliation of what none ventured to defend. That the Demerara planters and authorities were utterly without an excuse, was everywhere admitted, and there was an end for ever of the attempt to resist the friends of the slaves, by spreading alarms of rebellion. Even in the House of Commons, the Ministers did not venture to oppose the current. After assaying to

* It is well known, that the infamous portion of the periodical press, which this party chiefly patronizes, and which is notoriously abandoned to the most disgusting practices of slander and obscenity, has been found, and almost alone found, on the side of the slave-drivers, and vehement in calumniating the Missionary.

meet the motion of censure on the first night by a direct negative, they were fain to substitute, the next night, the previous question; and even on this humble ground they could only obtain a poor majority of 41—no less than 146 voting against them, including about thirty members who do not usually take part against the Government, and seven or eight connected with the West Indies, but nobly resolved to separate themselves from the guilt and the shame incurred by the men of Demerara.

It is probable, that if the memorable debates upon this subject had preceded, instead of following the measures adopted by way of redeeming the pledge given when Mr Buxton's motion was withdrawn, a very great improvement would have been effected in the boldness and consistency of the views upon which the Government acted. Certain it is, that much disappointment was experienced by all who had marked the strong feelings which prevailed in the country, and who had weighed the facts of the case sufficiently to perceive how entirely futile were all the attempts to excite alarm for the consequences of interfering with the internal policy of the Sugar Colonies. The Order of Council prescribing various reforms for the island of Trinidad, is no doubt calculated to produce much good in that settlement. The protection of females from the lash, and the prohibition of the whip generally as a stimulus to labour, and confining it to cases of punishment not inflicted in the field, is of itself a very great improvement. So are the regulations touching marriages and manumissions, and the admission of Negro evidence. But this order, alas! extends to a fortieth part only of the slave population of the British colonies. It is, indeed, the avowed determination of the Government, to extend the same system to the other conquered colonies, including in all a population of 220,000 slaves. But there remain no less than 600,000 unhappy creatures in the old settlements, to whom these reforms cannot be applied. The following observations of the Anti-slavery Society, in their last Report, give a very just view of this matter, and in a tone of exemplary moderation.

'It seems to be the present purpose of his Majesty's Government to proceed with these colonies in the way of recommendation and example. The Trinidad Order in Council is to be presented to them as a model for their imitation, and they are to be invited to copy it. When the Committee, however, look back to the history of the last 36 years, or even to the transactions of the last 12 months, they find it difficult to indulge a hope that the Assemblies will accede, in any effectual way, to such improvements as these; or that they will concur in such further measures for the gradual abolition of slavery itself, as his Majesty's ministers have it in contemplation hereafter to

adopt. Indeed it cannot be expected that the colonists should willingly promote an end which they continue loudly and peremptorily to declare to be absolute ruin to all their interests. And certainly the success which they seem to think, though we believe on no just ground, has attended their clamours, is not likely to check, but rather to encourage, that spirit of resistance which they have manifested, and which nothing but a fear of incurring the displeasure of Parliament, and calling into action its compulsory powers, is likely effectually to restrain.

'What measures his Majesty's Government will adopt in case of that continued resistance which your Committee anticipate, it remains to be seen. In the mean time their language implies that they mean to wait in the expectation of soon finding in the Assemblies a more respectful and complying disposition.

'The Committee will most sincerely rejoice should this expectation be realized. The condemnation, however, of the benevolent purposes of Government, continues to be too loud and indignant to justify the hope of the early and effectual co-operation of the Colonial Assemblies. And let it not be forgotten, that the delay thus produced, to the length of which there is no express limit, is of itself a great evil. Besides the dangers to be apprehended from suspense and agitation, the nation contracts additional guilt by the unnecessary postponement of those reforms, the moral obligation of which has been unequivocally admitted. The delay is also a real calamity to the great mass of the slave population. Your Committee can discover no good reason for withholding from the Slaves in the other islands the same alleviations, at the least, which have been granted to those in Trinidad. They can see no good reason, for instance, why women should still continue liable to be shamelessly exposed and flogged in Jamaica, Barbadoes, &c.; why the driving whip should be still employed *there;* why marriage should still be without any legal sanction in *these* colonies; why facilities should not be given *there* also to manumissions; and why the exclusion of the evidence of slaves should continue to be upheld *there* in all its rigour, making it confessedly impossible to give to apparently protecting laws their just effect.

'The friends of Colonial Reform are accused of impatience and precipitation. They are told that an evil, which is the growth of ages, cannot be cured in an hour, and that the termination of slavery, in order to be safe, must be very slowly progressive. But admitting this proposition, the duty is so much the more urgent *to commence* the necessary work without delay; and it has not even been pretended that what may be safely done in Trinidad or Berbice, is altogether unsafe in St Vincent's, Barbadoes or Jamaica.'—*Ibid.* 20–22.

Now, this brings us at once to the main question in all these discussions. Every one not personally interested in it admits, that there must be a change in this execrable system. Every one

indeed grants that there must be an end of it; that it can be endured no longer—at least no longer than a due regard to the interests of the slaves themselves requires it to be continued. All are agreed that they must be set free the moment their liberty would be an acceptable gift; and that not a moment must be lost in *preparing* them for receiving it. There is nearly the same consent as to *the means* which must be taken to prepare them for it. They must no longer be dealt with as chattels liable to be severed from the soil on which they have been born and bred; they must be driven no more with the whip like brute beasts; they must be instructed in religion and morals, and time must be given them to learn, time to rest as other Christians do from their daily labour, time to work for their own maintenance and for the acquirement of property;—the women must be treated with the greater delicacy which their sex requires, and not used as cattle are, without regard to the difference of sex; and all of them must be made capable of giving evidence in Courts of Justice,—so as to prevent them from being placed as a body without the pale of the law, wherever a white man may be pleased to wrong them.

Upon these things, beyond the circle of the slave owners themselves, and a wretched knot of men who have taken up their cause as haters of freedom, contemners of human rights, and lovers of oppression for its own sake, and because of its being established, no dissentient voice is raised; and the only question is, *how* the reforms allowed to be necessary shall be effected? Our opinion is clear, that the local authorities should be suffered to make them,—if they will; but, that if they persist in delaying and in trifling with the declared sense of the Legislature, *the work must be done for them.* If it is not, the Negroes will do the work for themselves, and assuredly the bulk of their fellow-subjects will rejoice in its being done, how deplorable soever may be the consequences, because these will be wholly imputable to the obstinacy of the planters, and the feebleness of the Government at home; and, painful as is the alternative, it is far better than an indefinite continuance of the system. If the Legislature does its duty, the occasion for this alternative needs never arrive. Let the colonies only be convinced that an act of Parliament will *compel* the changes required, and admitted on all hands to be at once safe and effectual;—and those changes will speedily be made by the local governments. But even if they should not, we verily believe that an act *commanding and ordaining* them, if published fairly and immediately, will create over the whole British Islands, less commotion by far than the very inconsiderable ferment which the worst possible management ex-

cited in Demerara. The security, and even the interests of the Whites are by no means overlooked by us in our estimate; but we certainly place in the first rank, the security and the interests of by far the more numerous class, and the class so grievously injured. It happens, too, as is generally the case where the principle is clear, that their interests are the same; for nothing short of a miracle can save the Whites, if they neglect any longer the performance of their promises, and the discharge of their imperative duty. Six-and-thirty years have elapsed since the rights of the slaves have occupied the anxious attention of the people in this country; twenty years since the Legislature distinctly warned the slave-owners that it was resolved to better their condition; seventeen since the law lifted its voice to command that right and justice be done them. Not one step, however, has yet been made towards a compliance with these warnings, or an obedience to this command. How much longer then, are we to wait in the expectation of those infatuated men listening to us, changing their habits of procrastination, which have become a second nature, and rousing themselves from that implicit reliance upon our carelessness, or timidity, or insincerity, which it must be owned our conduct has been but too well calculated to engender?

It is not intended upon the present occasion to discuss at large this question, momentous in itself undoubtedly, but not more momentous than easy of solution. But we may very succinctly run over its principal topics, deferring the more extended consideration of it to a future opportunity.

First of all, the *right* to legislate for the internal concerns of the colonies, is beyond a doubt clearly in the mother country. Even with respect to the North American colonies, the right was never abandoned, except only as to taxation; and that was given up, not as matter of right, but upon the express ground that it was inexpedient to exercise it. The 18. *Geo. III. c.* 12. merely declares that Parliament will not impose duties upon the colonies, excepting for the regulation of commerce; and in departing from the exercise of the right of taxing, all other legislation is distinctly reserved. But we do not merely rely upon this point; the West Indies are upheld by the army and navy of England; they are both defended from foreign attack, and protected from intestine trouble, by the forces of the mother country. Those planters who talk so largely of their rights, could not hold their property four-and-twenty hours without the aid of those forces; they, who deny the right of the parent state to protect the Black subjects from their cruel usage, could not exist in the midst of those Blacks, but for the protection of her arm; left to themselves, they would suddenly experience a

change indeed—the slave and his master would exchange places. Nay, without abandoning them to the Negroes, were the Legislature only to withhold the application of that force, which alone enables them to keep possession of our markets with their produce, the great staple of the Islands must cease to be cultivated, or only continue to be grown in such a proportion as would wholly change the face of West Indian agriculture. They state themselves, that the people of this country contribute to allow them 'what is little, if at all, short of a gratuitous bounty of six shillings per hundred weight,' * upon their sugar; and equal to a million and a half is paid by the country, that the West Indian Negroes may be driven to make dear sugar, rather than the free subjects of the East India Company should make cheap sugar for the consumption of the English market. It is not very wise in the West Indians to forget that every man in England pays a penny a pound for the sugar he consumes, as a tax to perpetuate the slave system; it is not very prudent to contrive that this shall be a kind of *blood-money*—of *torture-pence*, as it were—a tribute levied upon the inhabitants of the mother country for the purpose of enabling those of the colonies to maltreat their fellow-subjects with impunity. But, at all events, they cannot deny our right to interfere, and prevent the money which we so pay from being thus employed, contrary to the intention of the donors, whose purpose is to protect the Whites from commercial loss, not to perpetuate their tyranny over the Blacks.

If the West Indians have not the right, it is equally manifest that they have not the power, to resist the control of the mother country. Threats of separating have often been used, and never, we presume, very seriously. In truth, they could not be carried into execution. Were England to withdraw her forces, and suffer the colonists to take their own course, where could they look for protection? To America alone. But why should America, overburthened with slaves already, add eight or nine hundred thousand to her population, and without an object? For unhappily the possession of the Floridas gives her quite a sufficient command of our West India trade during war, without taking our islands. As for absolute independence, we presume it never can be dreamt of. It could only mean the erection of a Negro state in each of the islands.

But as a rebellion of the Whites is little calculated to excite alarm, the West Indians menace us with Negro insurrection.

* Letter of the Agent for Jamaica—11th March 1824—in Jamaica Gazette, 1st May 1824.

Now, any thing more chimerical than this fear, never surely was invented to delude thoughtless men. The risks of Negro rebellion have always been greatly exaggerated, as we have frequently had occasion to show; but unquestionably such risks do exist, and are most fit to be considered when we are surveying measures of which the natural tendency is *to promote discontent* among the slaves, and to excite in them vague and undefined expectations of change. But how can any such effect be produced by measures of a plain and intelligible description, manifestly calculated to better their condition, without in the least weakening the authority of their masters? Suppose, for example, that a law were passed in England, annexing the slaves to the soil (a law which the Abolitionists announced their expectation of seeing adopted in all the colonies as soon as the traffic ceased), with a provision, making their testimony admissible in all courts of justice, and giving them a day in the week to themselves,—does any man really believe that the promulgation of this would excite a single slave to rise? Is *that* the natural tendency of the intelligence which would thus be conveyed to the slaves? Upon being told that the Parliament had so far favoured them, and would continue to better their condition according as they behaved peaceably, but would also persist in supporting the lawful authority of their masters until they should acquire money enough to purchase their liberty one by one, who is fanciful enough to expect rebellion from men that have been so patient under the most cruel treatment? Is the Negro so unlike all other human beings, that, having so long borne with resignation the uttermost inflictions of cruelty, he should find the first approaches of kindness intolerable? But, in truth, there is little of sincerity in these arguments. They are used by persons who have no fear of any interference on behalf of the Negroes producing the least confusion or excitement among them. Their own conduct unequivocally proves, that they deem the risk of insurrection a most remote one indeed, and not at all to be augmented by any discussions in Parliament of West Indian affairs. They themselves are always the first to publish such debates in all their details, and in every way, written and oral, by which they can reach the slaves; and many topics of the most inflammatory nature, and the most likely to create a sensation among these unfortunate beings, are to be found broached for the first time, or even alone, by the West Indians in the midst of the plantations. If, indeed, any line of conduct can shake the peace of society in these settlements, it must be the extreme violence of the planters, and, above all, of the colonial assemblies, in their

controversies with the mother country respecting the state of the slaves. From thence some danger of insurrection may truly be descried. But if such apprehensions are well founded, the West Indians have themselves to blame for putting the peace of their settlements in jeopardy; if they are groundless, surely we may infer that all other alarms are infinitely more so.

'It will be recollected," say the Committee of the Anti-slavery Society, "that last year, when the question of Slavery was first agitated in Parliament, its agitation was strongly objected to by the West Indians, both at home and abroad, on the ground of this apprehended danger. And yet so little were the Colonists themselves affected by the consideration, that their own newspapers, over the conduct of which they possess a complete control, have ever since been filled with the most violent declamations on the subject. Those very discussions, which, when they took place in this country, were denounced as sure to produce the most disastrous results in the West Indies, have been uniformly republished and circulated in the newspapers of the different Colonies, although these are the only sources of intelligence which commonly meet the eye even of the White population, or to which the other classes, whether free or Slaves, who can read, have access. Nay, the instructions of Earl Bathurst himself, which embodied the proposed reforms of the Slave system, almost in the form of a Mandate from his Majesty, were published at length in the Colonial Journals, accompanied by acrimonious and inflammatory comments, and, in some cases, by an avowal, on the part of the Planters, of a determination to resist to the utmost the benevolent intentions of the King and the Parliament towards their Slaves! And these various inflammatory publications took place in the West Indies long before the specific nature of Lord Bathurst's instructions was known either to your Committee or to the British public, to whom they were first communicated through the medium of the Colonial press. It is surely too much, then, for the West Indians, under such circumstances, to object to the public discussion of Slavery in England, as pregnant with danger to the peace of the Colonies. For if there was any ground for the apprehensions of danger which they profess to entertain, it is too obvious a conclusion to have been overlooked by them, that that danger was immeasurably enhanced by transferring the same discussion, only conducted in a far more vehement and inflammatory style, to the very region and atmosphere of Slavery. The mischief in question also, if mischief there were, was in this case incurred without any rational object. In this country public discussion is necessary; for how otherwise is the public attention to be engaged, or the expression of the national sentiment to be called forth? How are even the Ministers of the Crown themselves to be enabled to pursue their own liberal views on this great subject,—beset as they are by the solicitations and remonstrances of Colonial Proprietors and their adherents, powerful in Parliamentary influence, and acting with concert and perseverance,

—f the friends of reformation are to be silent, and to depend on the moral strength of their case alone, unaided by the public voice? This less obtrusive course had been pursued for many years prior to the formation of this Society; and what was the result? What was done for the unfortunate Slaves, subsequently to the abolition of the Slave Trade, in any of the Colonies, even in those in which the whole legislative power rested with the Crown? Shall we then pronounce public discussion in this country to be unnecessary?

'In the Colonies, however, no similar necessity for public discussion, through the medium of the press, can be alleged to exist. There no difference of opinion appears to be entertained on this subject; none at least dares to show itself. The Planters resident in the Colonies seem all agreed that Slavery ought to be maintained for ever. To agitate the question *there* is, therefore, most needlessly and gratuitously to provoke the evil they affect to dread. At least, while they thus act, they ought not to tell us, at the same moment, that, by agitating the subject at the distance of four or five thousand miles, we are exciting insurrection, conflagration, and massacre.'—*Anti-slavery Report*, pp. 10, 11, 12.

We profess our inability to discover any means of answering this argument, the cogency of which seems at once to dispose of the objections from alarm raised against the interference of the Legislature with colonial affairs. There remains then only one argument to combat—that which is derived from the difficulty of carrying into execution, in the colonies, laws enacted in the mother country. The existence of this difficulty we are far from denying, especially if no change shall be made in the appointments and in the situation of the colonial functionaries. If Governors and Judges are still to be chosen among the body of the planters, and if they are to be paid in part by the assemblies which represent the planters, any law restraining the misconduct of the Whites upon plantations will doubtless be feebly executed, whether passed in England or in the West Indies. But it is incredible that such a distribution of patronage should any longer be persisted in, or such a mode of paying the officers of state and justice be still resorted to, as must needs make them dependent on the very men whose proceedings it is the principal duty of their office to watch and to control. No reason whatever can be assigned against laying it down as an absolute rule from henceforward, that all offices of any importance shall be filled by persons wholly unconnected with the West Indies; and no good reason can be given for not removing all who are connected with the islands from offices holden during pleasure. No topic can be listened to in this question which merely relates to individual hardship and inconvenience, or to the offence that may be taken by the West Indians. The step

is necessary if we intend that any reforms shall be effected in the treatment of the slaves, and any progress made in bettering their condition so as to fit them for freedom; and if such a change is made, it will create the means of exercising laws passed for attaining those objects, whether the lawgivers are in the colony or the mother country. The argument which we are now grappling with was constantly urged against the abolition of the slave trade. You may enact laws for abolishing so necessary a commerce, it was said, but they will remain a dead letter; no person will be found to execute them. And this might have proved true, had the enforcement of the abolition been committed to West Indian courts and jurors; but the Vice-Admiralty Courts, who are wholly independent of the colonial assemblies, were charged with administering the new laws; and they have done so with sufficient strictness to eradicate the traffic, according to the admission, or rather the strenuous contention, of the planters themselves.

For these reasons, we conceive that the course which the Government should take lies clear and straight before them. In the conquered colonies they can enforce the requisite changes by orders in council. In the others they may wait until Parliament meets; and should no decisive measures be adopted by the local authorities, bills ought at once to be brought in, prescribing those changes which all but the interested parties agree in deeming necessary. But in either case, the colonial appointments should be revised, disinterested and unprejudiced persons substituted for those who are biassed by West Indian connexions,—and salaries allotted to all, independent of the votes which may be passed by the colonial assemblies.

But we confess that the experience of the past gives no small reason to fear lest the Government should again show a lukewarm zeal in the cause, on which the country has but one feeling and one voice, or should yield once more to the clamours raised and the alarms excited by the West Indian Body. It is in the recollection of every reader how long the slave trade was suffered to exist after the unanimous judgment of the people, nay, of mankind, had condemned it, and all but the time-serving Parliament, who habitually studied the wishes of the Ministers, cried aloud for its destruction. It is impossible to tell how much longer this infamy might still have been attached to the name of England, had not a Ministry, really zealous in the cause of humanity and justice, resolved to face the clamours of an interested party, and manfully do their duty,—when it was found so easy that all men wondered how it had been delayed. We have a dismal foreboding that the measures necessary for

the mitigation and extinction of slavery are fated to undergo the same lingering process with the abolition of the traffic. We shall, in all probability, hear again, as we did last Session, of the evil being old and inveterate—of the prejudices we have to contend with being long established and deeply rooted—of the necessity of making allowances for the colonial assemblies, and converting them, by good treatment, to more liberal views. In other words, yielding implicit deference, for an indefinite time, to their interested views, for the purpose of making them, at a period infinitely remote, adopt our views against their own interest. To all such arguments the most triumphant answer was given by Mr Stephen, at the General Meeting of the Society. When, surrounded by so many veterans in the sacred warfare, now for nearly forty years waged against slavery—by Wilberforce, and Clarkson, and W. Smith—he produced the records of former reliance placed upon these assemblies in vain—former applications zealously urged to them by their friends as well as their opponents, in vain—former instructions from the crown itself, backed by the authority of Parliament, all addressed to them in vain! It is not exhibiting a very seemly spectacle to show the Legislature again and again deceived by the same parties, in nearly the same terms. It is still less becoming, if we shall see reason to suspect that the deception, being too gross to succeed by itself, the Legislature wilfully shut their eyes, and suffer themselves to be deluded and mocked. Now, we conceive that nothing can tend more to prevent this delusion from being again practised with success, than distinctly to show how it was tried before, and with what result; or if the Legislature were disposed to be deluded, this open exhibition might make the connivance too glaring to be attempted.

On the 14th December 1796, the West India Committee, a body composed of the most eminent colonial proprietors resident in England, instructed Mr C. Ellis, one of their number, we believe their Chairman, to move an address to the Crown, of which they had previously approved, and which, being supported by their whole weight in the House of Commons, was carried unanimously in April 1797. Its object was to provide a substitute for the abolition, and to keep the control of that question in the hands of the Colonial Assemblies—For the reader needs hardly be reminded, that exactly the same opposition was made to any interference of the Legislature with the African Slave Trade, as is now attempted to its meddling with the condition of the West Indian population. The Address prayed, 'that his Majesty would graciously *recommend* to the 'Governors, Councils, and Assemblies of the West India

'Islands, "measures such as should regulate and control the "importation of Slaves from Africa; and by obviating the "causes which had hitherto impeded the natural increase of "Negroes already in the islands, should render that trade less "necessary, and ultimately lead to its termination; and fur- "ther, *with a view to the same effect, the adoption of every mea- "sure which might conduce to the moral and religious improve- "ment of the Negroes, and promote their happiness, by securing "to them the certain, immediate, and active protection of the "law.*"' Circular instructions, founded on this Address, and communicating it, were immediately despatched by the Duke of Portland, then Secretary of State, to all the West Indian Governments, and they were urged to give the subject their early and particular attention. The Committee added their own private instances to those of the Crown and the House of Commons, and they happily disclosed their real motives in a manner extremely fair and intelligible, as a somewhat unexpected production of the correspondence, we believe, by a singular official oversight afterwards showed. But we must let Mr Stephen himself tell this interesting story.

'The West India Committee did not trust to the Royal and Parliamentary influence alone. They added, what was likely to be of greater efficacy, confidential earnest solicitations from the members of that body, and from the colonial agents in this country, to the leading proprietors resident in the different islands, imploring them, for the sake of the slave trade, for the preservation of which they were all then earnestly struggling, and which they deemed essential to the very existence of the sugar colonies, to comply with the recommendations of the Crown. The better to impress this powerful consideration, the secret deliberations of the Committee, and the motives on which Mr Ellis had been requested, as its organ, to move the address in Parliament, were confidentially disclosed; and as the correspondence was afterwards brought to light and printed by authority of Parliament, (a discovery not I presume at all foreseen by the writers), I am enabled to read to you from these Parliamentary documents some of the arguments that were used.

'The Report of the Sub-committee contained the following reasons for the measure it recommended.

'1*st*, That the repeated discussion of the abolition of the slave trade in Parliament may produce consequences of *the utmost danger* to the colonies; and that if an act for this purpose should ever pass the British Parliament, *it will be fatal to them!*

'2*d*, That the question of abolition will continue to be agitated year after year, and as often as the forms of the House permit; and that neither the House of Commons nor the country in general will suffer it to rest, till some steps have been taken which may afford

them reason to believe, that every regulation has been adopted which is consistent with the safety of the colonies.

'3*d*, That many persons of great weight and character, though conscious of the danger to be apprehended from the measures proposed by Mr Wilberforce, have supported, and will continue to support them, because no mode of conduct at all compatible with their ideas of humanity has been proposed as an alternative.

'4*th*, That, on the other hand, many persons who have hitherto opposed the measures of Mr Wilberforce, will feel themselves under the necessity of submitting to them, unless some plan of regulation shall be brought forward.

'5*th*, That there is reason to believe, that besides Mr Wilberforce's bill, there will be proposed some more specious plan of moderate reform and gradual abolition, which will meet with very general support; and that it is of the utmost importance that such a plan should be anticipated, because the West India proprietors, from their local knowledge, are the only persons to whom the formation of it can be safely intrusted.

'6*th*, That consequently, for the joint purposes of *opposing* the plan of Mr Wilberforce, and establishing the character of the West India body, it is essential that they should manifest their willingness to promote actively the cause of humanity, by such steps as shall be consistent with safety to the property of individuals, and the general interests of the colonies.' *Ibid.* pp. 52, 53.

Individuals of the West Indian body added the weight of their earnest diligence to that of the Committee. Sir William Young, a proprietor, once a governor, a strenuous advocate in Parliament of the colonial interests, and a steady opposer to the last of the abolition, thus addressed the President of Antigua.

'I cannot omit the declaration, that on every ground of past experience in Parliament, from the first agitation of the question I advert to, and from all speculation on the future that my mind can reach, it appears to be indispensably necessary to take some steps in our colonies by legislative provisions, touching the situation of Negroes in respect to society, and to promote a natural increase of their population, and thus not only stop for the present, but gradually supersede the very pretensions at a future period, to a measure of direct abolition of the slave trade by the mother country,—a measure which would blast the root of all our settlements of property—change the foundation of every bequest, loan and security—turn every mortgage into an annuity on the lives of Negroes—institute a general system of foreclosure, and, depreciating our estates, preclude all immediate resources, and ruin every interest.' *Ibid.* pp. 53, 54.

So much for *the intention* of the measures, and *the meaning* of those who recommended them. Their tendency when adopted, where a show of doing something was made to deceive the

Legislature, was, as might be expected, nugatory, except for the purpose of the deception, and their effect upon the condition of the slaves absolutely nothing, whether we regard religious instruction or legal protection the two points to which the address was directed. Upon the *first* of these, the instructions of the Government, sent in pursuance of the address, are as explicit as any that can now be framed.

'As the instruction of Negroes (said his Grace) is of the utmost consequence, it would be important to know whether the legislature of the island has in view any particular modes of effecting this purpose; and what species and degree of encouragement it would be disposed to hold out to such missionaries as might be found properly qualified for that purpose, and would undertake that duty; either by enacting that such Missionaries should procure in favour of the estate where they are employed, certain privileges, immunities and advantages, or in what other manner their services should be rewarded by the island. This would lead to the general establishment of the Christian religion among the Negroes, and would establish marriages; it would restrain promiscuous intercourse, and impress their minds in a simple yet forcible manner with the great truths of morality.' *Ibid.* pp. 56, 57.

It is seven-and-twenty years since the assemblies were thus specially urged to promote the instruction of the slaves by Missionaries, then taken for granted, and now demonstrated, to be the only teachers through whom such lessons can be conveyed. How have those 'local authorities' answered the united call made upon their prudence by their own leaders and champions, by the executive government, and by the legislature—those 'local authorities,' in whom we ought 'implicitly to confide;' whose 'knowledge of details' qualifies them for the office of practical reformers; and to whose 'liberal way of thinking' we are looking until our sight is dim with age? *It is admitted on all hands, that nothing whatever has been done* all the time, above a quarter of a century, which has elapsed. It is avowed by the planters in some places, that slavery and instruction are incompatible; it is proved that all the settlements are hostile to missions; in one they have been persecuted to death by the constituted authorities, and in another they have been outraged by crimes punishable with death; while the constituted authorities could not, or would not, interpose to protect them, or to vindicate the insulted laws.

Have the slaves fared better upon the *second* point urged in the address of 1797, the obtaining of 'certain immediate and active protections from the law?' How far this branch of the earnest recommendation sent to the Assemblies by the same high and combined authorities has been attended to, let one

of their most zealous advocates tell. Sir W. Young, Secretary of the West Indian Committee in 1797, was governor of Tobago in 1811—and he thus speaks, in a Report to Parliament, upon the state of the slaves.

'I think the slaves have by law no protection. In this, and I doubt not in every other island, there are laws for the protection of slaves, and good ones; but *circumstances* in the administration of this law render it a dead letter. When the intervention of the law is most required, it will have the least effect; as in cases where a vindictive and cruel master has dared to commit the most atrocious cruelties, even to murder his slave, no free person being present to witness the act. There appears to me a radical defect in the administration of justice throughout the West Indies, in whatever case the wrongs done to a slave are under consideration; or rather, that justice cannot in truth be administered, controlled as it is by a law of evidence, which covers the most guilty European with impunity; provided that, when having a criminal intent, he is cautious not to commit the crime in the presence of a free witness.

'On small plantations there is but one free person, the resident manager, and no slave can appear against him. In the back yard of a jobber of a small gang for hire, in the workshops or outbuildings of each artisan or petty tradesman, and within every house, the greatest cruelties may be exercised on a slave *without a possibility of conviction*. I should consider it (he adds) as inconsistent with the respect and deference I bear to the sagacity and wisdom of the august body for whose use this Report is framed, to idly enlarge it with the enumeration of humane laws for the protection of slaves; all rendered nugatory by the conditions of evidence required in their administration.' *Ibid.* pp. 58, 59.

And such is the case now, as well as in 1811—and in the other sugar colonies, as well as Barbadoes, with no change deserving of notice. Such, too, it is intended by the West Indians that it shall continue to be! For the ministers have announced their refusal to agree in the recommendation to admit the evidence of slaves against free persons—that is, to allow the court the power of hearing it, and reserve to them the estimate of the weight which it should have. Mr Stephens's invective against this monstrous inconsistency in those who condemned the Missionary upon slave evidence, is highly eloquent; but not more eloquent than soundly argumentative.

'The evidence of slaves is sufficient, it seems, to convict a preacher of the Gospel!—It is sufficient to condemn him to death; although the slaves who give the evidence are swearing for their own lives!—It is sufficient to give currency and judicial credit to the most palpable, and monstrous and inconsistent fables that ever were invented in romance—It is sufficient to prove that a pious self-devoted minister of the Gospel of Peace, is an instigator of sedition, rebellion, and blood-

shed—It is sufficient to prove that a man who is sinking into his grave under the influence of a pulmonary complaint—who has a helpless wife on the spot with him—who in all probability has not many weeks to live, is desirous of being the leader in a bloody and desperate contest of bands of insurgent slaves, in order that he may be made their emperor, and reign over them in the swamps and woods of the Guiana continent! The evidence of slaves, Sir, is sufficient *for all this!* though they themselves are avowedly guilty of the crime they impute, and give their testimony under an extreme influence of terror that would disqualify the most respectable of our countrymen from being heard as a witnesss in any court of this country. Their evidence may be safely received and relied upon against a prisoner, when a whole infuriated community is clamorous for his destruction; but is too dangerous to be heard in any case before a jury of White men, all whose prepossessions, and all whose sympathies, are adverse to the prosecutor and the witness, and favourable to the party accused! The same colonists, it seems, still inexorably oppose the reception of such witnesses, however credible and however unimpeachable on every ground but the colour of their skins, when necessary to enforce the laws against the oppressors of their unfortunate class. Neither the assemblies nor their partisans here, it seems, will consent in that respect to change a rule which their more zealous champions themselves have condemned as an insurmountable obstacle to the protection of the slaves, and the course of public justice.' *Ibid.* pp. 59, 60.

After all this experience of the Assemblies and their advocates, surely we may be allowed now to ask, with the same eloquent defender of the oppressed African, Is it intemperate—is it unreasonable—is it precipitate, not to be content with a new reference to those same Assemblies—not passively to rely again on the same experiment, thus repeatedly tried, thus uniformly found to be fruitless? 'Our enemies,' says he, 'affect to blame us for 'not leaving the case in the hands of Government, and patiently expecting the result of its new solicitations; and even to 'ascribe to this cause the intemperate conduct of the Colonies. 'But was not the case left in the hands of Government, and 'had not its influence with the Assemblies full scope, without 'any interruption from us, from 1797 till the spring of the last 'year? If a term of twenty-six years was not long enough for 'patient acquiescence on our part, how long were we expected 'to wait before we raised our voice against this great national 'iniquity, and invoked the moral and religious feelings of the 'British people to aid us in a call for reformation?'

As often as a clamour shall be raised against the enemies of slavery for impatience; as often as they shall be desired to look for reformation towards the colonies; as often as an indifferent Go-

vernment shall affect to confide in the Assemblies, and an easy Parliament to repose upon the vigilance of such Government, we only desire to hold up the Address of 1797, the Circular Instructions, and the Suggestions of the Committee; and simply demanding, what has since been done in the West Indies, and answering that question by the Resolutions passed in 1823, which demonstrate that *nothing had been done*, and, strange to tell, also demonstrate, that because nothing had been done, Parliament renewed its confidence in the efficacious support of those who stood convicted of the non-feasance, we shall at least expect to be pardoned for repudiating all share in this confiding spirit,—if we may not also reckon upon the retrospect making a renewal of that trust impossible, consistently with a regard for the decorum usually expected in a grave and deliberative assembly.

These sentiments, we rejoice to think, are common to us with the great body of our fellow-citizens. The meeting held upon the subject of Negro-slavery, at which Mr Stephen delivered the admirable speech we have been citing, was almost unexampled for the numbers, the respectability, and the fervent but rational enthusiasm of those who composed it. The friend of liberty and of human improvement may dwell with pure delight upon the whole proceedings of that day. An accurate Report of them is contained in one of the Tracts now before us; and we cannot too earnestly recommend it to the attention of our readers. They who seek, merely as critics, for gratification, will find themseves amply rewarded. It contains, among many speeches of first-rate merit from Members of both Houses of Parliament and others, one display of eloquence so signal for rare and matured excellence, that the most practised orators may well admire how it should have come from one who then, for the first time, addressed a public assembly. We allude to Mr T. B. Macaulay, the son of one whose name ranks among the very foremost, for knowledge, talents, and integrity, in the lists of eminent men, called forth by the great African cause. He fortunately witnessed this most successful entrance into active life; and Mr Wilberforce justly and feelingly observed, referring to the attack upon Mr M. by those who purvey slander for the slave-drivers and High-churchmen, that he doubtless 'would willingly bear with all the base falsehoods, all the vile 'calumnies, all the detestable artifices which have been aimed a-'gainst him, to render him, like another Mr Smith, the martyr 'and victim of our cause—aye, and ten times more, for the gra-'tification he has this day enjoyed, in hearing one so dear to him 'plead such a cause in such a manner.' It is, indeed, most

consolatory to see the place of those who have left, * or are leaving the scene, filled by new candidates for the noble and unalloyed fame won in fighting the sacred battles of humanity. The great debate in Parliament upon the Missionary question, produced an invaluable acquisition to this great cause. Mr J. Williams, for the first time, bore a part in it; and delivered a speech which might fill veterans with envy, and beginners with despair. But the proceedings upon that remarkable occasion are in every one's hands, and we have not room for any longer critical digression, how tempting soever the occasion.

The fixed determination in the minds of the classes whose opinion justly commands the greatest respect, the middle classes of the people, to have Negro-slavery instantly mitigated, and gradually abolished, was indicated at the meeting in a manner not easily mistaken. It spoke the sense of all the societies scattered over the country. Let the enemies of slavery, then, persevere. They who administer Government, though in their hearts convinced and aware of the result, may, for a season, be afraid of countenancing them, because they dread the consequences of the clamour which would be raised by the Colonial party, were any sinister event to happen while they were promoting a change of system. But if the public voice is constantly exerted, they will be compelled to yield in this as in so many other instances; and, by the same ruling principle, the dread of having their authority shaken. They who have obliged those ministers to abandon taxes by the score, and places by the hundred—nay, to give up their most fixed principles of mercantile policy, and even to begin the frightful work of judicial reform—seemed, but a few years ago, to have a far more desperate work in hand, than the abolitionists who, after many a triumph, have now only their crowning victory to win. It must be theirs, if they persevere in deserving it, by their firmness and by their temperance; above all, by their vigilance in suffering no opportunities to escape unimproved; and their ra-

* Among those whose loss of late the cause has most seriously to lament, Mr Harrison is principally to be commemorated. He had gratuitously and most ably filled the laborious office of secretary to the African Institution during a period of twelve years. By principle a determined enemy of all undue power, and firmly attached to whatever afforded the prospect of elevating the character and improving the condition of those whom bad institutions have degraded, he had devoted his time, ever since he retired from professional pursuits, to the business of that Society, and others of a philanthropic nature. His loss will, indeed, not easily be repaired.

tional jealousy in refusing, whether to governments at home or governments abroad, a confidence so often abused. *

ART. XI. *Statement in regard to the Pauperism of Glasgow, from the Experience of the last eight Years.* By THOMAS CHALMERS, D. D. Minister of St Johns, Glasgow. 1823.

THE public has been so long accustomed to hear the praises of the system by which the people of Scotland manage their poor, that we are apt to regard it as approaching nearly to perfection; and to hold out the imitation of its peculiarities as sufficient to secure all the advantages of a legal provision without any of its evils. There is enough in the principles, and in the former administration, of our law, to justify a reasonable portion of this eulogy. But if it is supposed that we need be under no apprehension about the increase of poors-rates; and that we are completely free from that terrible scourge which is undermining the morality, and wasting the resources, of England, we must say that there never was a more palpable or more dangerous error; and there is at last a sufficient body of facts ascertained to make it evident, that the prevalence of such an opinion can only be ascribed to that ordinary delusion, by which people, who have been long used to commend a system, repose under their general admiration of it, and will not disturb themselves by inquiring how it actually works. If the Scottish law has not been able to prevent the progressive increase of pauperism, this is the strongest possible demonstration of the inadequacy of any scheme, *which admits of a compulsory provision for the poor*, to do so; because, though there be certainly some, there are not many, regulations, by which the evils of this mode of provision can be guarded against, with which the law of Scotland has not been fenced. Neither was there ever a time at which an examination of the

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* We purpose, in our next Number, to enter upon the examination of Mr Stephen's great work upon Slavery, as it exists in the Colonies. It may, with truth, be said, that no man, without reading that book, can form an adequate idea of the state of the Negro bondsmen, in law or in practice—or a just estimate of the sacrifices which it would be fitting to make, and the risks which it would be justifiable to encounter, for the sake of terminating so intolerable an evil. The silence of the other party, inflexibly maintained with respect to this decisive exposition of the subject, most eloquently proves their sense of its importance, and their inability to answer it.

practical tendency and operation of our policy was more necessary than at present; for Scotland, if she has not already passed, is certainly fast approaching, a crisis with her poor-laws; and there are a few important facts on which misconception seems to prevail even among those who might be supposed to be best acquainted with all the details of the subject.

It is not necessary, in order to form a sound opinion respecting the present condition and future prospects of our pauperism, to encumber ourselves by various questions which have been raised respecting the true mode of preventing or relieving poverty. There is one principle, however, which we wish it to be understood that we always assume. This is, that a compulsory provision for the poor, *as a regular and established measure*, is not only pernicious, but has a direct and necessary tendency to increase the very evil which it is meant to cure. There are still, we believe, some few by whom this proposition is denied. But there is perhaps no practical truth supported by so unequivocal a course of general experience, or confirmed, on the whole, by so general an assent.

It has been suggested, however, by some of those who concede the general principle, that however sound it may be in ordinary cases, an exception arises to it on occasions of extensive and sudden distress, created by the vicissitudes of manufactures or of climate. It is admitted that every person, even in the lowest ranks, ought to be trained, and might easily be so, to provide, during the season of his prosperity, for those privations to which he knows that he is exposed in the ordinary course of human affairs. But it has been thought, that where great numbers of people are attracted, by the demands of a highly commercial or manufacturing nation, into particular lines of life, for which they are fitted to the exclusion of all others, and the demand for their labour is suddenly stopt by circumstances over which they had no control, —such as a war, or a change of the law,—it would be unjust and inexpedient to leave such persons in a state of destitution; and that if this were to be done, the result might sometimes be, either that the public peace would be disturbed, or that these unfortunate victims must reduce their scale of comforts so low, that though they might live and propagate, their moral habits must become degraded; and the State, by withholding a temporary supply, be clogged, for generations, with a beggarly and overgrown population.

There are the strongest grounds for doubting if any relaxation of the general rule ought to be permitted even in these extreme cases, let them be pushed as far as they may; be-

cause, of all the contingencies that ought to be constantly in the view of a manufacturing population, the sudden changes to which manufactures are subject seem to be the most obvious, and those against which there is therefore the smallest apology for not guarding. But, in order to narrow the debateable ground as much as possible, and to get some point on which we may safely rest, let it be admitted, that these are casualties for which the law ought to provide. It does not follow from this, that the mode of provision must be by the establishment of a poor-rate, *as an ordinary part of our public institutions.* It may be right that the public should be taxed in order to avert a peculiar public calamity; but surely this remedy ought never to be lightly applied; and it is difficult to see why a law should not be made on this, as on similar occasions, for the precise case when it occurs, and under all the qualifications which shall be approved of by the Legislature for the time. Such an interference would not take place rashly;—it would be guarded by right conditions;—it would not continue too long; and, above all, by its requiring the positive sanction of the Legislature, the relief that was afforded would be marked to those who were to receive it, as an extraordinary and precarious measure. There are many examples of this having been done in the course of our legislative humanity.

But when, instead of this, the raising of funds by compulsion, for the relief of mere common poverty, *is made a part of the ordinary law*, the results are not now a matter of speculation, but of certainty; and though they have been explained a thousand times, there are people to whom they require to be explained again.

1*st*, People become systematically trained to expect relief as a matter of right, as soon as they are qualified by penury to claim it; and the connection which Nature has established between economy and independence, and between improvidence and want, is, in their minds, impaired, or altogether destroyed. 2*dly*, The neighbours and kindred of the poor, seeing that there is a public fountain of what is called Charity, from which every pauper may draw, abstain from relieving them; and all those private sympathies are chilled by which penury might otherwise be secretly and honourably aided. 3*dly*, The consequence of this is, not merely that a preparation is artificially made for increasing the numbers of the poor, but that they are much less comfortably relieved; and that the moral character of the whole of the lower population is injured. In their prosperity they are made profuse; in their adversity, instead of falling into the arms of relations and friends, they find

themselves deserted; and, in place of asking relief from that genuine mercy which blesseth both the giver and the receiver, they demand it with defying and ungrateful hardness, as their legal due. *4thly*, Though it be by much the smallest of the evils which mark such a scene, still it is an evil of no inconsiderable magnitude, that this deviation from the natural system is attended with prodigious and unnecessary expense;—not merely the expense of what is strictly requisite for the poor, but of all that waste and misapplication, which is sure to attend the distribution of public funds, by a great number of individuals acting without concert, regulation, or responsibility. It has been said, that the poor, even of England, might be maintained for two millions Sterling a year; but it is certain that they have sometimes cost above four times that amount.

Of all these, however, the great and radical evil consists in the constant tendency of the legal system, not merely to increase the numbers of the poor, but to deteriorate their condition. No statistical table could be so useful as one that would show how regularly and steadily this class of persons, and the rates which support them, have augmented, wherever the practice of relieving them by law has been resorted to. There are many instances in which the spreading of the evil has been checked for a while, by the temporary zeal of those who were alarmed by its progress; but the general truth is unquestionable, that wherever the system of a compulsory maintenance has not been altogether abandoned, its advance, in the form of multiplying paupers, and of aggravating pauperism, is as certain, and almost as overwhelming, as the flowing of the tide. It is a thing, in short, that is only to be regulated by being utterly put down,—and thus banished from the list of those resources which the poor or their administrators can be allowed habitually to contemplate.

It has been supposed, however, that there is no ground for any alarm upon this account in Scotland, because we are protected by various checks, of which our Southern neighbours have not had the benefit; and because, under the hereditary operation of these, the natural repugnance of all uncorrupted people to apply for public charity, has been maintained undiminished among our population. There is happily a great deal of truth in this, but unfortunately a very great deal of exaggeration. In order to distinguish these, it is necessary to look at the mechanism of our system, and at the results which it has actually produced.

Some light was thrown upon these subjects, a few years ago, by two Reports which were drawn up by the General As-

sembly of our National Church, and presented to Parliament. One of these was in the year 1818, the other in the year following. It is to be lamented that neither of these contains information, either so precise or so full, in the details, as might have been expected from the quarter they came from. The clergy are the persons who are principally versant in the practical administration of the poor-law; and the Statistical Account of Scotland is a meritorious monument of their intelligence and accuracy on such subjects. Yet the Report drawn up by a Committee, and approved of by the Assembly of 1818, though it contains a great deal of correct and valuable preliminary observation, is, *in its details*, one of the most defective and inaccurate documents that was perhaps ever presented to Parliament. Its blunders, indeed, were so numerous, and in many instances so ludicrous, that it was avowedly for the sake of removing the ridicule which they brought upon its authors, that the Report of 1819 was got up. The Committee by whom this last statement was prepared claim no merit, except from the circumstance that they 'have employed 'the best means in their power to supply what was wanting in 'the information of former years, *and have endeavoured to ar-* '*range it in an intelligible form.*' In this attempt they were certainly more successful than their predecessors of the previous year; but still their work is very far indeed from being satisfactory. In particular, the value of its Tables is greatly impaired by their never showing the exact commencement and progress of poors-rates, but merely stating their amount *upon averages of ten years.* So that a parish which has been assessed for fifty years is not to be distinguished from one where an assessment was never heard of till two or three years ago; and it is impossible to discover, except by an occasional marginal remark, whether the pauperism or the assessment have been increasing, or stationary, or declining. There are a variety of other defects, which it would be well worthy of the clergy of Scotland to cure, as they might very easily do, by a more careful and better digested analysis:—But still, with all their imperfections, these Reports contain the only condensed information applicable to recent times, respecting the condition of the poor, that we are in possession of; and although they can rarely be trusted to, where precision of detail is wanted, they are sufficiently full to form the basis of general views.

The management of the poor in Scotland is committed to two bodies;—the one called the Kirk-session, the other the Heritors. The kirk-session is composed of the clergyman or

minister of each parish, and certain persons who are denominated Elders, aided sometimes by what are called Deacons. The ordinary business of the *elders* is to assist the clergyman in the moral discipline of the parish. When a vacancy happens, it is filled up by an election made by the remaining members of the session. There is no legal limitation of the number of elders; but the general understanding is, that they are not to be multiplied unnecessarily, and, as their office is a gratuitous one, and is attended with some little trouble, there is never much temptation to increase them, except when there is some particular point to be carried. They are commonly selected out of that respectable class of persons who are above the lower orders, and yet rather below the higher rank of the society of the place, though there is no definite rule, and no absolute exclusion of any body, whose circumstances and character are respectable. The *heritors* are the proprietors of the real property within the parish. It is by them and their tenants that the sum raised for the maintenance of the poor (called the assessment) must be paid. This assessment is divided between the proprietors and the tenants, according to rules which it is needless to explain here; but the general import of which is, that the proprietors are entitled to obtain relief of what is laid upon them, to the extent of one half, from their lessees. These heritors are conjoined with the kirk-sessions, in the administration of the poors-funds; that is, they are legally entitled to act along with them, but, as the First Report by the General Assembly states, 'the heritors, in practice, seldom or never interfere in regulating the concerns of the poor or the poors-funds, except in parishes where assessments are levied.' The ordinary funds for the support of the poor, consist of the alms collected at the church-door, parochial fines, and other dues, and any sum that may have been gifted to the parish. The last are commonly small; so that the chief fund arises from the church-door collections. The direct tax called an Assessment is only resorted to when these resources fail.

It is in this apparatus that the excellence of the Scottish system is said to consist. The elders are held to be a class of persons admirably fitted for investigating every claim that can be made for admission upon the poors-roll. They reside within the parish;—they either know the claimant personally, or can easily inquire into his character and circumstances;—and they are in that station of life to which such an employment, instead of being nauseous, is a fair ground of parochial power and importance. The heritors, on the other hand, being the persons who are to pay, are supposed to have a natural anxiety to keep the claim-

ants as few as possible, and consequently to check any extravagance or carelessness on the part of the elders; and the union of these two makes a body, to which there is nothing else exactly similar in the country; consisting partly of those under whose personal observation the distress that is to be relieved must fall, and of those who are steeled against profusion by their being themselves its immediate victims. It must be observed too, that this little ecclesiastical court is still held in considerable reverence all over the country, and that it acts in the midst of a population which is of a pious and industrious character. So that nothing seems to be wanting that legal regulation can provide; and all that is requisite for the perfection of the system is, that it shall be properly acted upon by those who are rewarded for doing so, not only by the feeling that they are performing a grateful duty, but by the direct promotion of their own interest.

This is the theory of the matter; and it is a very pleasing theory to contemplate. But if we really wish to know how it actually works, we must not commit the usual blunder of looking merely to its poetical side. We must not turn our eyes to those rude or happy parishes alone which have never yet been visited by the only circumstances that are calculated to try the practical efficacy of any scheme of poor-laws. We must withdraw our attention from districts where the population is either diminishing, or not much advancing, or where its advance has hitherto been equalled by the progress of trade; where it is slightly extended over a rural parish, where every family and every individual is personally known to the clergyman and the elders; where the waterfalls are yet free from cotton-mills; where no parallelogram with a thousand children has been erected or abandoned; where the largest town consists of a village, with its single spire and its single alehouse; where no barrack or uniform has ever been seen; and where, in short, all the primeval simplicity of the place has been preserved. We must look to those parishes which have been touched by what is called modern improvement,—a visitation to which, whether we like it or not, we must now make up our minds—which has already covered more than half the kingdom, and is destined, to an absolute certainty, to cover the rest of it, within a very short and almost visible portion of time. How does our machinery work *as an effectual check to pauperism in these cases*,—managed, as it always must be, with the ordinary vigilance of human beings? What has been the history of the progress of assessments for the poor in Scotland? What is the extent it has already reached? What is its apparent future tendency?

Nothing would have been more important than if the Reports of the General Assembly had afforded a plain answer to these questions, by stating precisely the commencement of the assessment in every assessed parish, with its subsequent yearly variations. But they do not do this: and do not even furnish materials out of which the facts can be accurately ascertained. They will probably never be ascertained, except by a Parliamentary return—which could be very easily furnished, and would be one of the most valuable statistical documents that Scotland could be presented with. In the mean time, those who care for such subjects must reason on such information as they can obtain by their own exertions, or, which is a safer foundation, on such broad and general facts as are quite notorious. Proceeding on these grounds, the general source and current of our assessments seems to have been somewhat as follows.

There were so few manufactures, and so little commerce, till lately, in Scotland, that when the kingdom came to be somewhat settled after the Revolution, there was no internal cause or apology for any assessment in any place. Accordingly, there would have been no assessments then, if it had not been that they were suggested to the people by the bad example of their neighbours. It is a certain, and most certainly a very memorable fact, that, prior to the year 1700, *there were only three assessed parishes in Scotland.* These parishes too were all in the Synod (or Ecclesiastical division) of Merse and Tiviotdale,—where the disease being once established, it has since spread, by contagion, to such an extent, that there is not now an inch of that extensive district that has not been long infected. 'Notice' (says the Committee of 1818) 'has been taken here 'of these facts, because the Synod of Merse and Tiviotdale is 'situate in the Scottish counties contiguous to England, where 'assessments generally prevail; and *they afford a decisive and 'striking practical proof, that compulsory assessments will soon 'be found unavoidable, wherever the feelings of the lower classes 'become habituated to the view of the claims made, and allowances 'received under them elsewhere.'*

Under the operation of this unquestionable principle, there has been a constant tendency in the evil, wherever it has been established, to spread,—and, of course, the great stream of it has been from the South to the North, where it has penetrated more slowly and partially, chiefly because the North has less attracted commerce,—and has had a more stationary population. But the mischief has not been left to work its way by mere contiguity. Towns have grown, and manufactures have sprung up, in countless places; and in most instances where this has taken

place, the population has trenched upon the average means of respectable subsistence,—the market for labour has not always been steady,—the connexion between the clergyman and elders on the one hand, and the people on the other, has been loosened,—claims have occurred so extensive and urgent, that it required great firmness, and a clear perception of right policy, to resist them,—the fatal experiment of an assessment has been resorted to, under the delusion that it would be only temporary; and the country has thus been gradually covered with innumerable spots, which are not only corrupt themselves, but spread the poison all around them. Over these scenes, even in purely agricultural parishes, ignorance and apathy have often presided; and the example of assessing, on what are supposed to be strong calls, has survived the season that created it; till at last the evil has attained a height, which it is so painful to contemplate, that most people shut their eyes to it, and relapse into pleasing rhapsodies about the excellence of the Scottish poor-laws!

It is not easy to detect the exact point of increase. But the general fact is discernible in every part of the system where it can operate;—in the number of *parishes* that are assessed;—the number of *people* subject to the compulsory practice;—the *property* which this practice has extended over;—the *description of persons* who are considered as paupers.

We cannot, by any analysis of the General Assembly's Reports, ascertain the simple fact of how many parishes were assessed at the time that these Reports were made out. This arises from various causes. 1. The circumstance, whether there be or be not an assessment, is often stated equivocally. 2. Under the principle of taking averages of ten years, occasional assessments are sometimes plainly taken into view, and sometimes avowedly left out of view. 3. Because the levying of money, under the form either of regular or of occasional 'voluntary contributions,' as they are called, but which contributions are obtained under the systematic threat of assessment, is not regularly set down as an assessment. It is so set down sometimes; on which occasion there is a distinct note to this effect—'This sum is set down in the minister's return as 'voluntary contribution; but as it is levied from heritors ac-'cording to the valued rent, it is here inserted as assessment.' But this is evidently not done regularly. 4. In some instances, the very number of parishes is not marked. Edinburgh, for example, is set down as only one parish, though it consisted then of eleven.

In this situation, we cannot state how many places were at

that time under the compulsory system, with absolute exactness; but, according to the fairest analysis of the Report of 1819, which is the only one of which the details can be depended upon at all, there were apparently about 218 parishes assessed. This seems to be the result, on the assumption that the Report is correct and full. But it is neither the one nor the other; and if a stricter account were taken, a very considerable addition would require to be made to this number. In particular, if credit be given for the new cases that have been added to the melancholy list since the date of these Reports, and for a due proportion of the very great number of instances in which, though heritors will not assess directly, they delude themselves by doing the very same thing, by systematic contributions under the threat of an assessment, and which the people rely upon just as confidently as if the tax were levied in the usual way, we suspect that 300 assessed parishes would be much nearer the number than 218; and *we are pretty confident that no fair computation could now reduce them below* 250. Now, there are about 890 parishes in Scotland; so that, apparently, there is nearly a third of the whole number under the operation of this corruption.

But though the number of *parishes* be important, as denoting the variety of places where the seed is sown, it is less material than the number of *people* who live within the influence of this curse. As might have been expected, it is the most populous parts of the country that are most subject to it; and, accordingly, upon looking at the census of 1821, we find, that the population of the 218 parishes stated in the Report as assessed, amounts to about 815,320. If the additional parishes, which we say ought to be included, be taken into view, its amount will not be much, if at all, under *one million*. The total population of the whole country, by the census of 1821, is about 2,093,456. So that *about half the people* live in the continual contemplation of that practice, which, when seen across the Border, corrupted three parishes prior to the year 1700, and has since made each of these three corrupt about a hundred, and the very knowledge of the existence of which, tends to destroy everywhere the only virtues that can either prevent or grace poverty. 'The Reports,' says the Committee of the Assembly, 'from the ministers of parishes that *are* assessed, concur universally in stating, that the effect of the assessments has been to lessen the reluctance of the poor to apply for charity from the parochial funds.' An occurrence is elsewhere mentioned, which shows the consequences of the people knowing anything about the possibility of a compulsory provision. 'In one

'parish, the following singular fact occurred; when the heri-
'tors publickly proposed to establish an assessment, and the
'representations of the ministers as to the injurious conse-
'quences likely to result from the measure, had induced them
'at last to abandon it, still such was the impression produced
'on the minds of the parishioners, by its proposal and public
'discussion, that the amount of collections at the church-door
'was diminished one-half, and the number of applications for
'relief from the poors-funds was doubled.'

It will be observed too, that this misfortune has generally a tendency, not only to extend, but to extend, not perhaps annually, but in a course of years, *in an increasing ratio*. The assessment rears a population which relies upon it, as its appropriate fund of support, and increase of appetite grows by what it feeds upon. Greater energy also is required to diminish, than to prevent, the evil; and consequently, if the managers had not firmness to resist it at first, they must be expected always to yield to it more easily, according as it makes head against them. Accordingly, it is stated in the first Report, that of the 700 parishes (of which alone that Report takes notice), only three were assessed prior to the year 1700; 'but,
'from 1700 to 1800, there were 93 established; and in the short
'period from 1800 to 1817, not less than 49; being more than
'one-half of the whole number existing in the last century.'
And while the flood is thus rolling over new parishes, the number of those from which it has receded is alarmingly small. It would be very useful to see an authentic return of the number of places from which assessments, when once habitually introduced, have been eradicated. Some such instances have, no doubt, occurred, and most honourable they are to the individuals concerned. But it may be doubted if twenty such achievements have been performed in the course of the last hundred years.

Nor is it merely by an increase of conquered parishes that the march of this destroyer is marked. Even within the same parish, there is generally, though not uniformly, a progressive rise in the annual tribute which he exacts. It is stated in the First Report, that in most parishes which have once admitted of assessments, they are on the increase; that in many they have doubled in ten years; and *in one, in four*. And the general wonder confessedly is, that, in spite of all that law does for the poor, they always multiply!

In most places where law has had them long under its charge, they have multiplied so much, that the original fund, which used anciently to be thought all that they could devour, would not

now be a morsel to them. But they have claimed, and, on a due exposition of our old statutes, they have been found entitled to claim, various new funds; and, if any thing could rouse the attention of our heritors, it would be the gradual encroachment which they have thus made upon every species of property. It was apparently never contemplated by the founders of our poor-laws, that any thing should be liable to be taxed except real property; and this, not according to its actual worth, but according to a system of *valuation*, which is familiar to the practice of Scotland, and is always greatly below the rack-rent. The '*means and substance*' of the tenantry, from whom the heritors obtain relief to the extent of a half, and the '*estimation of the substance*' of persons living in royal burghs, is, no doubt, directed by some of the statutes to be adopted as the rule. But, then, such persons had, in those days, scarcely any means or substance except what arose directly from land; and accordingly, the fact is, that the assessments long ago were almost invariably levied from *the valued rent of heritable property* alone. This, however, came in time to be found in many places insufficient; and, therefore, the *actual rent* was taken as the criterion. This subjected all real property according to a liberal construction of its true value. Personal property, however, was still understood to be safe. But it was at last decided,* that when a person was charged as the inhabitant of a royal burgh, he was not only liable to pay upon his real estate within the burgh, but on his personal income wherever situate. This subdued the last stronghold to which the inhabitants of burghs had retreated, and opened up the whole of their property, of every description, to this tax. The country heritors, however, gloried in their exemption, and believed, that whatever might be the case with the means and substance of their tenants, they themselves were beyond the reach of being touched, except for the actual rent of their real property within the parish; and, in particular, they were proud of the distinction, which at least saved their personal income from assessment or investigation. But, in the year 1817, this also was found to be a dream. A landed gentleman, living upon his own property in the country, was assessed as a householder, upon his whole personal income, though it was not only unconnected with the parish, but, to a great extent, was unconnected with the kingdom of Scotland. He resisted this. But it was found by the Court of Session,† that the charge was well founded. So that pau-

* Lawrie *ag.* Dreghorn, 2d Dec. 1797.
† Cochran *v.* Manson, 11th Feb. 1823.

perism has at last triumphed over every exemption; and personal property has been found almost universally liable in Scotland, nearly about the same time that a Committee of the House of Commons has reported, that this description of property ought to be saved from poors-rates in England.

The *description of persons*, too, for whom it is necessary to provide, has, in modern times, received a prodigious and most alarming addition. At the date of the statutory law which forms the basis of our system, there was no commerce in Scotland, and, therefore, there was not much sudden vicissitude in the market for labour. Hence, it is chiefly for the '*aged, sick, lame, and im-*'*potent, people*' '*quhilks of necessitie, mon live be almes,*' that the legislature provides; and those who have allowed the compulsory practice to get into their parishes, had evidently no idea that they were exposing themselves to maintain those who, though in perfect health, were made poor merely by want of employment or of provisions. But it was at last found lawful to assess, and to compel those who objected to that measure to pay, for the support of persons 'who, though in ordinary seasons, able 'to gain their livelihood, are reduced, during a dearth of pro-'visions, to have recourse to a charitable supply.' This was a case of poverty from dearth; but in 1819, a case which shall be explained hereafter, occurred from Paisley, in which a claim of the same kind was maintained for persons who had nothing to say, *except that they could get no work.* As this claim was not expressly sustained, it would be presumptuous in us to lay down that it was well founded; but we know that we are correct in stating, that those who resisted it had no pleasing anticipations of the result, and were extremely glad to get quit of the discussion by an accidental preliminary objection.

All that we infer from these facts is, that, in any view, pauperism,—meaning by this both poverty and poors-rates,—has greatly increased. It is rash to predict; but it has increased so progressively and so steadily, that if the present system shall continue for half a century longer, it seems no unsafe prophesy to anticipate that this mist, which so sadly obscures the virtues of our cottages, will have gathered ground at the heel of every labourer, and glided into every hamlet, in the kingdom. There are some to whom—when they think of the means which those on whom the relief of the poor depends have to check imposition or profusion,—this progress may seem unaccountable. But there are two things which these persons probably do not take into view.

First, Our machinery, though in many respects excellent, is

not perfect. In particular, the heritors have no immediate interest in the matter, so long as the poor are maintained by the collections at the church-doors, or by the ordinary parochial funds. The hope of keeping off an assessment on some future day, is not sufficient to stimulate their attention; and when the urgent day arrives, their interference is too late. The business is left previously to this to the minister and elders; and it is possible that they, having a smaller interest at stake, may be negligent too; and even when they are zealous, their actually witnessing the distress that is complained of, and being the persons to whom each tale of woe is addressed, and who receive the gratitude of relieving it, gives them a natural inclination to do any thing rather than see any misery not immediately removed. This may be an amiable, and, in their situation, perhaps a dutiful, propensity; but it is one which, if not controlled by great intelligence and firmness, allures to the adoption of the most disastrous remedies. And even when the heritors do exert themselves, they have generally but a poor chance, in the event of any difference of opinion between them and the elders; for there is no legal restriction in the number of the latter; whose sympathies are in general more in unison with the receivers of the charity than with its givers. And when these two bodies quarrel, as they sometimes do, the kirk-session can almost to a certainty bring an assessment on the parish if it pleases. So that, upon the whole, let the thing be as well managed as it can commonly be expected to be, the inclination of the meeting, even where its dislike to a compulsory provision is quite sincere, is rather to assess for the redress of urgent distress, and to trust to the future for undoing the mischief which they know they are inflicting, than resolutely to adhere to that seemingly harder policy, from which, though their reason assents to it, their hearts, or rather their weakness, recoils at the moment.

Secondly, Independently of this misfortune in the constitution of the body, there are certain circumstances, or rather feelings, which, wherever compulsory provision is put into people's power, abates the reluctance which they have to exercise it. Why has it ever been exercised? Why will it ever be so while it is allowed? It generally has crept, and ever will creep in, thus.—The tax is never thought of till the day of distress arrives; and, in the meanwhile, there being no pressure or alarm, every body is delighted with the beauty of our poor-laws. When a dearth, however, occurs, or the great local manufacturing concern becomes suddenly bankrupt, or there has been a fire, or any other calamity which creates an unexpected and clamo-

rous demand for charity, the parochial authorities meet in a state of emotion and confusion—enlightened by no general principle—confirmed by no experience. But, because they have a vague impression that it is a bad thing, they are all against assessment, and resolve to try a subscription. Some are liberal, and subscribe well; but some, who ought to be more liberal, give nothing at all, or give once, with a resolute intimation that it is to be once for all. This excites the indignation of the right givers; and it is resolved that every person shall contribute exactly what could be required of him by law; and it is announced that the law will be put in force against those who refuse. A few, relying on their brethren's horror of assessment, resist even this compulsory voluntary contribution; till, at last, some who originally opposed assessment become eager for it, as the only mode of annoying and subduing the shabby; and others are led into it from perceiving, that, after all, it is the only instrument by which relief can be procured instantly, certainly, and equally.

All this folly could, no doubt, be easily avoided. For nothing is requisite for its avoidance but a certain portion of energy and intelligence. But the misfortune is, that these are qualities of which the supply is not always equal to the demand; and they are least of all to be expected, when they are only recommended by the dread of an evil that is future, and obstructed by the prospect of existing misery that is both piteous and alarming. The check that is supposed to be afforded by those who impose the assessment having to bear their proportion of it, which is the keystone of the whole system, though extremely valuable, is not nearly so effectual as is commonly imagined. The managers of all funds like to have them large, even when they themselves contribute rateably. The unwillingness to pay is diminished by the pleasure of managing, and by being freed from further trouble or foresight for the moment. The Chancellor of the Exchequer pays taxes like any body else; yet he always likes to have them high. And it will be observed, that, in large towns, this check has scarcely any operation at all, because the number of those by whom the assessment is imposed is utterly insignificant when compared with those by whom it must be paid; and even in country parishes, though heritors may feel the burden which they are imposing, they are generally more disposed to pay, and have done with this matter for a year, than to persevere in exercising that systematic vigilance by which alone the evil can be put down, after it has once been introduced. If their own expenditure were all that was at stake, it might be enough to say, 'Let them suffer for their weakness.' But where

their weakness corrupts the people, and fixes an intolerable burden on posterity, it is desirable to make some exertion to save them from the consequences of their own ignorance.

It has been imagined, that this is sure to be done at last by the mere progress of knowledge;—that people will get wiser, when the true philosophy of pauperism is better understood: and that the terrible example of England will startle even those who will not or cannot think. Experience, we fear, warrants no such anticipations. All the attempts that have hitherto been made to eradicate poors-rates, have been met by such powerful prejudices, and the temptations to fly to them as the most certain, and equal, and speedy remedy, are so great, that, although we are disposed to allow great effect to the advancement of truth, we cannot help doubting, whether this be an evil, for the removal of which it is safe to trust to the mere improving good sense of individuals. But all speculation upon this point is superseded by a circumstance, of which the public is perhaps not sufficiently aware. The progress of intelligence can only operate in preventing compulsory provision, where the adoption of this remedy is a matter of discretion, and not of legal necessity. Now it is commonly supposed, that every thing connected with the management of our poor is committed exclusively to the heritors and kirk-session; and it is chiefly with reference to this circumstance, that our system has hitherto been so much admired. It is held that there can be no great danger when the success of every claimant depends entirely upon the will of those who know his circumstances, and who have to pay what he gets; and the true mode of abolishing poor-rates is described as consisting in the growing conviction of their inexpediency; upon the completion of which the heritors and kirk-sessions have only to abstain from using them, and to fall back on their other resources, when this evil will disappear. But, independently of the fearful risk which there is of its reappearance, as soon as people forget their principles or do not act upon them, it has been discovered that the ground-work of this vision is founded in error.

The Committee of the Assembly state, that 'it is a characteristic feature of our poor-laws, that the power of determining every matter relative to the application and expenditure of the poors' funds, is committed, *in the first instance*, to the hands of the persons liable to the burden of payment.' But if there be any other persons to whom this power is committed *in the second instance*, the importance of its being given to the Heritors and Kirk-session in the first, is altogether destroyed. Now, it appears that cases have occurred in which the pauper, instead of being the humble and grateful dependent of the paro-

chial tribunal, has discovered that the Scottish statutes gave him *a legal right* to relief, and in which, instead of taking what was originally awarded, he has made an appeal to the Sheriff of the county, acting in his judicial capacity, for more; and in which the Sheriff has found himself compelled to support this demand. '*The Committee find twenty-six cases reported of higher allowances than the kirk-session proposed to give, being fixed by the Sheriff, on appeal to him by the pauper; and thirty cases of "murmurings and threatenings" of an appeal by discontented individuals.*' It is stated in a preceding passage, that 'several ministers from assessed parishes, expressed their 'regret (and it is mentioned as one of the evils resulting from 'assessments), that when the Sheriff interferes on the petition 'of a pauper to enforce a higher allowance than the session 'proposes to give, he feels himself limited as a judge, to a view 'of merely the *indigence* of the case, without any reference to 'the accidental *character* of the individual.'

This is by far the most alarming circumstance in the whole system of our pauperism; for, if it be true that the parochial authorities are liable to be controlled as to the persons they put upon the poor's-roll, or the amount of the relief that they afford, by the courts of law, our hope of ultimately freeing the land of this pest, in so far as it depends on the progress of knowledge, may be considered as destroyed. It was long denied by many that there was any foundation for this interference. But a recent and very solemn judgement of the Supreme Court, puts an end to all doubt upon the subject. Glasgow is much infested by Irish of the lowest description; and as there is no law of removal in Scotland, but every one acquires a settlement merely by three years' continued residence in any parish he may happen to go to, it is impossible to get rid of these persons, when they fall, as they very generally do, after the three years are out, into a state of what is reckoned destitution in this country, but which, when relieved by poors-rates, is paradise to an Irish beggar. In order to check the premium thus held out to the daily arrival of hosts of locusts, a general resolution was adopted by the heritors and kirk-session of the Barony parish of that city, that no Irishman should be admitted upon the poors-roll. Whether this was a fair or judicious resolution, is quite immaterial. It was one which they held that they were just as well entitled to form, as to exclude persons of bad character, or to exercise their discretion in any other way that was satisfactory to their own minds. They accordingly rejected the claim of an applicant, because he was a native of Ireland. On this the claimant brought their opinion under the review of the Court of

Session; and after an ample discussion, that Court determined, * *1st*, That it had authority to control the proceedings of heritors and kirk-sessions in rejecting claimants. *2dly*, That, in this particular case, the meeting had acted illegally in not granting relief to a person to whom no objection had been stated, except that he was an Irishman. He was therefore ordered to be put upon the roll; and although it was not decided, it was distinctly intimated, and understood by the parties, that, if any attempt should be made to evade that judgment, by giving him too small a sum, the Court had also power to control this; because it was admitted that he stood in need of relief, and that, by law, a pauper was not solely a begger of charity, but *a creditor* upon a fund, in the management of which the heritors and session were *accountable trustees*. This judgment has since been acted upon by the parties, as fixing the law.

The result of this is, that the great foundation on which the reputation of our system rests, is removed, or rather it has been found, upon examination, that it had never had any legal existence. It is true, that Courts of Justice will not interfere lightly with the decisions of the parochial authorities; but the whole character of the system is subverted the moment the poor know that they do not absolutely depend upon their local managers; and that, instead of being applicants for charity, they are claimants of a legal right; which right, of course, does not depend upon their personal conduct, and cannot be withheld or discontinued according to improved views of policy, but forms a provision on which they may always rely, and the duration and measure of which depend solely on the continuance and the extent of their indigence. Nor is this state of the law less unfavourable to those who act as administrators for the poor in the first instance. Heritors and kirk-sessions will proceed with vigour, when they are aware that the whole responsibility of their conduct is laid upon themselves. But when they know that there is a power greater than they to which every pauper can apply, they feel, that, while they or the public funds committed to their charge may be involved in litigation, they can have little authority or glory in their provincial sphere;—they sicken at their task, and abandon it in despair. And when it is held that Courts of Justice will always be delicate in their interference, it must never be forgotten that there is at least one case to which, beyond all question, this interference would be applied while the present law is allowed to remain. Suppose that the administrators of a parish were to become satisfied, as it is to be hoped that the whole kingdom will soon be, that assess-

* Heritors of Barony Parish v. Higgins, 9th July 1824.

ment was not only an evil, but an evil of such enormous and encroaching magnitude that its rigid avoidance was to be always assumed as an ultimate principle, unless when the Legislature chose to command its adoption on special occasions. This is the only system which the progress of knowledge tends to recommend; and if intelligence were allowed to act freely, poors-rates might possibly come to be eradicated gradually out of every parish. But the law, which makes the heritors and kirk-sessions mere trustees, and declares that the pauper is a creditor upon a public fund set apart for his use, is a deathblow to this hope. Though a parish, with this view, would be in precisely the state which it is desirable that all parishes should reach, any pauper may bring it back to its former degradation in a moment, by saying, that he will not submit to precarious voluntary charity, but will have his legal rights, and will go to law in support of them. A court of justice cannot deny him his right upon views of policy. So that there is thus a direct legal check interposed, by which the growth of a more enlightened policy is either prevented or made useless.

Nor let people delude themselves with the idea, that the poor can remain ignorant of their rights, or that there are effectual obstacles against their enforcing them. Whenever the notion of a right to relief prevails, the modesty of charity is extinguished, and the poor take perfectly good care of themselves. The Report states twenty-six cases of successful appeals to Sheriffs, and thirty cases of murmurings and threatenings. Our law Reports show, that besides these, there have been several successful applications to the Supreme Court. But one of these was of so expressive a character, that it throws all the rest into the shade. In 1819, a petition was presented to the Heritors and Kirk-session of the Abbey Parish of Paisley, *by eight hundred and twenty-five* persons, who described themselves as '*able bodied men*,' but claimed relief *as poor*, 'in respect of the urgency of their situation, arising 'from *the stagnation of manufacturing employment.*' This application was taken into consideration by the kirk-session; but it was rejected, on the ground that such persons did not fall within the provision of the law. Upon this, the able bodied men applied to the Sheriff, not merely to fix the law, but to compel the heritors to exercise it in their favour. The Sheriff ordered the heritors to meet and assess themselves. This decision was brought under the review of the Court of Session, where the matter was very fortunately got quit of, by its being only necessary to decide,* that, even though the

* 29th November, 1821.

heritors had been wrong, the power of controlling them was not vested *in the Sheriff.* It was not found, because it was not necessary to find, whether an appeal would have lain *to the Court of Session* or not; but what the determination upon this point would have been, may be conjectured from the judgment that was afterwards pronounced in the case of the Barony parish of Glasgow, where such an appeal was expressly sustained. The decision setting aside the Sheriff's order, however, ended the discussion; for trade revived, and the stagnation which the 825 petitioners complained of, was removed. But this was a tremendous experiment, and fearfully near succeeding. It is an example sufficient to make every heritor in Scotland tremble for his estate. For if this battalion of able bodied beggars,—the like of which may be brought into any parish into which it pleases a manufacturer to lead them,—had compelled the landed gentlemen near Paisley to assess themselves, the result would have implied that land is everywhere to be burdened with the maintenance of all distressed manufacturers, but that the owners of that land have no substantial and independent voice in the matter.

The General Assembly had a natural tendency to soften the statement of evils which could not be denied;—because those who are the practical managers of a system, are the last to see its imperfections. Accordingly, there are various pictures of our pauperism given in the first Report, which, though extremely pleasing, are evidently fallacious, unless they be confined rigidly to parishes that have never applied compulsive contribution to the maintainance of their poor. Yet, even with this tendency, the following is one of the results to which they came. They say that 'they cannot avoid expressing their conviction, that the full and accurate details furnished by the numerous returns from the ministers of parishes that are assessed, have enabled them to produce an extent and kind of evidence more conclusive than has ever been collected hitherto in Scotland, not only of the pernicious tendency in general of these compulsatory taxations, *but of their having already made a progress in this country, which ought to excite the alarm of all who take an interest in its welfare.*' In another passage the following declaration is made. 'The subcommittee take the liberty to add their decided conviction, not only that the practice of legal and compulsory assessments for the support of the poor, *is radically unwise and dangerous, but also that the crisis has already arrived when Scotland should, in every quarter, take the alarm,* and form precautions against the farther spread in our country of so baneful a national calamity.

'Individual cases of the mischief arising from assessments have 'been often brought before the public, and they have given 'ground for loud and just warnings to the public foresight and 'prudence. But the complete picture had not been hitherto 'produced and sufficiently authenticated, in all its broad ex- 'tent of magnitude and threatening aspect. It has been so 'produced and authenticated now. May it not, therefore, be 'hoped that it will at once arrest the attention of both heritors 'and all who feel any concern in the most important interests 'in the kingdom; and *will excite, without delay, to measures 'for resisting the progress, and for even exterminating, if pos- 'sible, the existence of so disastrous an evil.*' If these con- clusions were well founded, as unquestionably they were, in the year 1818, how much sounder are they now, when the evil, instead of diminishing since that period, has unquestionably in- creased, and when the decisions that have been referred to have removed the delusion that had long prevailed, with respect to what our law really was!

Perceiving the course that this calamity was taking, and a- ware that this exhortation by the clergy was anxiously concur- red in by every person acquainted with the true theory of pau- perism, a bill was brought into Parliament, in the year 1819, by Mr Kennedy, which proposed merely to establish one single principle. It consisted of only four clauses. Two of these re- served the law as it was, with respect to all questions of set- tlement, and with respect to madmen or idiots;—and the other two merely went to provide, that the Courts of Law should have no power to control the decision of the heritors and kirk-session. The whole really enacting words of the bill were as follows: 'In all cases touching the right to receive re- 'lief or aid, either temporary or permanent, or the amount of 'such relief or aid when granted, *the decision of the heritors 'and kirk-session* of a landward parish, of the kirk-session and 'magistrates of a burgh, or other lawful administrators of the 'funds for the relief of the poor, in a parish within burgh, or 'of the heritors, kirk-session, and magistrates of a burgh, or 'other lawful administrators of the funds for the relief of the 'poor, in a parish partly landward, and partly within burgh, 'respectively met as aforesaid, *shall be exclusive of all other 'jurisdiction*, and be final and conclusive, any law or practice 'to the contrary notwithstanding.'

This bill passed the House of Commons—but it was stopt in the House of Lords. The only objections we ever heard stat- ed to it were, 1*st*, That it interfered with *the rights* of the poor. 2*dly*, That the poor had no rights; but that any alteration or

declaration of the law was unnecessary, because it was quite certain that the Superior Courts had never interfered to thwart the parochial jurisdictions, and had no authority to do so. The practice of sheriffs in controuling them was overlooked; and the case of the Barony Parish of Glasgow had not then been decided; and those who anticipated what the judgment upon any such case must be, were held to be unacquainted with the law. 3*dly*, That as the bill made the decision of the heritors and kirk-session conclusive, there was no remedy for landowners who might be assessed unreasonably by meetings in which they often formed the minority, and which were composed chiefly of elders, who might be increased at their own pleasure, and whose tendency to assess is always greater than that of the heritors. So this measure was defeated. If the bill had passed, it would have prevented the legal establishment of the principle, that the destitute have not only a right to relief, but a right which does not depend upon discretion, and would have laid the only foundation on which the progress of knowledge in eradicating poors-rates can act.

In the year 1824, the same intelligent and patriotic person made another attempt to arrest the evil, by a bill of more extensive operation, and which was framed in the view of meeting the only formidable objection to the preceding measure; which objection was the one that was founded on the dread of the heritors being outvoted, without remedy, by the elders. The provisions of this new bill were as follows.—

1. A division was made between the minister and kirk-session on the one part, and the heritors on the other; and it was proposed that, while the former should have the absolute and exclusive controul of the *ordinary* poor-funds, without being liable to be interfered with, the latter should have an equally absolute and exclusive controul over the *assessment*. But, in order that the kirk-sessions might be adequately represented among the heritors, it was provided, that the clergyman should be a constituent member of their meeting.—The object of this was to prevent the heritors from complaining that they were overwhelmed by the elders, and at the same time to reconcile the elders to the scheme of withdrawing the extraordinary funds from their controul, by giving them the entire management of the other funds.

2. It was declared, that, in parishes *where an assessment existed* previous to the date of the act, the heritors should be obliged to continue assessing themselves, if it should be necessary, for the maintenance of the existing paupers, till they should die out, or should be otherwise provided for; and the

compliance with this regulation was secured by adequate measures.—The object of this was to prevent the inhumanity of suddenly withdrawing from existing paupers that support on which they had been accustomed to rely; and since it must necessarily have been owing partly to the heritors themselves that the assessment came upon the parish, it was right to make them continue it while the pauperism which it had probably created endured.

3. Having thus provided for the existing mass of evil, it was next declared, that persons claiming relief *for the first time*, should receive it solely from the ordinary funds, placed under the exclusive administration of the kirk-session; and that assessment should never be again resorted to, for the relief of any pauperism arising subsequently to the date of the act. The object of this was to put down, by law, a mischief which it was undeniable that the discretion, though guided by the self-interest, of the parochial authorities, had failed to put down, and which was advancing steadily, and with increasing force.

Laudable as the object of this bill undoubtedly was, and beneficial as its effects must have been to all the heritors of the county, we scarcely remember any measure that was ever more universally opposed. By far the greater part of this hostility unquestionably arose from the bill not being understood; and it certainly was an error on the part of its promoters, that they relied too much upon the intelligence of their countrymen, and took too little pains to instruct them. At the same time, it is not without convicting themselves of some carelessness, that those who say they were uninformed state this fact; for changes similar to the leading ones which this bill proposed to introduce, were recommended and explained in several publications, only a few years ago. It is sufficient to refer to the first article of the 55th Number of this work, to the pamphlet before us, and the other economical works of its distinguished author. We do not, and cannot, doubt that much of this opposition was founded on objections which really appeared insurmountable to those to whom they occurred, and was the result of an honest conviction of the inexpediency of the measure. At the same time, we are equally satisfied that some of it, and this perhaps the loudest portion, arose from mere prejudice; and as any future attempt to alter our law, will, to a certainty, be met by the same prejudices, it may be useful to explain what they are.

There were, and will always be, some who were against taking away the Paupers Appeal to the Courts of Law, because such an appeal either did not lie, or, if it did, then it was wrong to destroy it. This was the reasoning of those who never admit a flaw to exist in any thing that is; and of those

whose benevolence is so cruel, that they would rather ruin the poor than not relieve them anyhow.—The division of the funds, and the separation of the kirk-sessions from the heritors, was complained of as a measure destructive of the harmony with which these bodies had hitherto acted, and an undue extension of the powers of the heritors. It is hardly necessary to explain, that this was, and ever will be, a favourite topic, with certain clergymen and their elders, whom this proposal deprives of some power, by withdrawing the future assessments from their controul. Yet, to the amazement of every one who understood the subject, this part of the bill was also opposed by many of the heritors. Meetings were held, and resolutions were actually passed, by which the persons on whom the assessments fell, refused to take the management of these assessments into their own hands, and insisted that the system of letting themselves be controlled and outvoted by parties naturally opposed to them, should be continued! It would be idle to ascribe this to any love of assessments, or to confidence in the elders, or to any other reasonable consideration. It was the result of mere ignorance, combined with that dread of innovation which rarely fails to signalize those select assemblages called Scotch County Meetings. The future prevention of assessments was opposed by many of those who have the practical management of the poor, and who, like other managers, never choose to have any part of their fund withdrawn, or to be disturbed in that particular practice to which they were accustomed, and which makes every man think his own little system by far the best that could be devised. It was further opposed by that considerable, but, we hope, decreasing class, whose eyes are not yet opened to the real effects of a compulsory provision for the poor.

To us it appears, that every part of this scheme was soundly and sagaciously conceived; and we perfectly agree with Dr Chalmers, who, though he opposed it in the General Assembly, because unfortunately the country was not prepared to receive it, declared publicly in his place, that this was the bill which, sooner or later, Scotland would be obliged to adopt, unless she wished to be altogether and irrecoverably overrun with poors-rates. The cutting off that right of appeal, which it has now been found that every pauper is vested with, and which virtually throws the administration of the poor-laws into the hands of Courts acting at a distance, and necessarily ignorant of the circumstances on which each claim should depend, is so plainly and absolutely necessary, that it is in vain to attempt any improvement, even in the administration of the present law,

so long as it is understood to exist. The putting the funds raised by assessment under the *exclusive* control of the heritors, seems to be the only device that can be fallen upon for compelling them to attend to their own interest, and to give them fair play when they do so; while the idea, that they would never assess themselves at all, is contradicted by the fact, that one of the mischiefs of the present system consists in its creating such a mass of pauperism, that they are always too eager to tax themselves in order to get quit of it for the moment. The propriety of the prohibition of providing for the new poor by compulsion hereafter, obviously depends upon the general question, whether the power of exercising such compulsion be expedient, or the reverse? If it be one of the greatest evils, especially as it affects the poor, that society has ever been subjected to, it is difficult to see why it should be in the power of five or six people to set it up in every parish. Some of the friends of these bills were of opinion that its provisions ought rather to have been permissive than imperative; that is, that they should only have been binding on those parishes which chose to declare their adoption of them, by a certain majority, and in a certain form. Although it be true that no scheme can be fairly tried by those who are unfavourable to it, we cannot see any propriety in this project. It would perhaps be unreasonable to prevent those who liked it to tax *themselves*. But why they should be permitted to tax their unwilling neighbours, if it be once settled that this compulsion injures society, we cannot discover. It seems to be very like first declaring that pestilence or foundling hospitals are bad things, and then providing that they might nevertheless be introduced into those parishes which chose to run the risk of them.

Some are afraid that if all compulsory provision were to be put down, the poor would often be left to starve. But Parliament, as has been already stated, may always interfere, for peculiar emergencies; and for ordinary poverty experience has shown that there are always abundant resources, whenever people are compelled to have recourse to them, by having no tax to rely upon. Those who are under the influence of this humane fear, are not aware how much the resources of nature are opened by those of art being closed. They are not aware that the sight of a human being expiring from want is a spectacle which no heart can endure; and that even the humblest of the people necessarily live in a manner which, wretched as it may seem to the rich, enables them to retrench, and to give to their brother when such a scene strikes their eye.

If we had wished for a demonstration of these truths, we could not have desired a more powerful one than what is

given in the pamphlet, of which the title is prefixed to this article. Soon after Dr Chalmers was removed to Glasgow, he seems to have been struck, as any person coming from a country parish might well have been, with the utter inadequacy of the means afforded for the instruction of the lower classes of people in towns, and for the prevention and maintenance of city pauperism; and, instead of merely seeing and lamenting this, he set himself about redressing it, with the sagacity of a philosopher, and the zeal of a Christian. For this purpose he published a periodical work, entituled 'The Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns.' In this work he points out the leading imperfections of various parts of the system, by which the dense masses of our manufacturing population is governed. Among other subjects, he enters into a very full discussion of the causes and remedies of pauperism; and this pamphlet is a concentrated view of the result of his experience in attempting to reduce his principles to practice within his own parish. We are not sure that we know any thing that has been done in modern times more valuable for the lower orders than the conception and the execution of these works. They contain a clear and masterly examination of the errors which have made our manufacturing towns such sinks of vice and wretchedness; with suggestions for having these errors removed, equally admirable for their efficacy and their simplicity; and all this given in a style which, though somewhat cumbrous perhaps for precise details, glows, in its exposition of principle, with the powerful and peculiar eloquence which marks all the performances of this distinguished person. We have at present only to do with his treatment of pauperism; on which he has successfully tried as beautiful an experiment as was ever attempted on society, and one to which the praise of boldness might be given, were it not superseded by the far higher eulogy of its only showing his confidence in the laws of nature.

His parish of St John's, after deducting about 2000 inhabitants who were transferred to the new parish of St James's, contained a population of 8366. This made it above the average of the Glasgow parishes in population. But it was considerably beneath the average of them in wealth. It consisted almost entirely of poor labourers and weavers. In some of the parishes, the number of household servants is about one to every six persons; whereas in St John's it was only one to every thirty-three persons; and, on examining the different assessments for the poor, as levied from each parish according to the wealth of the inhabitants, it was found that St John's paid the smallest sum, both absolutely and relatively. Its pau-

perism accordingly had so long been relieved by the very worst species of compulsory provision, that the people were quite accustomed to it. So that it is impossible that any attempt to bring a parish back to right habits could be made in more formidable circumstances. Yet it was resolved to try it.

The Glasgow system was, that an institution called the Town Hospital, got all the assessments,—the collections at the church doors,—and certain other funds which, in general, are kept exclusively by each parish for itself. In return for this, the Hospital undertook the maintenance of the whole poor of the city; being enabled to make the superfluity of the wealthy parishes assist in relieving the distress of the poorer. This, though not an uncommon system in large towns, is the very worst form in which compulsory provision can appear; because it alienates the receivers in the greatest possible degree from the givers of the charity, and exhibits the relief afforded merely as the result of a public arrangement. It amounts to the establishment of a great bank, upon which the poor know, that though they put nothing into it, they are entitled to draw. The sum which it was found necessary to allot to St John's is thus stated: 'I was 'sure that its pauperism, under the ordinary treatment, should 'have amounted,' says Dr Chalmers, 'to more than a tenth 'of the whole expense for the poor in Glasgow, or, at the 'rate of expenditure for some years, to upwards of 1400*l.* an-'nually.' There are some who would have delighted in this as a very handsome endowment for the parish. But it was in this annual donation that the Doctor saw the root of the whole evil. He accordingly proposed, that the town-hospital should keep its money to itself, and let his session alone to manage their own poor with their own collections at the church-door, without any assessment whatever, or at least without any of which their session should reap the benefit. The collections only amounted to 400*l.* a year; of which 225*l.* was already pledged for the support of a certain class of existing paupers. Thus, there was only 175*l.* remaining for the support of all the new poor in that crowded, increasing, and manufacturing, parish; for which a tenth part of the whole expense for the poor in Glasgow had been requisite for some years. So that the import of the proposal may be thus expressed: 'It 'is the magnificence and the certainty of your legal provision 'that creates our pauperism. Keep your 1400*l.*, or whatever 'other sum you would give us, to yourselves, and let us have 'the management of the 400*l.* of charity collected at our 'own church-door; and although 225*l.* of this be already ap-'propriated, we shall, for ever, maintain all our own poor, 'and maintain them infinitely better than you used to do.'

This proposal was acceded to; but it is a memorable proof, how firmly the assessing principle takes possession of people's minds after they once yield to it, that it was not acceded to without the most obstinate opposition.

'We believe,' says Dr Chalmers, 'that of those who opposed it most keenly, and who anticipated its failure most sanguinely, no one dreamed of a failure from any other cause than a deficiency in our pecuniary means. It was never once imagined that we should be embarrassed by an excess; or, that, instead of having to give in, because of a shortcoming which had to be made good, as in other parishes, from the fund, by assessment, we should have to look about in quest of a safe and a right absorbent, for our yearly surplus.' Yet so it was. The old cases for which the 225*l.* was set apart in the first instance, were gradually diminished by death. There was an evening congregation, consisting of very poor people, which produced about 80*l.* a year. The day-collection which came from the wealthy congregation, 'was employed in keeping up, and occasionally extending the allowances of those sessional poor whom we found already on the roll at the outset of our proceedings; and what remained after the fulfilment of this purpose, has been chiefly expended in the endowment of *the parish schools*. All the other applications, for three years and nine months, have been met by the evening collection—and thus with a sum *not exceeding* 80*l.* *a year*, have we been able to provide for all the newly-admitted pauperism, both casual and regular.'

This singular result is accounted for by its being stated, that, notwithstanding the number of well-attested claims that used to weigh down the hospital, the total number of new paupers who were admitted on the fund, from the 1st of October 1819, to the 1st of July 1823, being a period of three years and nine months, amounted only to twenty, without a single one having ever been sent to the hospital, or made chargeable on any fund raised by assessment. The total expense of maintaining all these amounted to 66*l.* 6s. a year; for which pittance, says the author, '*we have wholly intercepted the flow of pauperism into the town-hospital from more than one-tenth of the poorest population in the city.*' Hence the surplus of 175*l.*, which had been set aside to meet the new cases, was not required. 'It turned out a most agreeable result when we found that this surplus was not called for. The more that our hopes were surpassed, the more have our principles been strengthened.' In this situation the session, in order to make this indeed an *experimentum crucis*, actually went back to the hospital, and voluntarily increased their burden. 'We extended our original of-

'fer, and requested the town-hospital to make out a list of all 'the cases that were actually upon their fund, and which they 'could trace to have been admitted by them from that territo-'rial district of the city, which forms the present parish of St 'John's.' This gave them the additional burden of thirty-four old people; and they maintained these too, and yet had a good deal over, and soon obliterated the compulsory system from the parish.

This result was beautiful; but the means by which it was accomplished were infinitely more so. The whole apparent miracle was wrought by simply removing the cause of the mischief. There was no witchcraft whatever employed. Nothing can be more honourable than the openness and sincerity with which the Doctor disclaims, for himself and his session, all merit —even that of industry or ingenuity—in what they did. He says that the thing was done the moment that it was known that the connection with the hospital was over, and that the legal provision was withdrawn. From that instant, the cause of the disease being removed, nature resumed her functions. Those who were conscious that they did not require, or did not deserve, relief, ceased to apply; and this of itself made the great swarm that used to hover over the carcase disappear. The remainder, having their idea of a legal right extinguished, never applied, except in extreme necessity; and when they did at last make an avowal of intolerable distress, they found that the relief that was given was the produce, not of a cold admission of right, grudgingly yielded, but of that humanity which cared for their characters and feelings as much as for their wants, and on which it was shameful to encroach one moment beyond what was absolutely necessary. And above all, before even this official humanity interfered, the claims arising from relationship and vicinage were always first exhausted; and the most delightful part of this process consisted in the almost uniform facility with which the sluices of private charity, which had been dammed back by the public reservoir, were re-opened in the hearts even of the very poorest of the people. In substance and effect indeed, it was the poor who maintained the poor.

Even after the success of this great and decisive experiment had been ascertainted to be permanent and complete, there were two assertions made, which tended to obscure its triumph. To both these a singularly satisfactory answer is given.

It was first said, that this system might do very well with Dr Chalmers, who was its inventor, and of course enthusiastic, and who, with his deacons and elders, did nothing else but attend to it. In order to refute this, certain queries were put to all the deacons, which, with the answers to them,

are given in the Doctor's statement. Two of the questions are, 'Could you state how much time you are required to sacrifice per week or per month, in making the requisite investigations that you are actually called to?' And, 'Do you think that a man in ordinary business would find the task of meeting the pauperism of such a district as yours, so laborious as to put him to any sensible inconvenience?' The answers to these questions, founded upon past experience, and of course not made to meet this objection, reduce the time to the merest trifle. One deacon says, that his labours had occupied about a quarter of an hour per week,—another says two hours in three months,—another one hour in five months,—another one hour in three months,—another twenty hours per annum,—and so on; not one of them making it amount to any thing worth mentioning. Indeed, they all concur in saying, that the recurrence to the natural system had been greatly recommended to them, by its giving them little to do, compared with the endless vexations to which every elder is subject, when his parish is suffering under the system of artificial corruption.

It was next stated, that the deacons led easy lives, because their poor were few; and that the poor were few because they found themselves either so utterly neglected, or so strictly dealt with, in St John's, that all of them who could left the parish, and became a burden upon other districts. In order to meet this, a correct account was taken of all the poor who had left the parish, and of all who had come into it; and the result was, that 'our imports exceeded our exports by fourteen.'—'We long for a law of residence that might protect us from the ingress which the poor have made upon us from the other parishes of Glasgow. The exchange is against us; and this we insist upon as a decisive refutation of the calumny, that the poor are either neglected or maltreated by us.' The session, in truth, seems to have anxiously sought out every proper case, for the very purpose of excluding an objection which was too obvious to be missed. How, indeed, could the genuine poor fail to be attached towards a parish which was managed under the operation of the following humane and judicious principle? 'I would have no fear,' says the Doctor, 'of a parish any where in Scotland, though all claims and all collections were done away. But I have great fear of there being much untold and unrelieved suffering in every parish, where the public charity hath attained a magnitude that overbears the charity of nature,—where it hath turned the one party into fierce and determined litigants, and put the other on a stout and stern defensive against their applications; where the imagination of

'a right, that most unseemly and heterogeneous element, which 'ought never to have been admitted into the business of human 'sympathy, hath set both gratitude and good will at abeyance. 'We greatly fear, that in these circumstances, there is many a 'desolate and declining family, who sink under the rigours of 'an artificial system, which they are too delicate to bear,—who, 'perhaps, of gentler mood, cannot brook the humiliations of a 'public scrutiny, and cannot fight their way through all those 'rude and repulsive obstacles by which the avenues of legal 'charity are guarded. They are unnoticed by neighbours, be- 'cause a refuge is open to them, which they have not the hardi- 'hood to enter. The feeling of private charity is suspended, 'and there is a frown in public charity that scareth them away.'

It is precisely because he is anxious for the relief of true poverty, that he records this to be the result of all his experience. 'I must not disguise my conviction here, that, apart from 'the support of education and of institutions for disease, pub- 'lic charity, in any form, is an evil,—and that the Scottish 'method is only to be tolerated because of its insignificance, 'and the rooted establishment it hath gotten in all our parishes. 'But though I would tolerate it in practice, I cannot defend it 'in principle; and I speak according to my fair and experi- 'mental impressions when I say, that a parish might be maintain- 'ed in far greater comfort, and in a more soundly economic con- 'dition, without it altogether.'

Dr Chalmers has since removed to another scene. It is the only confirmation his principles either required or admitted of, that under the guidance of a different clergyman, his system still attests the wisdom of him who conceived, and of him who continues it. There are other manufacturing parishes in Scotland, besides St Johns, where a retracing process of the same kind has either been attempted with the same success, or has been rendered unnecessary by compulsory provision having always been resisted. The parish of Gorbals is a conspicuous instance of the last of these, and Hawick of the first. After such examples, it is in vain to talk of the *necessity* of letting assessment be even permissive. Some will be inclined to say, that if the evil can be so easily eradicated, there is no need to change the law. But is it not a juster conclusion, that if assessments can be so safely dispensed with, the law is intolerable which allows their deep-rooted and wide-spreading mischief to be introduced, not according to legislative declarations of occasional necessity, but according to the ignorance or apathy of small and detached sets of individuals, who cannot corrupt their own little district, without corrupting the country at large?

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