

strangely mystified by his own zeal or by Crabbe's courtesy. The welcomer of the French Revolution was to the last a Reformer of Lord Grey's school. Writing on Reform, in October, 1831, he says,—‘ I believe there is a fund of good sense as well as moral feeling in the people of this country ; and if Ministers proceed steadily, give up some points, and *be firm in essentials*, there will be a union of sentiment on this great subject of Reform by-and-by ; at least, *the good and well-meaning* will drop their minor differences, and be united.’ To ‘ Church and King ’ politics of this complexion we have no manner of objection. Let us know only what we mean. The incumbent of Trowbridge was equally tolerant towards ecclesiastical seceders. With him attendance at the meeting-house was not the inexpiable sin of schism. ‘ Not long before his death, he met a poor old woman in the street, whom he had for some time missed at church and asked her if she had been ill. “ Lord bless you, sir, no,” was the answer ; “ but it is of no use going to *your* church, for I can’t hear, you *do* speak so low.” —“ Well, well, my good old friend,” said he, slipping half-a-crown into her hand, “ you do quite right in going where you can hear.” ’ He bore his rectorial supremacy so meekly, that, at his funeral, all the dissenting ministers in the place assembled of their own accord, and followed him to the grave. We are aware that there has been a good deal of confusion and re-christening of late in the Tory vocabulary. We shall be glad to know whether these are the opinions which represent a ‘ Church and King ’ man of the present times. In that case, the publication of a dictionary, by authority, with the latest transitions and variations, will be sadly wanted for the country clergy.

As a clergyman, Crabbe was careless—too careless apparently about points of form ; but he was scrupulously faithful in the greater duties of his office ; and uniformly supported, in observance and in doctrine, the cause of reasonable religion. His mother had been a Christian, as Christianity was commonly understood before *the revivals* of the middle of the last century. All the religious feelings of his childhood were entwined with grateful and tender recollections of a dear and injured parent. On the breaking out of his youthful love, ‘ the gospel light ’ which beamed from Sarah’s eyes, took up and deepened the impression. Thus, in early life, religion was blended with the few cheerful rays that visited his dark existence. So transmitted, it became as much the charm as the safety of his manhood. This did not prevent follies of one kind or another. But at the age of twenty-three, he was recalled to serious reflection by an alarming illness. On recovering from it, he strengthened his

former resolutions, by recording a solemn vow against all deliberate evil. At this time there was no probability of his ever being in orders. It appears, however, by his note-books, that he was already composing sermons in imitation of Tillotson. 'The Poet's Journal,'—that beautiful narrative in which he wrote to his mistress during his London sufferings, as confidentially as he would have talked to her had she been present,—answers for the purity and piety of his heart during the perilous season which succeeded. It authorizes the tone of conscious virtue and religious trust which he breathed into his letter to Burke, and into his other prayers for help at that awful period. A friend informs us, that his 'confidence in the promises of the Gospel,' at the close of fifty years, has made the spot where he expressed it holy ground. The confidence of his old age may have been different in its language; but it would be very difficult to establish that it rested on firmer grounds.

It was not from any want of zeal that he neglected the clerical proprieties of 'hood and band;' or showed, what his son calls 'admirable indifference to the remarks of the congregation,' when, 'as it grew dark, he would walk into a pew near a window, and finish his sermon, or stop abruptly, "upon my word, I cannot see: I must give you the rest when we meet again."' These little singularities ceased, however, to be trifles, if they lessened his influence with his congregation. In this case, indifference on the part of so shrewd a judge of human nature, is not so admirable as it is surprising. The fact of his non-residence upon his Dorsetshire livings does not appear to have given him any uneasiness; but when he left Muston, he went away contrary to his own conviction at the time; and the Huntingtonian confusion in which he found his parish on his return, was the punishment, if not the consequence, of his absence. The wrongheadedness of fanaticism was proof both against the remonstrances of his sermons and the ridicule of his rhymes. His long absence had been turned to good account by a diligent and successful labour in another's vineyard. And, to this extent, he had had a professional justification for lingering in Suffolk, with a people among whom he acquired the popular reputation of a Gospel preacher on his own terms. He could not recover his ground at Muston. The alienation on the part of many of his parishioners became ultimately so complete, that, on his leaving it for Trowbridge, they rang the bells for his successor before he had quitted the parsonage. Contradictory misapprehensions awaited him in his new abode; and it was the affair of years before these prejudices were overcome. Overcome, however, at last, they were, by calm and manly piety, extensive charities, tolerance towards

others, and by a greater degree of discretion than he had always shown at Muston. It is not to be wondered at if he was somewhat slow in submitting his own good sense to the scruples entertained by the weaker brethren of the place; under whose petty legislation, abstinence from a play, a concert, or a ball, had been raised into 'settled laws of clerical decorum.' The unaccountableness of mankind threw still greater difficulties in his way. Even at the close of his ministry, we are told that 'he did not enjoy the happiness which many pastors express in being able to benefit their flocks; never was satisfied that he used the best means; and complained that men, more imbued with a sense of the terrors of the Lord, and less with his mercies, succeeded better.' It is easy to see what this complaint alludes to. The class, which from the first had been scandalized with 'the moral teacher,' was afterwards not much more edified with the Christian preacher;—that is, with the Christianity which he preached. Yet his 'Letter on Sects' had led to a correspondence with the editor of 'the Christian Observer,' as far back as 1810; and such explanations were given at the time, as ended in the satisfaction of both parties. We are now informed that, before he died, Crabbe approximated closer still to his excellent correspondent. The forthcoming selection from his sermons is to show that he became, in the last ten years of his life, more and more conscious of the necessity of dwelling upon the doctrines of Christianity. Nor is this all. In the opinion of his biographer, these sermons connect him substantially with the Evangelical party in the Church of England. Now, in religion, as in other things, it does not follow that the last opinions are the best; least of all, the opinions of old age. Possibly after threescore years and ten, his theology improved as little as his poetry. It is to be hoped, however, that good and sensible men of all religious parties, if they could but understand each other, would substantially agree on the few points of real importance. But words are invented and pressed forward for the purpose of keeping men asunder; and while some particular truths are perhaps all alike literally true, practical differences of great moment are involved in the proportion which may happen to be observed in the prominence of their respective promulgation. It is agreed on all hands, that Crabbe, during his lifetime, was never classed with the Evangelical party by others or by himself. It will be rather late to bring him out as such after his death. Certain advantages and disadvantages belong to opposite views of religion and of religious life. There have been in all times the severe and the gentle, the doctrinal and the moral, schools—the school of speculative creeds, and that of devout feeling. The form which this old and interminable question assumes under

the two divisions of the Protestant Church of England is, in its influence upon the heart and the conduct, only a new *phase* of the old dilemma. Crabbe's writings are filled with proofs that the alternative of the two systems was constantly present to his mind; and the reader must be dull or desperate indeed who can doubt what was the result of his experimental observation upon their effects. It is his reiterated moral, that the puritan hypothesis may put forth the most blossom, but that a more reasonable Christianity is the most certain in its fruits. His posthumous tales contain their full proportion of those warnings against religious extravagance, which the great observer of our times has left behind him for our instruction.

The poetical temperament is ordinarily distinguished by a high susceptibility of feeling. As late as his removal into Suffolk, an aunt of his wife's used to boast that 'she could screw Crabbe up 'and down like a fiddle.' But the strings had been so early wrenched and shattered, that the art was by this time in few hands. Crabbe learned in his youth the ordinary lessons of old age, and from a severer task-master. In doing so, all of him which was turned towards the world, became necessarily hardened and put upon its guard. Most of the troubles for which we are ordinarily wanting a little sympathy from each other, must seem trifling enough to a man who has never been sure of a meal for fifteen months together. The object on which his eye was fixed during that period, demanded decision, self-will, concentration of purpose. It was no time for cultivating the softer graces of the mind. They vanished, as it were, from the presence of armed men; and in their stead grew up those powers of self-command and habits of self-dependence, which, standing always on the defensive with human life, constitute the character that is respected rather than the character that is loved. His understanding, it is said, was interested in few subjects; his affections apparently in still fewer. His business with man seemed to be more to observe than to love him; so that even his benevolence, like his other virtues, looked like the deliberate wisdom of Christian philosophy, rather than any instinct of passion or movement of the heart. Up to a certain point, the poor, and his family, were exceptions. With the first hundred pounds which he got from Thurlow, he ran off to look for and to relieve unfortunate men of letters, with whom he had become acquainted, while he was yet one of them himself: And never afterwards does he appear to have forgot, that both by origin, misfortunes, and profession, he belonged every way to the poor. Charity was the resource by which he appeased his sense of duty and of humanity. Beyond that, he quietly retreated within himself for occupation;

and found at home all the objects and all the exercise which were necessary for the temperate exigencies of his heart. Insensible to the wants out of which friendships between men arise, he was unknown as a neighbour, and thought little of in his village. It is possible, that the objection that he made to the principal male characters of Scott—that they were deficient in gentleness and urbanity,—may be connected with a more favourable representation of this peculiarity. This is the sensitive and timid cause which he himself assigns for ‘not much associating with the male part of society.’ He found himself (he says) ‘not hardy, nor grave, nor knowing enough of their concerns:’ and he therefore sought for his friendships among women and children, whose minds ‘assimilated better to his own.’ We think he need not have been afraid. His severe experience and decisive character would have made him a match for most men. It is not however his preference for the company of women and children with which we quarrel. It is the exclusiveness of his preference. Every body likes, as well as Crabbe and Cowper, to turn from the turnpike and walk on turf. Considering, however, that so much of the work of life is to be done upon the turnpike, the propensity is one which most persons feel can only occasionally be indulged in. Now, women and children would, with his own consent, have had the monopoly of our poet. He seems to have been incapable of writing to a man, except clumsily and coldly, and as a matter of business; while his letters to Mary Leadbeater, and to his granddaughter, are as pleasant letters as any Quaker lady, or little grandchild, can desire.

The reserve concerning himself, which Crabbe maintained in his own family towards his grown-up children, is inconceivable. He never mentioned to them the extent of his early distress, or the existence of that striking manuscript, ‘The Poet’s Journal.’ He avoided equally all detail connected with his more splendid misery while at Belvoir. Nor did he keep them in the dark only concerning his sorrows. It was the same with his gayer scenes. They had no exact notion till after his death of the flattering welcome with which the author of the ‘Borough’ and the ‘Tales’ had been received in London. An incidental paragraph in a letter of 1831, (almost a parenthesis,) was the first intimation to his family that he had had another volume of poems long ready for the press. They profited as little by his acquaintance with men of genius. He had ‘neither the turn, nor much of the talent, for the retention of conversations; and even what he did remember, he was ‘not always disposed to communicate.’ He gave them no opportunity, it seems, of getting at truth at home, when it was to be got at by discussion: for they were not allowed the privilege

of examining any of his opinions. Full of amenity towards the impetuous Foscolo, he was positive only with his boys. 'Argument he sustained with great impatience: he neither kept close to his point, nor preserved his temper. This dislike of controversial discourse arose, in part, probably from a consciousness that he had not cultivated the faculty of close logical reasoning; but partly, also, from an opinion, or rather feeling, that he had against all pretence of colloquial equality.' When he ventured on an assertion, they were expected to defer to him as he had deferred before to Burke and Johnson. This is not a very genial picture of the warmth and freedom of domestic life. It would have been as wise a partnership of pleasures to have taken his sons into council with his heart and understanding, as to go in a tandem with them to Newmarket when they were at Cambridge. In 1815, both his sons left him, to travel about for two years. They corresponded during the interval; but none of the letters are published. It is plain that, to avail themselves of opportunities of meeting was no part of the correspondence; since the father and the son found themselves together by accident in Mr Hatchard's shop, neither of them knowing that the other was in London. 'Look round,' said the bookseller, pointing to his inner room; 'and there stood my father, reading intently, as his manner was, with his knees somewhat bent, insensible to all around him. How homelike was the sight of that venerable white head among a world of strangers!'

Every one is aware that the absent have always a poor chance in competition with the present. What distinguishes the case of Crabbe is, that with him they had none at all. It is not that he was positively ungrateful or indifferent. The tears, we hear, stood in his eyes, in 1822, when he spoke of Burke's kindness to him in his distress. In a late autobiographical sketch, he says, it was always his pride to call him 'father, guide, and friend.' The editor *believes* that Burke was offered the refusal of the earlier dedications; and a fourth son, Edmund Burke Crabbe, was certainly christened after him. This is very well, as far as it goes. But, meanwhile, the public heard little of Burke in comparison of the Duke of Rutland. A passage, in 1807, in the dedication to Lord Holland, is the first public evidence made of either the fact or feeling. Such as it was, it by no means prepared us for the case of overwhelming obligation, which has since come out; and there are no signs that any continued, much less any familiar, intercourse was kept up between them. It is difficult to imagine a relation commenced under more sacred auspices; and it is impossible to conceive how so complete a suspension of all public expression of his feelings can have been permitted to occur. If Burke was his ear-

liest and greatest benefactor, Bonnycastle was his earliest and greatest friend. The little club of mathematicians, which met on an evening near the Exchange, gave Crabbe, in the person of Bonnycastle, (who, together with Thurlow, was also, by a singular coincidence, one of Cowper's critics,) his first opportunity of an equal friendship. The two friends of both succeeded in the world. It is another instance of the coolness, not to say coldness, of his disposition, that he could let drop the friendship of such a crisis. Eight-and-twenty years elapsed without a word from either. Crabbe at length reopened a communication by the present of his poems. We hardly know why. Another five years quietly passed over before they met; and when they met at last, it was Bonnycastle's doing. Truly is it said, that the friendships of antiquity are at an end. We forgive the mathematician. But surely better things might have been expected of the poet.

Crabbe, so fortunate in his love, was unfortunate in his marriage. The health of his wife declined soon after the four happy years of his curacy at Stathern—years which even he himself considered happy. The remainder of her married life was almost a continued illness of the most distressing nature. It was impossible to be a more indulgent and attentive husband; her sister said, only too indulgent. On the back of one of her early letters, there is written by himself: 'Nothing can be more sincere than ' this, nothing more reasonable and affectionate; and yet happiness was denied.' There are consolations, however, to even such a calamity as this—and of these he was in possession. The following lines were found on a paper enclosing her wedding ring. If the pains of virtue and affection cannot be made pleasures, it is something that they are infinitely less painful than they appear. In their case, contrary to the common course, every body sees the calamity; nobody, or next to nobody, the relief.

' The ring so worn, as you behold,
So thin, so pale, is yet of gold:
The passion such it was to prove;
Worn with life's cares, love yet was love.'

With these feelings, it is not singular that he told Mr Campbell, three years after her death, that since her loss he had scarcely known positive happiness. But what is singular, and, indeed, inexplicable, is, that a year or more before he made this declaration to his brother poet, the tender passion had revived in him with the ardour of five-and-twenty; and with such a marvellous rapidity of transfer as to embrace successively, we do not venture to say how many of the young ladies within his reach,

We wish that we had room to show the amiable old poet as a grandpapa ; writing his playful nonsense to little Caroline ; repeating, ‘ O man of the sea, come listen to me,’ to the admiring circle ; dancing with them ‘ to all kinds of tunes, and to all kinds ‘ of steps,’ upon his birth-day ; or in tears, as he generally was, on wishing them good-by. He seems to have found practically (what so few people think of) the full use of children, in softening the heart, and holding society together. It would be great injustice both to the father and the son—especially when we have placed them in their maturer years in some sort of taciturn estrangement from each other—were we not to step back a little, and leave them together, as they are represented, in the most delightful passage in the book. Happy the father who could awake such lasting recollections in a son ! still happier the son who so could feel and so describe them !

‘ Always visibly happy in the happiness of others, especially of children, our father entered into all our pleasures, and soothed and cheered us in all our little griefs with such overflowing tenderness, that it was no wonder we almost worshipped him. My first recollection of him is of his carrying me up to his private room to prayers, in the summer evenings, about sunset, and rewarding my silence and attention with a view of the flower-garden through his prism. Then I recall the delight it was to me to be permitted to sleep with him during a confinement of my mother’s,—how I longed for the morning, because then he would be sure to tell me some fairy tale, of his own invention, all sparkling with gold and diamonds, magic fountains, and enchanted princesses. In the eye of memory I can still see him as he was at that period of his life,—his fatherly countenance, unmixed with any of the less loveable expressions that, in too many faces, obscure that character—but preeminently *fatherly* ; conveying the ideas of kindness, intellect, and purity ; his manner grave, manly, and cheerful, in unison with his high and open forehead ; his very attitudes, whether as he sat absorbed in the arrangement of his minerals, shells and insects—or as he laboured in his garden until his naturally pale complexion acquired a tinge of fresh healthy red ; or as coming lightly towards us with some unexpected present, his smile of indescribable benevolence spoke exultation in the foretaste of our raptures. But I think, even earlier than these are my first recollections of my mother. I think the very earliest is of her as combing my hair one evening, by the light of the fire, which hardly broke the long shadows of the room, and singing the plaintive air of ‘ Kitty Fell,’ till, though I could not have been more than three years old, the melody found its way into my heart, and the tears dropped down so profusely that I was glad the darkness concealed them.’

We must now make a few remarks on the other parts of this publication, and on some of the topics which it presents for discussion.

This is not merely the first complete and uniform edition of Crabbe's poems. It is one which can scarcely be improved upon; except by attending in the next to the understanding as carefully as to the eye. Type and decorations are beautiful in vain, if the book is required to be afterwards disfigured by marginal corrections of the text. In proportion, too, as the text itself is interesting, a reader is provoked, as often as he is interrupted, by unnecessary and unmeaning notes. From the want of judgment displayed by the editor in this part of his office, we have been loath to draw too large an inference to the discredit of his general qualifications to be the biographer of his father. But where he had little or nothing to communicate, he had far better have plainly told us so, than load his pages with the semblance of parallel passages from Southey down to D'Israeli, and with extracts from contemporary reviews. A son was not wanted for this purpose. The common hangers-on of literature would thankfully have contributed any amount of this species of annotation at so much a-yard.

The special criticisms are not much more judicious. It was scarcely worth while to dig out a foolish and obsolete objection against the 'Library' in the 'Monthly Review' of 1781, for the purpose of replying to it by an answer incorrect both in fact and in reasoning. It was there objected that the author had not entered into the merits of any particular writers. It is answered, that Crabbe had not yet seen any considerable collection, except in the shops of booksellers. In point of fact, he was then living with Burke. Therefore, libraries enough must have been accessible to him at the date of its publication. Let us suppose, however, that the poem was, as is probable, suggested long before by the visit recorded in 'Silford Hall,' and, that at the time, he had never seen a library. What then? The character of a particular author wants no more than a knowledge of the author in question. The pocket edition of 'Tibullus,' with which he slept out all night on a Hampstead haycock, was authority enough for a character of Tibullus. Nor could the whole Bodleian have given him a better idea of Dryden, than the book-stall volumes he was tempted to purchase with a three-and-sixpence, which he ought in prudence to have reserved for the dinners of the week. The editor seems as much at a loss in a picture-gallery as in a library. The housekeeper of Silford Hall, who shows Peter Perkin the pictures, comes to one of Sir Joshua Reynolds' children—

" 'Tis by Sir Joshua. Did you ever see
A babe so charming? '—' No, indeed,' said he;
' I wonder how he could that look invent,
That seems so sly, and yet so innocent.' "

We are told, in a note, that this picture is the celebrated infant Hercules which was painted by Sir Joshua for the Empress Catherine, and that whilst it was in progress the youthful poet often passed his mornings with the artist. After the warning insufficiency displayed in the preceding volumes, the last volume at least ought to have been better watched. The public probably know that Reynolds painted other children; that the characteristic look 'at once so sly, and yet so innocent,' cannot be predicated of the infant Hercules; and, lastly, that the infant Hercules is not in England but at Petersburg—where, by the by, they may be sorry to hear, that it has suffered so much from time or from neglect, that it is almost placed out of sight, and is very little valued. This was the picture of which Reynolds observed, that four others were under it—some worse, some better. Are our present artists at all more certain of their genius or their rules?

Communications by a member of the family, to be worth printing at all, must be very different from the above. What we want, in the first instance, from such a quarter, is, the *cipher* to all the personal allusions which the poet may have scattered over his works. These explanations, however, can be wanted only once. Once printed in the life, there was no necessity, but that of bookmaking, to print them over again in the succeeding volumes. The next object of interest, is the history of such events and characters, as have been the raw materials out of which the imaginative artist manufactured the visions of his fairy loom. John Jasper, the parish-clerk of Glenham, and the original of Isaac Ashford, is entitled to his immortality. But in most cases, there is more the appearance than the substance of information. What can be the good of appending formal notes for the express purpose of acquainting the reader with nothing more than this—that the portraits of Phœbe Dawson, Andrew Cocket, and the Widow Goe, were all taken from the life? The news is useless to a reader, who recollects that the poet told Mary Leadbeater this was equally true of all his stories; while persons, who see only the note and not the letter, may be misled by it into the belief, that the tales, which are not authenticated by a similar notice, are the pure coinage of his brain. 'Yes,' he writes, 'I will tell you readily about my creatures, whom I endeavoured to paint as nearly as I could and dared; for, in some cases, I dared not. This you will readily admit; besides, charity bade me be cautious. Thus far you are correct; there is not one of whom I had not in my mind the original; but I was obliged, in some cases, to take them from their real situations, in one or two instances to change even the sex, and, in many, the circum-

'stances. The nearest to real life was the proud, ostentatious man in the "Borough," who disguises an ordinary mind by doing great things; but the others approach to reality at greater or less distances. Indeed, I do not know that I could paint merely from my own fancy; and there is no cause why we should. Is there not diversity sufficient in society? and who can go, even but a little, into the assemblies of our fellow-wanderers from the way of perfect rectitude, and not find characters so varied and so pointed, that he need not call upon his imagination.'

On some occasions, the editor brings forward his intelligence in rather too obscure and tantalizing a form to gratify any very vigorous curiosity. '*It is understood*,' he says, 'that the story of "Resentment" relates to the poet's mother-in-law.' *There is reason to believe*, 'that that of "The Brothers" was composed during a transitory coldness' with a sister. By the way, if this be so, it intimates an extraordinary talent for the vindictive exaggeration of an injury. '*It was never doubted*,' by Mr Crabbe's family, that Eusebius, an hospital director, was designed for a portraiture of Burke. This is very darkly expressed, in case the family have Mr Crabbe's authority for the fact. If they have not, the fact is one which we doubt exceedingly. Crabbe has observed, in an original note of his own,—'The characters of the hospital directors were written many years since, and so far as I was capable of judging, are drawn with fidelity.' There is nothing about Eusebius at all characteristic of Burke; of whom Crabbe's solitary memento is, that he was in some degree reminded of him in society by Lord Brougham. The editor's delusion in this imaginary parallel is, however, creditable to his feelings. He may not be altogether competent, in ability, to the task which circumstances have imposed upon him, but he is evidently thoroughly amiable and sincere. We do not wonder at his ransacking his father's poems for something which could be construed into a memorial of Burke. The principal blame for the obscurity of these references must rest with Crabbe. His incommunicableness with his children accounts for the paucity of those familiar anecdotes, both in the life and in the notes, which the public naturally expect to find in the biography of a son. At the same time, hesitation and ambiguity are indulged in cases where the distant reserve of filial observance cannot be offered as the excuse. For instance, we are told that, 'in the description of "schools" in the "Borough," Mr Crabbe condescended to borrow, *though probably*, with some alterations and improvements, the ideas and the language of his second son: whose "school eclogues," written in boyhood, much struck and gratified his father. Mr John Crabbe has written many imitations

'of his father's poetry, some of which, it is hoped, may yet be 'published.' We are all for leaving imitations to the parrots. An echo is a curiosity—but, if there is no voice of its own within, it is nothing more. In this place, *probably* cannot be the proper word. Crabbe either adopted his son's school eclogues without alteration or improvement, or he did not. It is a very simple question for one brother to put to another. If Mr John Crabbe should have forgotten a fact in his own life of this importance to his vanity, he is not likely to have been of much assistance towards compiling their father's memoirs.

Next to the life, the substantial novelty of the present edition is the posthumous poems. They will, of course, be more or less attractive, according as the poetry of Crabbe is more or less popular in itself; and according to the relative degree of merit subsisting between the new productions and the old. In our opinion, there can be no manner of doubt (nor have we heard a doubt anywhere expressed) but that the new poems are decidedly inferior. The other question—the nature and degree of Crabbe's popularity as a poet—is a simple question of fact. It is one, at the same time, on which a great body of conflicting evidence is much in the way of all who like only positive opinions. Thus much, however, is plain. In case it should turn out that Crabbe is not the favourite poet of his age, this certainly will not have happened from any want of a clear stage and some favour. His different works have been brought forward on each occasion, under the avowed patronage of almost all who, whether as poets or critics, were most likely and best entitled to lead the judgment of their times. Upwards of half a century has passed, since Burke (1781), after having aided its youthful author by the benefit of his judgment, and cheered him on with his exhilarating predictions, himself took the 'Library' to Dodsley; in order that by his reading, comments, and praises, he might induce the bookseller to venture on the publication. Fifty years ago, Johnson also had stamped his fiat on the 'Village.' 'It is original, 'vigorous, and elegant. I do not doubt of Mr Crabbe's success.' This poem is reported to have found more ready favour with the Doctor, because 'its sentiments on the false notions of rustic 'happiness and virtue,' were quite congenial to his own. The very same sentiments, however, which called forth the approbation of Johnson, met with a very different reception from Scott of Amwell. 'The author,' says Scott, 'takes the dark side of the 'question; he paints all with a sombre pencil; too justly perhaps, but, to me at least, unpleasingly. We know there is no 'unmixed happiness in any state of life; but one does not wish 'to be perpetually told so' Have the public left it still an un-

determined problem, which of the principles will conquer, when they come in poetical competition, the love of truth, or that of pleasure? 'The Newspaper' came out next. All who put their trust in newspapers will do well to read it. Dedicated to Thurlow, it appeared under an authority as formidable in criticism as in law. Walter Scott and Wordsworth have since both borne their testimony to the youthful impression which particular passages in the *Village* made for life upon their minds. Nevertheless, the protection, approval, and sympathy of such master minds have certainly failed to keep these early publications in the same degree of favour with the public as their most recent predecessors—the 'Traveller, or 'Deserted Village,' of Goldsmith. Indeed, Crabbe alludes to them in one of his later prefaces, as being things 'not dead indeed, nor entirely forgotten, but now slumbering with other poems of decent reputation in their day.' A long retirement ensued. It was patiently and vigorously employed in the enlargement of his stock of observation, and in the manly trial and cultivation of his powers. The pains of this arduous preparation were amply justified (in 1807) by the '*Parish Register*.' This was the poem in which Crabbe appeared for the first time as the creator of that remarkable style of composition which the '*Bo-rough*' and '*The Tales*' afterwards only faithfully repeated, and succeeded in making more and more individually his own. The selection of the subjects, and the manner in which they are treated, are both equally characteristic. The first specimen of this style of composition has now therefore been before the world nearly thirty years—a period quite sufficient for the most torpid or most capricious public to have made up their mind concerning its merit.

If Crabbe had by some accident, on his poetical reappearance, failed altogether in attracting the notice of his contemporaries, it would be another matter. But no such thing; his reception was unusually cordial in all quarters. The supposed beauties in his new writings were warmly applauded; their supposed defects lightly touched upon. Within two days of the publication of the review of the '*Parish Register*' in this *Journal*, every copy of it is said to have been sold. Can there be any reason for suspecting that English society does not contain within itself at present every gradation of natural or artificial character, in masses large enough fairly to represent the different classes of mind and feeling, on which poetry in general—and more especially this description of poetry—is capable of acting? We see no grounds whatever for such a notion. The important question therefore is, whether we can ascertain the effect hitherto produced by Crabbe upon these respective classes, or on the world at large? The brothers of the tuneful tribe cannot be charged with any jealousy

towards a rival, in the certificate which they have recorded. Poets of every school have led the way in panegyric, proclaiming their admiration in the strongest terms. If there is any difference among the several elements in this chorus of applause, it is, that the voices of the susceptible and the romantic minstrels are heard above the rest. Scott and Byron, Wordsworth and Wilson, Moore, Campbell, and Rogers, may be taken as sponsors for the poetical profession. Scott respected these poems as something higher than works of art. He rejoiced to see them the favourites of his children; and in his last illness, the only books he asked for were his Bible and Crabbe. Mere literary merit is not so precious in the sight of men of business and the world, as to have of itself conferred upon these writings the enviable honour of cheering Romilly in his intervals of labour, and relieving the pains of Fox's deathbed. It was in this sense also, that the quiet company of Quakers at Ballitore, believers 'in dear Cow-per, our other moral poet,' sent in their adhesion: 'We are 'mostly,' says Mary Leadbeater, 'a colony of Quakers. Some 'profess not to relish poetry, yet thou hast contrived to charm 'us all, and sorry shall we be if thy next visit be to take leave.' On turning to the critics and lookers-on, what is their report on the general power and popularity of Crabbe? Wilson is of opinion that his poetry has taken the deepest hold upon all ruminating hearts. Wordsworth, who has been long looking in his own behalf to future generations, undertakes for that appellate jurisdiction. Mr Croker takes the present opportunity of reiterating with increased confidence his belief that no poet of our time will stand higher with posterity. This would seem to be a safe prophecy, if there be any truth in Mr Croker's judgment; since he does not scruple to affirm that Crabbe has exhibited the short and simple annals of the poor with such a deep knowledge of human nature, with such general ease and simplicity, and with such accurate force of expression, whether gay or pathetical, as no poet except Shakspeare has excelled. Should it be suggested that the ruminators may be a small body, and that posterity may be long in coming, Sir Walter Scott's evidence comes to the point at once, and is both comprehensive and direct. He tells Crabbe, in 1813, that the 'Tales' were universally admired; and that the few judges whose opinion he had been accustomed to look up to, were unanimous. He had in an earlier letter answered for the unlearned—'The clearness and accuracy of your painting, 'whether natural or moral, renders, I have often remarked, your 'works generally delightful to those whose youth might render 'them insensible to the other beauties with which they abound. 'They are a sort of pictures—surely the most valuable, were it

but for that reason—which strike the uninitiated as much as they do the connoisseur, though the last alone can render reason for his admiration. Indeed, our old friend Horace knew what he was saying when he chose to address his ode, “*Virginibus puerisque*,” and so did Pope, when he told somebody he had the mob on the side of his version of Homer, and did not mind the high-flying critics at Button’s.

The above return comprehends almost every possible class of readers. There can be no question of the truth with which the different parties have given utterance to their personal feelings. But they appear as witnesses to have exceedingly misconceived the extent to which their feelings were shared, by the great body of the public who take an interest in poetry. The two gentlemen who negotiated with Mr Murray on the part of Crabbe, both (we are told) what is called ‘exquisite judges of literary merit,’ have been found at issue with the purchasers of poetry; and the discovery of the real ‘state of public taste at that moment,’ has unfortunately been made at Mr Murray’s expense. A wide discrepance of taste and evidence, on a question of this kind, is a fact no less curious in itself than desirable to have explained. We believe Mr Moore to be correct in his view of the public taste. Our only doubt is, on the propriety of his limiting the reproach of a want of taste in this respect to the public of any particular moment. If the copyright, which was bought for L.3000, was bought at two-thirds above its market value, there have been few purchasers, only because as yet there have been but few readers. Why have there been few readers? and what are the signs that the number is increasing? In these matters, we feel a reasonable jealousy of appeals to posterity from the present age; and are desirous first of knowing what is the principle upon which a literary reaction, on the part of a penitent or enlightened future, is expected to proceed. Mr Elliott says that Crabbe is thought unnatural in America. According to his hypothesis, the Americans are not sufficiently acquainted with the miseries of English society to duly appreciate the fidelity of the descriptions. As to that, let him look at the great towns and the banks of the Mississippi, and let him ask Mr Owen, Dr Tuckerman, or any of the Howards of the United States. But the battle for subsistence is not man’s worst or only trial; and a small part of the drop of vitriol which Crabbe delights to let fall into his Castalian fountain, arises from want of bread. A difference in the physical or political condition of their respective populations, cannot account for a different estimate of Crabbe’s poetry in the two countries. But, in fact, we doubt exceedingly whether the supposed difference of estimate exists. On the contrary, Mr

Croker concurs with Mr Moore in the opinion, that his works have not obtained at home so extensive, or at least so brilliant a reputation as those of some of his contemporaries. For this Mr Croker proceeds to assign certain reasons; and in the precise degree that they may chance to be the true ones, the less probability is there that posterity will reverse the present verdict. It was anticipated, on a former occasion, in this Journal, that the growth of the middle classes would increase the proportion of Crabbe's admirers. For, in those classes, it was supposed, that his warmest admirers would be found, in consequence of the associations which naturally existed between his subjects and themselves. But if it be true that his poetry has never acquired the degree of popularity to which it was otherwise entitled, because he has 'taken a view of life too minute, too humiliating, too 'painful, and too just,' what is the final result for which we ought in reality to be prepared? These are the words of Mr Croker. The objection, thus re-stated, is identically the same which was anticipated long ago by Scott of Amwell. In direct contradiction to the supposition of Mr Elliott, that where Crabbe has not succeeded, it is from an incapacity on the part of the reader to appreciate his truth—the present objection assumes that his comparative failure even at home has arisen from his being too painful and too true. When Mr Croker expects that he will nevertheless stand higher with posterity, the grounds of that expectation ought to have been explained. Future antiquarians may put an additional value on him for their own purposes. The objection appears otherwise as permanent as human nature. Representations of pain, both physical and moral, require to be ennobled before they can become the materials of enjoyment. Even then they are a source of pleasure sufficiently mysterious. Pictures of martyrdom and mortifications do not bear a price in proportion to their merit as pictures. The crowd in a gallery look another way. Children, it is true, may be pleased in Crabbe with the perfect imitation of all that they understand. Quakers may be captivated by the downright plainness and perspicuity of the moral. Artists and connoisseurs may go further. They will admire in these poems the clear and microscopic observation of ordinary existence, delineated, as it is, with the marvellous exactness of Miss Austin's novels, and carried into a variety of regions where she durst never venture. There are certain minds also of such a powerful texture, as to relish the realities of life in their most pungent forms;—whom the cellar and the garret, the dissecting-room and the guillotine, feed with the excitement that they love. For them, the nearer a hard and course reality is approached by a vivid fiction, so much the better. Crabbe may

command these several classes ; and with them of course the happy few who love the Muses under every form. Yet, nevertheless, it may be true, that Crabbe shall not have communicated to the greater portion of the readers of poetry, that specific gratification which they expect to find there, and without which no author can be universally and permanently read.

Mr Gifford was originally one of Crabbe's severest judges ; observing that he sinned on principle, ' removing the checks of fancy and ' taste from poetry.' The poet replied, that he had no theory of poetical composition ; that he professed to paint *man as he is* ; that, whatever effect poetry could produce might be produced, as he conceived, by the poetry which transcribed real events and characters, as well as where invention stood aloof, at the distance of two or three removes from fact ; that any difference in the happiness of their effects between these two methods, would depend upon the manner in which the poem itself was conducted ; and that nothing could be more ridiculous than a definition of poetry, which would end by excluding Pope. To all this, thus generalized, we quite agree. But when it is added, that the magic of this species of literature consists in its transporting us from the objects which surround us—it is evident that this is only part of the case, the negative part ; no more than what it possesses in common with the sciences, and with every thing strong enough to lay hold of the attention. The positive part remains to be disposed of. This introduces the important consideration—what are the other objects which, when you remove the present from out of our immediate sight, you proceed to substitute in their room ? A person will gain but little, if the new objects to which the poet carries him are quite as painful as the cares which he has left at home, and from which he was seeking to escape. A mistake on this point is something more than a difference in the manner of conducting the poem. Crabbe lays it down, that all that is necessary in these substituted objects is, that they be capable of being contemplated '*with some degree* ' of interest and satisfaction.' Whatever ' pleasant effect ' is produced upon a reader by transporting him out of himself, may be obtained (he says) ' by a fair representation of existing character, nay, by a faithful delineation of the painful realities, the ' everyday concerns, and vexations of actual existence, provided ' they be not the very concerns and distresses of the reader.' This sounds to us, notwithstanding his disclaimer, something very like a theory. It introduces us to subjects and to a spirit so new in poetry, that, independent of all the quaint and vigorous peculiarities of his style, its author necessarily became the most original writer of his age. Other writers had taken far

darker views of human nature and human life, and had at the same time kept comparatively clear of the objections taken against Crabbe; for nobody can complain that he is not indulgent to all our weaknesses; jocular in and out of season; or that he does not love the jingle of a conceit, as well as any rhyming predecessor, who 'for a tricky word defied the matter.' He has none of the gloom of Young, the pensiveness of Goldsmith, the Calvinism of Cowper, or the misanthropy of Byron. The difference is, that, by adopting a higher tone, they became, whenever they succeeded, touching or sublime; whereas his principle of versifying for the most part the concerns and vexations of his neighbour's house, made it a thousand to one but that so much of what was homely and disagreeable got into his descriptions, as seriously to damage their popular effect. The experiment, how far poetry may be made to speak the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, was never so extensively made before. His readers at once admit that he has spoken the truth, and nothing but the truth. Relying on observation, and not on inspiration, he was so far faithful to nature, as to step neither beyond it nor above it. But the *whole* truth is what, in comparison, he very seldom tries to speak. He seldom speaks the higher truths belonging to the more aspiring part of our nature. And this he acknowledges, when he admits that, being 'to satire 'prone,' he chiefly confined himself to those cases which were most capable of being satirically exposed:

'My muse, which calmly looks around, nor more,
Muse of the mad, the foolish, and the poor.'

His imagination and his feelings stood him in marvellous little stead. As an Englishman, living in perilous times, he tried heroic subjects. In compliment to his profession, (for, in one of his prefaces, he volunteers a superfluous and scarcely sincere apology,) he tried religious ones. Out of obedience to his critics, he tried plots of greater variety and connexion. All equally in vain. Considering the efforts he made to extend his sphere of power, he is a most eminent instance either of the strength of first associations, or of a singular correspondence between native capacity and early opportunities. It is impossible to say which. He lived to know the mountains and the world; but he preferred his Fen-Flora and village life; and to the last, Suffolk scenery and Aldborough manners maintained almost exclusive possession of the genius of Crabbe.

If the posthumous poems of Crabbe were as good as what were published in his lifetime, they could have merely sustained his popularity at the point which it had attained. But they are

not as good. The new poems consist of three classes, of unequal interest and merit. The first are sundry juvenile attempts, saved either by accident or design from the conflagrations of condemned manuscripts, which the editor has recorded. The insignificance of these early prolusions excuses the neglect with which they were originally received, whether by the public generally, or by the individuals to whom they were privately addressed. Yet some good lines occur; valuable, as omens of his future power, or interesting, from their connexion with the difficulties with which he was then contending. They show us the point from which he started, as well as the sentiments and the struggles of his lonely and yet unaided youth. The satire on 'Inebriety' was published at Ipswich at the age of twenty, while he was yet an apprentice in the neighbourhood. It was probably offered up by way of poetical security to his mistress, that his tavern convivialities, the fame of which, it appears, still survives at the inn at Aldborough, should not endanger their domestic peace. Little could he foresee the interest which he would one day have in discrediting two of its caricatures. The pains and penalties under which he writhed at the ducal table, must have appeared to him at times to be a judgment for his sketches of the rosy vicar, and 'the easy chaplain of an Atheist lord.'

It is agreeable to perceive, by 'The Wish,' (1779,) that his boyhood was scarcely clear of the Delias of a magazine, before he had laid, as it were, on the altar of his heart the virtuous ambition which he lived so completely to fulfil. Inheriting from nature the morality of Gower, together with the descriptive accuracy of Chaucer, he had no dreams of fancy to abandon, when 'he stooped to truth, and moralized his song.'

' Be it my boast to please and to improve,
To warm the soul to virtue and to love;
To paint the passions, and to teach mankind
Our greatest pleasures are the most refined;
The cheerful tale with fancy to rehearse,
And gild the moral with the charm of verse.'

The second class in the posthumous poems consists of a collection of occasional verses from all quarters. The poet seems (looking at their quality) to have paid in the greater part of these contributions, much in the same humour that a conscript joins his regiment. We cannot suppose that he ever dreamed of their publication. Among the minor poems not before published, those every way the least worthy of his talents are his compliments to fine ladies. Crabbe never spoke a truer word than when he said, that the language of panygeric did not sit well on him. The Duchess of Rutland and Lady Jersey do

not owe him much for commonplace adulation below the average of Album poetry. Among his spontaneous productions, 'The World of Dreams' recalls 'Sir Eustace Grey' by a higher affinity than that of its measure. But none of these smaller pieces are more striking than two little amatory elegiacs, evidently written under one of those mortifications to which the sexagenarian admirer of beauty is exposed. Personal excitement restored to the old man on these occasions the lyrical spirit which descended on him so sparingly, yet so powerfully, in his better days.

1.

' Unhappy is the wretch who feels
The trembling lover's ardent flame,
And yet the treacherous hope conceals
By using Friendship's colder name.

' He must the lover's pangs endure,
And still the outward sign repress ;
Nor may expect the smiles that cure
The wounded heart's conceal'd distress.

' When her soft looks on others bend,
By him discern'd, to him denied,
He must be then the silent friend,
And all his jealous torments hide.

' When she shall one blest youth select,
His bleeding heart must still approve ;
Must every angry thought correct,
And strive to like, where she can love.

' Heaven from my heart such pangs remove,
And let these feverish sufferings cease—
These pains without the hope of love,
These cares of friendship, not its peace.'

2.

' And wilt thou never smile again,
Thy cruel purpose never shaken ?
Hast thou no feeling for my pain,
Refused, disdained, despised, forsaken ?

' Thy uncle, crafty, careful, cold,
His wealth upon my mind imprinted ;
His fields described, and praised his fold,
And jested, boasted, promised, hinted.

‘ Thy aunt—I scorned the omen—spoke
Of lovers by thy scorn rejected ;
But I the warning never took,
When chosen, cheer’d, received, respected.

‘ Thy brother, too—but all was plann’d
To murder peace—all freely granted ;
And then I lived in fairy land,
Transported, blest, enrapt, enchanted.

‘ Oh what a dream of happy love !
From which the wise in time awaken ;
While I must all its anguish prove,
Deceived, despised, abused, forsaken !’

The last and most important addition to his poetry—the post-humous tales—is comprised in the last volume. These, reckoning in a stray one, called ‘ Flirtation,’ and which, though clever, is coarse enough for poetical justice to have given its heroine a harder name, are twenty-three in number. Crabbe had prepared them, put them by, and bequeathed them for publication. On this point, therefore, the editors had little discretion left. They are fully aware that their father greatly erred in supposing that they are much like his former tales in execution. The execution is almost every thing in a Flemish picture ; and the difference between the two cases in the present instance, is the difference between the finish of Teniers and of Ostade. Something must be allowed for declining years—something for the confidence of success, and for his indifference to the sentence of reviewers, when he should be himself quietly at rest in the chancel of Trowbridge Church. The presence, however, of some of his literary advisers is what he has wanted most. The Aldborough gossip, that Burke and Johnson had so cobbled the early manuscripts that their author did not know them again, is an amusing example of the spiteful exaggeration that follows poets, as well as prophets, in their own country. Crabbe, however, who professed to recognise the ascendancy of his friends, was, in truth, wonderfully docile for an author ; and we may be certain, that neither his earlier nor his later domestic critics would have permitted these stories to have gone to sleep in their recess, on the faith of their having received the author’s last corrections. Crabbe suggests, that the new series will be found sufficiently different from the former ones in events and characters, to have the attraction of novelty. In this also, we think, he is mistaken. He saw himself a successive gradation in his other writings,

beyond what his readers have been generally aware of. One uniform tone of narrative and reflection contributed to conceal from the public the fact, that the characters in the 'Parish Register' belonged to the lower orders; those in the 'Borough' (which is, in truth, Aldborough, only Aldborough magnified) to the middle ranks of society; and those in the 'Tales of the Hall' to a still superior class of cultivated minds and habits. A passage or two in the latter 'London Journal' had led us to anticipate the introduction of a new caste of *dramatis personæ* on his scene. But they are all from the same familiar chronicle as before. The same spirit also has presided over their fate. Of the stories contained in the new series, seventeen form the history of a town, as set forth in the 'Farewell and Return.' The plot is simple enough. A young man takes leave of his native place, and comes back, to look up his old acquaintance, after an absence of twenty years. The interest of each story turns upon the sudden juxtaposition of the two periods. It is the contrast between the rising and setting sun. 'Now look upon this picture, and on that!' Alas for human life, if Crabbe is to tell its fortune! He can afford but two pleasant changes out of all the alternations which he has prepared for 'the Return.' A wretched, or (what is worse for the purposes of poetry) an uncomfortable catastrophe hangs over the rest. Crabbe claims for himself that he paints '*man as he is*.' In this case, he surely has not been lucky in the scene of his observations. The fair proportion of good luck is surely considerably more than what is here allowed us. A false representation in literature of the average virtue or happiness of life, is not necessarily, as we have seen it called by writers who praise Crabbe for his truth, false morality. Provided that the distinction between vice and virtue, and between the natural consequences of both, is not mystified or denied, the cause of morality will not suffer from any such exaggerations, whether on the favourable or unfavourable side of the account, as a reasonable person is likely to commit. Violent extremes either way—*optimism* or *pessimism*—besides being absurd, must be pernicious. But, to a certain extent, a habit of looking at the bright side of every thing is far from being a fault or weakness. On the contrary, a little optical delusion of this kind is a habit of sufficient moral importance to make it worth the while, both of individuals and of society, to countenance and confirm it. The general question, however, which we have above examined, and to which the contents of this last volume force us for a moment to recur, is not whether 'Nature's sternest painter is the best,'—by best, meaning either the truest or the most moral.

It is an easier point which criticism and experiment have to settle—simply, whether the sternest painter is likely to be the most popular. If our view of them is correct, the posthumous tales are exposed to the same steady and silent opposition as their predecessors have sustained. They are likely, too, to make a less vigorous resistance, as they have less merit of other kinds to compensate for their defects. The strong enchantment of immortal harmony is wanting, which might carry away the reader, as the music and excitement of a battle keep the soldier insensible to his wounds. Poetry and painting, before they can affect mankind at large, in the manner that many of Crabbe's admirers have expected and still insist that mankind ought to be affected by him, must appeal to a higher nature than the average condition of ordinary life. The sense of this necessity has been, of olden time, the secret of the sublime and beautiful. Thence the name, the *bella arti*. There are general admirers, to whom no sort of poetry comes amiss—whose universal power of association and of sympathy makes them delighted and at home with Coleridge as well as Crabbe, and every intermediate son of song. But the poetical associations of most minds are much more limited. The poetry, which depends for its principal effect upon accurate descriptions of familiar life, risks being generally regarded pretty much as Crabbe himself regards the unheroic friendships of modern days.

' Yes ! there are sober friendships, made for use,
And much convenience they in life produce :
Like a good coat, that keeps us from the cold,
The cloth of frieze is not a cloth of gold ;
But neither is it pyebald, pieced, and poor ;
'Tis a good useful coat, and nothing more.'

In case the descriptive artist takes a pleasure in giving pain, by recalling subjects which disgust and annoy, mortify and depress, his descent in his art is something worse than a degeneracy from festival apparel down to good and useful clothing. Ordinary people will as soon think of walking out in a hair-shirt, as of seeking for his company.

We have not space for any analysis of the several stories comprised in the new series. That of ' Villiers ' is perhaps the most striking. Some of them are amusing as stories, and almost all of them contain examples of his epigrammatic surveillance of ordinary life, and of his humorous or caustic verses.

Wilkie, Leslie, and Allen are said to be designing from Crabbe. They should leave the following sketch (it occurs in the fearful story of the Dealer and Clerk) for Landseer :—

' There watch'd a cur before the miser's gate,
 A very cur, whom all men seem'd to hate;
 Gaunt, savage, shaggy, with an eye that shone
 Like a live coal, and he possess'd but one;
 His bark was wild and eager, and became
 That meagre body and that eye of flame;
 His master prized him much, and *Fang* his name.
 His master fed him largely; but not that,
 Nor aught of kindness, made the snarler fat.
 Flesh he devour'd, but not a bit would stay;
 He bark'd, and snarl'd, and growl'd it all away.
 His ribs were seen extended like a rack,
 And coarse red hair hung roughly o'er his back.
 Lamed in one leg, and bruised in wars of yore,
 Now his sore body made his temper sore.
 Such was the friend of him, who could not find,
 Nor make him one, 'mong creatures of his kind.
 Brave deeds of Fang his master often told,
 The son of Fury, famed in days of old,
 From Snatch and Rabid sprung; and noted they
 In earlier times—each dog will have his day.'

Gentlemen, who are wanting a wife, and are in danger of falling captive in the doll line, will do well to look at the case of 'Belinda Waters;' one of the pretty misses of idle civilisation,—lovely, useless, and at her very best, only negatively good:

' Of food she knows but this, that we are fed :—
 Though, duly taught, she prays for daily bread,
 Yet whence it comes, of hers is no concern—
 It comes ! and more she never wants to learn.'

She has the folly to marry on nothing—not even love.

' She *wonders* much—as, why they live so ill,—
 Why the rude butcher brings his weekly bill,—
 She wonders why that baker will not trust,—
 And says, most truly says, " Indeed he must."'
 She wonders where her former friends are gone,
 And thus, from day to day she wonders on.

' So life goes on ! But who that loved his life,
 Would take a fair Belinda for his wife ?
 Who thinks that all are for their stations born,
 Some to indulge themselves, and to adorn ;
 And some, a useful people, to prepare,
 Not being rich, good things for those who are,
 And who are born, it cannot be denied,
 To have their wants and their demands supplied.'

Crabbe has, however, no great confidence in male discretion.

In the common alternative of wives—the ornamental or the useful—the Helen of Homer or the Helen of Miss Edgeworth ; or say (that model of work-a-day virtue) Jeannie Deans—a lover is certain, he thinks, to prefer the worst. Left to repent at leisure, he will never have long to wait. For, according to Crabbe's theory of life, the ordeal of afflictions always is at hand. 'The Wife and Widow' is the account of a most excellent and exemplary woman—closing with an interrogatory, whether men are duly sensible of so much strong but simple merit.

'No! ask of man the fair one whom he loves,
 You'll find her one of the desponding doves,
 Who tender troubles as her portion brings,
 And with them fondly to a husband clings—
 Who never moves abroad, nor sits at home,
 Without distress, past, present, or to come—
 Who never walks the unfrequented street,
 Without a dread that death and her shall meet ;
 At land, on water, she must guarded be,
 Who sees the danger none beside her see,
 And is determined by her cries to call
 All men around her : she will have them all.
 Man loves to think the tender being lives,
 But by the power that his protection gives :
 He loves the feeble step, the plaintive tone,
 And flies to help who cannot stand alone :
 But when afflictions come, when beauty dies,
 Or sorrows vex the heart, or danger tries ;
 When time of trouble brings the daily care,
 And gives of pain as much as he can bear ;
 'Tis then he wants, if not the helping hand,
 At least a soothing temper, meek and bland.
 He wants the heart that shares in his distress,
 At least the kindness that would make it less ;
 And when instead he hears th' eternal grief
 For some light want, and not for his relief—
 And when he hears the tender trembler sigh,
 For some indulgence he can not supply ;
 When, in the midst of many a care, his "dear,"
 Would like a duchess at a ball appear ;
 And, while he feels a weight that bears him down,
 Would see the prettiest sight in all the town ;
 Love then departs, and if some pity lives,
 That Pity half despises, half forgives ;
 'Tis joined with grief, is not from shame exempt,
 And has a plenteous mixture of contempt.'

The story of 'Rayner,' a *nouveau riche*, who moves off to a place

left him by a relation, contains a pithy and comic notice of the embarrassment attending the ambiguous nomenclature of our ornamental times :

'Now, lo ! the Rayners all at Hulver Place—
Or Hulver Hall—'tis not a certain case ;
'Tis only known that ladies' notes were sent
Directed both ways, and they always went.'

The following sketch in 'The Cousins,' of the quietness of a sick chamber is perfect ; you can hear a pin drop, and see the parties. It looks, to be sure, more like a view taken by the attorney than by the divine :—

'The uncle now to his last bed confined,
To James and Patty his affairs resigned ;
The doctor took his final fee in hand ;
The man of law received his last command ;
The silent priest sat watching in his chair,
If he might wake the dying man to prayer.
When the last groan was heard ; then all was still,
And James indulged his musings—on the Will.'

Crabbe has, in these Tales, repeated himself a little in some of his events and characters. The 'Equal Marriage' too nearly resembles 'Henry and Emma,' and is far inferior. The 'Alms-house Merchant' is part and parcel of our old acquaintance in the 'Borough.' But the above extracts are by no means solitary proofs that the old man's quiver still contained a few of its former arrows.

On taking our leave of the present work, our first sentiment is that of admiration and gratitude towards Burke. Besides his own immortal writings, the literature of his country is indebted to him for those of Crabbe. For it is very evident that, without his powerful and generous assistance, they never would have existed. The intemperate passages of his public life were only passing clouds ; while his conduct to Barry and to Crabbe is one of those examples, which lays mankind under an eternal obligation.

The meagreness of Crabbe's correspondence will bear no comparison with the fulness with which the heart of Cowper is poured into his letters. His prose is accordingly a very imperfect commentary upon his poetry. Nevertheless, we are taken sufficiently behind the scenes to identify the poetical personification of the principal events and feelings of his life. Of the lessons, thus doubly recommended, there are two far prominent above the rest. When Miss Elmy was dangerously ill at Parham, her lover had arranged, in case of her death, to

take up the flowers from her garden and transfer them to his own at Aldborough. She recovered. Afterwards, he more than realized his affectionate device by surrounding himself, day and night, during his London perils, with the image of her love. The weak, it is true, may fall into the languor of myrtle bowers, or rush upon the evils of an improvident marriage. But to the strong, enchantment has no amulet for virtue half so powerful as a fervent and honourable attachment. The other moral is equally true, though less inviting. Happiness in life mainly depends on the existence of a certain harmony between our circumstances and our disposition. To bring up a child with tastes, feelings, and ideas, which unfit him, instead of fit him, for his place in life, is to do all that a parent can do towards disorganizing the first elements of happiness. It is creating, unnecessarily, in the particular case, the same dilemma which a romantic imagination makes for life at large. Crabbe's father unadvisedly placed him in this predicament. The consequence was at one time all but fatal—fatal to his existence. Burke removed this contradiction, and raised him to a station in accordance with his inclinations and pursuits. But it was too late to remove from his recollection the impressions left by the false position of his youth. While he fought the good fight in his own person with a gallant spirit, he never got the better of the wrench it cost him. A sensitive nature and a cultivated mind, made the exigencies of his situation, in the language of his dream, 'the horrible image of misery and degradation, servility and baseness.' And thus his genius retained for life the character stamped upon it, at a time when he believed that others, and especially the poor, were as miserable as himself.

ART. II.—1. *Antiquités de la Nubie, ou Monumens inédits des bords du Nil, situés entre la première et la seconde Cataracte.*
Par F. C. GAU, Imp. fol. 1821—27.

2. *I Monumenti dell'Egitto, e della Nubia, disegnati dalla Spedizione Scientifico-Letteraria Toscana in Egitto; distribuiti in ordine di Materie.* Interpretati ed illustrati dal DOTTOR IPPOLITO ROSELLINI.—(Not yet completed.)

THE ancient temples of Nubia are probably the most imposing monuments which the world possesses of an extinct civilisation. Egypt, indeed, has edifices of a similar character, and perhaps surpassing those of Nubia in size and careful workmanship. But the light in which the remains of antiquity appear in these two countries is widely different. In Egypt we see a tolerably dense and active population, the servile instruments of no mean political power; a power not so firmly founded indeed as the pyramids, but evidently of the character best fitted to raise those extraordinary structures. We see also modern buildings not wholly contemptible, and monuments without number, of various kinds, which preserve the continuity of arts and civilisation from ancient to modern times. But in Nubia, where the desert presses more closely on the valley of the Nile, the moral scene changes with the face of nature.

Let the reader picture to himself a reddish-coloured, glaring, craggy desert, stretching to the horizon, with pinnacles of black rock jutting from it, and hardly vindicating their nakedness from the sands which mantle round them. Through this desert winds the Nile in a majestic stream, from a quarter of a mile to a mile and a half in breadth. In some places pointed ledges of black granite divide its foaming eddies; in others its smooth surface gives way to sandbanks on which the crocodile is seen basking. Here and there along the edge of the river is a thin strip of lively green, rarely above a few hundred paces wide, and shaded by a continuous line of palm-trees. From the frontier of Egypt to the cataract at Wady Halfa, the breadth of the fertile valley of Nubia cannot be averaged at more than a quarter of a mile. Above that, in the Batn el Hadjar, or glen of rocks, through a distance of sixty miles, vegetation almost wholly disappears. The valley then enlarges, so that for the next 400 miles, or to the southern limits of Dongola, it may be assumed to be, on an average, perhaps a mile and a half in breadth. Such is the habitable soil of Nubia.

In the face of the sandstone cliffs, which almost everywhere in Nubia form a wall between the desert and the domain of fertility, are cut in some places temples of small size, but finished with care, though evidently anterior to the maturity of Egyptian art. In other places, chambers excavated in the rock, form the sanctuaries, or *penetralia* of structures raised in front, while again there are many examples of temples (of later age indeed) standing quite detached and isolated. But still the character of a building adhering or belonging to the rock is never totally lost. The ponderous style of these edifices, and the colossal ideas which even the smallest of them displays, are wonderfully adapted to the vast solitude which surrounds them. They look as if they were created with the desert which now claims possession of them, and threatens to reabsorb them in its sands. These temples, it deserves to be remarked, are not on, but adjoining, and in most cases opposite to the cultivated ground. This choice of site was obviously determined by the necessity of economizing the scanty proportion of cultivable soil, and hence the greater number of them are on the left or Lybian bank of the river, which, owing to the prevalence of the north winds, is more encroached on by the sands of the desert.

The inhabitants of Nubia dwell in mud or straw huts of the humblest description, often huddled among the ruins, and hardly distinguishable from heaps of rubbish. They have no traditions relative to the noble monuments which surround them. Their imaginations, perhaps, can hardly soar to the possibility of again erecting such temples. There is not, we believe, from Philæ to the southernmost point of Dongola a single edifice of any importance, and at the same time of Nubian origin. There are remains indeed of Coptic monasteries and churches; there are mud forts or castles of Arab or Bejáwy origin, and houses or castles raised by the Turks; but the Nubians, as a nation, cannot found an authentic claim to any architecture beyond that which is exemplified in the construction of their humble dwellings. They are, in short, strangers in a land of monuments, which, as regards the generations of men not less than the face of nature, may be said to stand between the dead and the living; and which serve to prove how little connexion there exists between the modern and the ancient occupants of the Nubian valley.

But are not the modern Nubians, it will be asked, the descendants of the people who erected those temples, or who saw them erected by their conquerors, the Kings of Egypt? Are they not living proofs of the fluctuation which human society may undergo in the course of two or three thousand years—fallen as they are to a nearly barbarous state, amidst the enduring monuments of their

ancient greatness? Is it not ascertained that the Nubians were, in remote antiquity, a powerful and polite nation, who cradled the arts and civilisation which subsequently flourished in Egypt? In reply to these interrogatories, we hesitate not to state our confident opinion, that the Nubians of the present day have no community whatever, of race or language, with the people to whose history the monuments of Nubia belong. This opinion will startle, we dare say, many a zealous antiquarian, who mopes with ready faith and admiration in the twilight of ancient Egyptian and Ethiopian history. But his reluctance to adopt it will not arise, we are satisfied, from any positive or presumptive evidence which he can array against it; but merely from the attachment which the mind secretly forms to the image of antiquity of race or national grandeur fallen to decay. We have to contend not with historical difficulties, but with the prejudices of imagination.

But we shall, in the first place, endeavour to disarm another class of prejudices of a remarkably obstinate nature. The Nubians are mentioned by most of the writers of antiquity under the names of *Nubi*, *Nubæ*, or *Nobatæ*; but a candid and judicious critic will find little in these writers to warrant the belief that the Nubians inhabited the valley of the Nile long previous to the fourth century of the Christian era. Ptolemy, whose information respecting the Nubæ evidently reached him not from the south, or from the nations dwelling on the Nile, but through the Lybian or Berber tribes, assigns them a position, in language not very accurate, on the southeastern frontier of the last mentioned race. Strabo (on the authority of Eratosthenes, the best of the ancient geographers) places the Nubæ in Lybia, westwards of the Nile, between (in respect to latitude) Meroe and the great bend of the river. Pliny, whose rich materials are thrown together in inextricable confusion, appears to transfer them to the eastern side of the Nile; but that he erred in so doing is obvious from the distance which he reckons between them and the Sembritæ, whom he erroneously places to the west of the river. We have ventured, indeed, in appealing to these ancient writers, to quit the guidance of zealous commentators, who interpret their authors in a spirit of literal exactness, which converts vagueness of expression into positive absurdity. The attempts made to force the geographers of antiquity into an accordance with reality, before the reality itself, was perfectly understood, and of thus compounding their knowledge with the ignorance of their commentators, have given rise to numberless mistakes which are now unhappily become the inheritance of scholars. The statements of the three ancient geographers above cited, respecting the Nu-

bians, appear to us capable of being reconciled by an hypothesis much less violent than most of those which follow in the train of the generally-received interpretations. But in one very important respect these three authors agree, they all place the Nubæ on ground far removed from that which the Nubians now occupy. Strabo and Pliny carry them quite to the south of modern Nubia; the former of these, and Ptolemy likewise, place them westward of the Nile. However vague and unsatisfactory these statements may be, one fact may be collected from them with certainty, viz. that the Nubians of these authors did not inhabit the valley of the Nile near Egypt, nor indeed as far up as the Romans had a detailed knowledge of the river.

The Nubians of the present day occupy the valley of the Nile from Egypt to the southern extremity of Dongola. Their national name Nuba is obviously the very name which has been modified by the Greek and Roman writers, according to the genius of their respective languages. Now, the name Nuba is not restricted to them, but is extended also to the free negroes of Kordofan; whence a connexion between the two nations might be naturally inferred without further enquiry; but fortunately our information respecting the languages spoken in Kordofan, though scanty, is yet quite sufficient to establish the plain fact that the Nubians on the Nile are descended from the negro Nubas. If the vocabularies of the Nubian dialects be compared with those collected by Rüppell, in Kordofan, it will be seen that the Nubian terms relating to husbandry, with perhaps the mass of the Nubian language, are derived from the dialect of Koldaghi, which prevails in the northern parts of Kordofan. From the industrious communities of Takele and Shabún further south, are borrowed the names of manufactured articles. Another class of words may be traced to the Shillúks, and the country south of Sennâr. Finally, those Nubian words of which we are unable to assign the distinct origin, all belong to that fundamental and indispensable department of language in which no tongue, however barbarous, is deficient; we cannot, therefore, with any show of reason, suppose them to spring from sources more refined than the other and less vulgar materials of the language with which they are incorporated. We are justified, in short, in concluding that the language of the Nubians is chiefly derived from Kordofan; many terms, however, expressive of common objects, being introduced from the more distant, and perhaps more barbarous, slave countries.

It must not be supposed that the Nuba, or free Negro of Kordofan, is a savage. He is inferior to the Turks, Arabs, and Sennâry, who drag him into servitude, in arms alone. His habi-

tation is in general much better constructed, and more comfortable than those of the people dwelling along the Nile ; his husbandry is quite as skilful and provident as theirs ; his social manners less corrupt ; in fidelity, tractability, and the humaneness of his disposition, he fears no comparison with them. Wherever the Nubas settle, they till the ground. They have never been seen in the nomad state ; nor, if the permanence of manners of rude nations be considered, can it be deemed likely that they were ever in a condition so alien from their present habits. The sentiments of local attachment which they imbibe in their native hills, still govern their conduct when they descend to the plains. So steadfast and pacific in character, it is not surprising that the Nubas should be most highly esteemed as slaves. In all the countries from Abyssinia to Egypt, they are reckoned the best settlers or colonists. On the route northwards from Kordofan to Egypt, small parties of them occupy every spot as far as Abu Haraza, where water is found, and cultivation can be carried on. If it were not for the slave trade, which, as a means of colonization is infinitely less efficacious than the natural motives which it quells, it is likely that a constant flow of emigration from the hills of Kordofan would supply all the countries near the Nile with Nuba labourers.

The first establishment of the Nubians on the Nile, immediately above Egypt, took place towards the close of the third century. The Emperor Dioclesian, as Procopius informs us, finding the Ethiopian valley to be narrow and unproductive, and the Blemyes in its neighbourhood restless, withdrew the Roman troops from a soil which did not seem worth the trouble of defending, and yielded a territory, seven days' journey in extent, to a colony of *Nobatæ*, brought from a town in the Oasis. Measures were taken at the same time to quiet the Blemyes, whose incursions might have been ruinous to the infant colony ; and the dangerous experiment was made of quenching their love of rapine by gifts of money. The economical considerations which induced the Roman emperor to contract his dominion in this quarter within the limits of Egypt, had afterwards a like influence on the Caliphs ; and thus affords an historical illustration of the true character of the natural boundaries of Egypt on the south. The territory relinquished by the Romans to the *Nobatæ* extended from Philæ probably as far as Hierosycaminos, the modern Meharraka. The Oasis which the *Nobatæ* are said to have inhabited, might have been Selimé, or Abu Haraza, or even Kordofan itself ; but the question is of little importance. The following facts, however, may be deduced with certainty from the historian's text ; first, the *Nobatæ* dwelt not on the river, but at a distance

from it, westward; secondly, they were not nomadic, but inhabited a town (the *city of the Oasis*), which, in the phraseology of those countries, means that they were cultivators; thirdly, they frequented the river, probably as labourers or dealers, and as such 'had every thing their own way;' fourthly, they were not thought likely to be troublesome neighbours—the Blemyes alone, on the eastern side of the river, exciting dread and apprehension.

Let us now turn our attention to the Blemyes, whose name occurs so frequently in the ancient history of Nubia. They were known to Eratosthenes, who flourished about two centuries before the Christian era. In his time they occupied or roamed over the country on the eastern side of the Nile from Egypt to Meroe. The collective authority of nearly all subsequent writers confirms this account. Some of them, indeed, place the Blemyes near Abyssinia and the Red Sea; others fix them in the vicinity of Egypt; but these discrepancies will appear of little moment, if we consider that in a country inhabited by many tribes of the same race, the particular names of the tribes may be easily confounded with their general designation; and the one or the other is employed according to fluctuating circumstances. Only two writers of antiquity, Pliny and Mela, appear to dissent from the general host, and place the Blemyes, in company with the Satyrs, Ægipanes, and other monsters, on the Lybian side of the Nile. They tell us at the same time that the Blemyes were headless, with eyes in their breasts. Absurdities of this kind ought to have served as a warning to critics; but the wantonness of an Etymological mania proves even weaker than ordinary credulity; and for the sake of deriving the modern name *Bilma* from the Blemyes, Malte Brun, with most of the modern geographers in his footsteps, have transported that people to the Lybian deserts. Pomponius Mela, as an authority, is below contempt. Writing in a mean spirit, which survives to the present day, he gathered promiscuously the fables of every age, and called the mixture geography. Pliny, who alone merits attention in the present instance, threw together rich materials with little care. A general error seems to pervade his geography of the Nile: if he places the Blemyes on the western side of the river, he also removes the Sembritæ or Egyptian emigrants to the same side, shifting the Nubi to the east; all in contradiction to the distinct authority of Ptolemy, and involving in inextricable confusion the subordinate details of the author himself. But even if the error of Pliny were not manifest, his authority could not overpower the voices of some score writers who, during a course of eight centuries, agree in placing the Blemyes on the eastern side of the Nile between Abyssinia and Egypt.

It is sufficiently evident that the name *Blemyes*, properly belonging, perhaps, to a single tribe, was often employed as the general denomination of the race called by the Arabs *Boja* or *Bėja*; the numerous tribes of which are now comprised under the two great divisions of *Bisharín*, north of the route from *Suakin* to *Shendy*, and *Hadendoa*, south of the same line. It is not unlikely that the Coptic name, *Balnemmówy*, given to the same people, was contracted by the Greeks into *Blemyes* or *Blemmyes*; and as this word would appear to them to signify *ugly*, or *grim-visaged*, the deformity of the people so called would soon become a matter of popular belief. Their singular mode of wearing their hair in a great bushy mass resting on the shoulders, as is represented in Egyptian sculptures, and still practised at the present day with some modification, would be a sufficient nucleus to hold together all the exaggerations respecting their appearance which credulity could collect. The picture drawn by *Strabo* (or rather *Eratosthenes*,) of the nomad Ethiopians or *Blemyes*, represents in a very characteristic manner the *Hadendoa* or *Shepherd Beja* of the present day. The only change which, after a lapse of two thousand years, appears to have taken place in the circumstances of these tribes, is an increase of pastoral wealth, arising chiefly from the multiplication of the camel. In ancient as in modern times, all the predatory aggressions which Upper Egypt had to fear, came from the eastern side of the river; a fact which may be easily explained from the nature of the country.

We have seen that the *Nobatæ* obtained possession of the Valley of the Nile, from Egypt to *Hierosycaminos* or *Mehar-raka*, at the close of the third century; the restless neighbours of the new colony, the *Blemyes*, being at the same time paid to remain quiet. But means which betray weakness and excite cupidity, are not likely to be effectual in preserving peace. How long the *Nobatæ* enjoyed their new possessions undisturbed we are not informed; but we know that little more than a century later (407–425) *Olympiodorus* found the *Blemyes* in possession of the Valley of the Nile, from *Primis* (the modern *Ibrim*), down to *Taphis* (now *Tafeh*), not more than thirty miles from the Egyptian frontier; nor does it appear that the *Nobatæ* occupied the intervening space. What, then, had become of them? We cannot suppose them expelled altogether from the river, since but a few years after the journey of *Olympiodorus*, (in 452,) we find them joined with the *Blemyes* in a treaty, by which the Romans gave permission to both nations to worship *Isis* at *Philæ*, and even to borrow the statue of the goddess annually, on condition of returning it at a stated time. It is manifest, therefore, that an important revolution had taken place in the course of the fourth cen-

tury. The Blemyes had dispossessed the Nobatæ, and driven them up the river. They had become masters of Talmis (the modern Kelabshy), which was deemed a sacred city. Their territory extended northward only as far as Taphis, and from this place to the Egyptian frontier was probably neutral ground. Southwards they occupied Primis, a fortress situated on a rock. It deserves to be remarked, that the sacredness of Talmis was probably as ancient as those shrines the noble remains of which still decorate the place. The Nobatæ, it is also evident from the treaty above alluded to, had adopted the superstitions of the original tenants of the Ethiopian valley, and were still Pagans in the middle of the fifth century.

Again, a century elapses before another ray of historic light breaks in upon the obscurity which conceals the growing fortunes of the Nobatæ. An inscription discovered in the temple dedicated to Manduli, at Kelabshy, and which has had the singular good fortune to find for commentators Niebuhr and Letronne, reveals to us some very important particulars. It informs us in barbarous Greek that 'Silco, petty king (*βασιλίσκος*) of the Nobatæ and of all the Ethiopians, attacked the Blemyes, and took all their towns from Primis down to Talmis and Taphis. God gave him the victory, but as the Blemyes swore to him on *their idols*, (probably to maintain peace,) he withdrew his forces, leaving them in possession of an undiminished territory. He also resented the insults of the nations dwelling above the Nobatæ, and ravaged their lands.' It is evident from the terms of this inscription that Silco was a Christian, and indeed it may be laid down as an established fact, that the use of the Greek language in Nubia, above the Roman territory, was posterior to, and a consequence of, the introduction of Christianity into that country. Silco must, therefore, have been later than the reign of Justinian, and the inscription recording his victories may be assigned with much probability to the latter half of the sixth century. The Blemyes at that time still adhered to their ancient idolatry. Talmis, which was styled the *sacred city* long before the Nobatæ were established on the Nile, and the temple of Manduli or the Sun, which preserved the fame of its rites long after the other local superstitions of Ethiopia had fallen into total oblivion, were destined to receive the inscription of Silco. It is also a very important observation, that the territory of the Blemyes had in the time of Silco precisely the same extent (from Primis down to Taphis), which Olympiodorus assigned to it a century and a half before. With respect to the title of *Basiliscus*, or petty king, on which Silco appears to have plumed himself, we readily agree with Niebuhr and Letronne, that the adoption

of it is quite in keeping with the barbarisms which occur in every line of the inscription, and is a fair specimen of the writer's ignorance. But at the same time we see no reason to reject the obvious inference, that Silco assumed with ignorant complacency the mean title which was actually given him by the Greeks, and that he was in fact nothing more than a petty chief. To suppose that his allusions to the nations dwelling above the Nobatæ, were directed to Abyssinia or Sennâr, is to fall into the vulgar error of magnifying whatever is obscure, and to abuse needlessly the speculator's privilege of arranging every thing on a great scale.

About the middle of the seventh century, or not more than a hundred years at the utmost after the date of the above-mentioned inscription, the Arabs subdued Egypt, and made attempts to establish their dominion and their religion in the countries adjoining it on the south. Their fanatical zeal, it may be well imagined, awakened the enthusiasm of the Christian communities in all the countries above Egypt, to which the Coptic priests fled from the Mahometan persecutions; and it is not improbable that the fervour of religious hatred operating incessantly for some ages, wrought at length considerable changes in the constitution of the Nubian community, by fermenting its various ingredients into a more uniform consistence. The Arabian writers were the first who introduced into geography the name *Nubia*; which they applied properly to the Valley of the Nile, above Egypt, inhabited by the Nubas or Nobatæ, and, in a wider sense, to all the Christian nations along the river as far as Abyssinia. Ibn Selim el Aswâny, who flourished in the middle of the tenth century, informs us that Nubia (properly so called) was inhabited by two races of men, speaking different languages, viz. the Nuba, and the people of the province called Mokra, or Macorrah. By these distinct languages he cannot have intended different Nubian dialects, between which there is so close a resemblance, that the Nubians are every where intelligible to one another. The people of Macorrah and the Nuba were constantly at war with each other, until, embracing Christianity, they were united by the bonds of a common religion. The province of Macorrah commenced, he says, at Tafeh, that is Taphis, the ancient frontier town of the Blemyes. But what, we may ask, had become of this last named people? Must we suppose that between the middle of the sixth and that of the seventh century, they had been so totally exterminated, that the Arabs never heard of them; or that they were concealed under a new name? The latter supposition is obviously the more probable. If the Greek or Coptic name gave way to one of Arabic derivation, the change would be neither novel nor surprising; but it is still more

likely that the Blemyes assumed a new name when they embraced Christianity. At all events, it is hardly possible to doubt that the people of Macorrah, who, before they embraced Christianity, waged constant war with the Nuba, and who occupied, in the tenth century, the same territory which the Blemyes had held previous to their conversion, were, in fact, the descendants of the latter people.

The following then is a brief summary of the few historical facts which help to elucidate the transition of the ancient Ethiopia into the modern Nubia. While scattered asunder, they only make the obscurity more visible, but brought together and arranged, they may perhaps prove capable of shedding a valuable light. 1st, The Nubians did not occupy any part of the Valley of the Nile till near the close of the third century. 2dly, The Blemyes possessed the country above Egypt on the eastern side of the Nile, at least as early as the time of Eratosthenes. 3dly, The colony of Nobatæ or Nubians, established in lower Nubia by Diocletian, were driven up the river in the course of the fourth century by the Blemyes, who then became masters of all the territory which the Romans had resigned. 4thly, In the middle of the fifth century, the Blemyes and Nobatæ were still pagans. 5thly, A century later, or after the middle of the sixth century, the Nobatæ had embraced Christianity, while the Blemyes still adhered to their ancient superstitions. This important alteration was followed by a change of political fortune, and the Blemyes were now conquered by the Nobatæ. 6thly, Again, in the middle of the seventh century, when the Arab invasions commenced, the two races, forgetting their ancient animosities, lived together in Christian union; the Blemyes no longer retained their ancient name, but are evidently the people whom the Arab writers call Maccorrah.

Now, if we endeavour to complete the historical ground-plan of which the foregoing train of events exhibits a well-defined, though broken, remnant, by tracing on the one side an outline of the manners and social circumstances of Ancient Ethiopia, and on the other, an analogous draught of Modern Nubia, we shall find those wings of the mentally-restored edifice differing widely in some very essential particulars; and the contrast between them will tend to confirm our suspicions respecting the difference of the two races, whose mode of connexion, from their opposition at the base of the political arch to their union at its summit, is discernible in the historical fragments which remain to us. We think it indeed impossible to resist the conviction, that the Nubians of the present day are descended, not from the possessors of Ethiopia in its flourishing period, but from the

predial and slave population of that country, increased by colonists, and raised into a nation by peculiar circumstances, between the third and sixth centuries of the Christian era.

We are told by Diodorus that the Ethiopians and Egyptians bore a close family resemblance to each other in language, manners, and religion; and the correctness of his assertion is fully evinced by a comparison of their monuments. All the names of places on the Nile above Egypt, transmitted to us by ancient writers, have the characteristic forms of the Coptic language. But can the faintest resemblance be traced between the Coptic and Nubian language at the present day? Certainly not. Two languages so wholly unlike in elements and structure cannot for a moment be supposed to be descended from a common or from kindred stocks. Even the long-continued intercourse and contiguity of the two nations (if such a state of things can be supposed to have anciently existed) must have established some points of affinity between their respective languages, and given them some terms in common. But no; the Nubian language at present offers as little affinity with the Coptic as with the Chinese, and it is highly improbable that it ever had more. On the other hand, its relationship to the languages of Kordofan, particularly that of Koldaghi, is too plain to be mistaken. A marked difference indeed is observable between the language spoken by the Nubians on the Nile and the kindred dialect of the Nubas of Kordofan. But it is precisely the kind of difference which results from a long period of separation; the forms of language altering while the elements remained unchanged.

Now, if we are to suppose that the Nubian language, being that of Ancient Ethiopia, had once a close resemblance to the Egyptian, we must also suppose this patriarchal tongue to have spread southwards among the negroes of Kordofan; and furthermore, we must suppose that while time and revolution widened the breach between the sister nations, the languages of the Ethiopians (or Nubians) and of the Koldaghi negroes, fell into such surprisingly parallel corruption, that while losing every trace of resemblance to their Egyptian conqueror, they still preserved unimpaired the marks of their relationship to each other. But suppositions so absurd cannot be entertained for a moment. The negro blood, it is evident, must be always considered a prime element, when we calculate the genealogy of nations. Mixture of races very soon obliterates, but never produces the physical peculiarities of the negro. The Nubas of Kordofan cannot therefore be descended from the handsome tribes which occupy the banks of the Nile, nor is it likely that they borrowed their language from them; so that we must conclude, from all these con-

siderations, that the Nubian language is originally from the mountains of Kordofan ; that it never had any resemblance to the language of Egypt ; that it was not, therefore, the Ethiopian language of which Diodorus speaks ; and consequently that the Nubians themselves, are not (as a nation) descended from the Ethiopians.

Perhaps some acute reader may smile at the stress which we lay on the dissimilarity of the Coptic and Nubian languages ; and may feel disposed to ask us whether the Beja, for whom we claim the escutcheon of Ethiopic ancestry, can draw from their modern tongue any presumptions in favour of so honourable an alliance. We candidly confess our inability to reply with an unqualified affirmative ; but, at the same time, we submit that a careful consideration will deprive this objection of all its cogency. The Beja have been always placed in the whirl and eddy of those revolutions which have wrought so many changes in the countries above Egypt. The streams of invasion flowing along their frontiers have kept them in perpetual agitation, and more or less commingled with them. Hence Marmol says, with much show of reason, that the language of the Beja is a mixture of Arabic, Chaldee, (Geez or Ethiopic,) Nubian, and Coptic.* But the Arabic has had a paramount influence on it, particularly among the tribes near Egypt and the Nile, some of whom, forgetting their origin, fancy themselves to be Arabs by descent as well as language. The Bisharín themselves call their language *ratānah*, that is, a gibberish or corrupt jargon. Now, it cannot surely be thought surprising that the same influences which have completely extinguished in Egypt the ancient language of that country, should have operated in a similar manner on the sister language of Ethiopia,—extinguishing the dialects of the more settled and civilized tribes, and leaving for our study and comparison those which are least suited for our purpose ? In the Nubian language, on the other hand, there is no trace of similar corruption ; on the contrary, when we compare it with the parent stocks of Kordofan, we are surprised at its freshness and integrity ; and feel therefore justified in concluding, that the want of resemblance between the Coptic and Nubian language, is owing to their being radically distinct ; while a similar absence of connexion between the Coptic and surviving dialects of the Beja affords

* Some Coptic sorts still remain little altered in the language of the Bisharín ; for example, *iom*, Copt. the sea ; *O-yom*, Bish. water ; *óini*, Copt. light ; *t-óin*, Bish. the sun ; *son*, Copt. brother ; *a-ssanok*, Bish. my brothers. In the Bishary language, the masculine article is *o*, or before a vowel, *w*, in the singular, and *a* in the plural. The feminine article is *t*.

but a weak argument respecting these, and none at all as regards the extinct dialects formerly spoken by the Beja tribes inhabiting the river. In fine, if the question, 'who were the Ethiopians?' be tried by the comparison of languages, the only decision to be obtained is, that they had no connexion with the Nubians.

Let us next enquire whether and how far the Nubians can be said to have ever had a community of religion with the ancient Egyptians. We are told by Priscus (*Excerpta Legationum* in Labbe's *Protrepticon*,) that about the middle of the fifth century (A. D. 452) a treaty was made by Maximin with the Nobatæ and Blemyes, by which permission was given them to worship Isis at Philæ, and to borrow annually from the same place a certain statue of that goddess. This is the only passage of history, we believe, in which the Nubians are distinctly mentioned as followers of Egyptian superstitions. But this passage, from the manner in which it associates the two races whose respective claims to be considered the Ethiopians described by Diodorus, we are now endeavouring to sift, does not immediately decide the point at issue. It calls forth, however, the following reflections; first, that the Nobatæ here mentioned were evidently the descendants of the strangers established in the Roman territory a century and a half before, and therefore not the Ethiopians; and secondly, that the chief shrine on the river near Egypt,—the only temple the fame of whose religious rites descended to the times of Arab conquest; in short, the sacred city of Talmis, was perseveringly held by the Blemyes, who adhered to the religion of ancient Egypt after the Nobatæ had abandoned it, and who in the sixth century swore before their idols in the temple of Manduli to observe the terms dictated by the Christian Silco, a petty chief of the Nobatæ. To the foregoing observations we may add, that the gods of Egypt were worshipped in Meroe, whereas there is no reason to believe that the Nubians, properly so called, ever extended along the Nile above Dongola; for though the Arab writers vaguely comprise under the general name Nubia all the Christian kingdoms above Egypt, yet they state the boundaries of race and language clearly enough, and obviously place the Beja tribe of the Zenafedj in the country of the modern Shaikye. In fine, the historical testimony which remains to us concerning the diffusion of the religion of Egypt through Ethiopia, evidently relates to a people quite distinct from the Nobatæ or Nubians, to whom specifically there is but little allusion; and that little so modified by circumstances of time and place, as to be incapable of warranting any general inference as to their religion.

Many of the customs of ancient Egypt and Ethiopia are still

preserved in Nubia and in the countries southwards, up the Atbara and Blue River. Indeed, we suspect that those traditional relics of ancient manners are more frequent towards Sennâr than on the borders of Egypt. But peculiarities of costume and manners are too easily assumed and too mutable in their nature to afford incontrovertible proof of the descent of nations. We must therefore enquire into their antiquity in every case, with a view to discover how far each respective claimant can found a title on the prescriptive possession of such heir-looms. Let us then follow the two races who at present occupy the Ethiopic valley of the Nile, to what may be considered their original seats; and among the negro Nubas of Kordofan, in the first place, we look in vain for any thing that bears a characteristic resemblance to the customs of ancient Ethiopia. The Nubians dwelling on the Nile must have borrowed those customs, therefore, subsequent to their settlement on the river. But when, crossing to the eastern side of the Nile, we cast our eyes on the Hadendoa or nomad Beja, who are perhaps more barbarous than the naked Nuba, we immediately recognise among them the bushy head-dress represented on the ancient monuments of Nuba and Egypt; the ancient sandal also, and the singular wooden pillow or arm-rest, which is often found in the mummy pits. Is it not, therefore, just to conclude that the Ethiopians, who resembled the Egyptians in manners, were of the Beja and not of the Nubian race; since the ancient traditional customs, preserved only locally by the Nubians, are still the general characteristics of the Beja tribes?

We dare say that most of our readers will have already begun to suspect with us, that the Nubians are in reality comparatively recent intruders on the sacred soil of Ethiopia; strangers to the land in which are reared the monuments of the ancient Pharaohs, of Amenotoph, and Rhamses the Great. But still a few, mistrustful of new opinions, will perhaps hope to embarrass us by exclaiming, What! are not the Nubians a handsome people, with oval faces and regular features, not unlike those represented in the paintings and sculptures of the ancient monuments of Nubia? If their national physiognomy be such as might beseem a Memnon, how can they be supposed to be the progeny of the woolly-headed, obtuse-visaged negroes of Kordofan? Alas! This argument, if it proves any thing, proves too much. Are not the people of Sennâr, at the present day, among the handsomest of the tribes inhabiting the banks of the Nile? And yet they are descended from the negro Shillúks, who, not more than three centuries and a half ago, poured from their savage forests on the fertile plains near the Blue River. When Poncet visited Sennâr

(in 1696) he found its inhabitants still negroes. Bruce, seventy years later, observed with astonishment how soon the negro features disappeared among the descendants of the Shillúks; and was so forcibly impressed with that physiological phenomenon, as to hazard the hypothesis, that the climate of Sennâr alone, without intermixture of blood, is capable of changing, in one generation, the ill-moulded visage of the negro into a countenance partaking of Caucasian beauty. Again, M. Cailliaud, seventy years after Bruce, informs us that the people of Sennâr have an agreeable and regular physiognomy, with copper-brown complexions. Here, therefore, in the instance of Sennâr, we see forcibly exemplified the easy transition of a tribe of negroes into a nation of handsome mulattoes. However repugnant it may be to those genealogical prejudices which are cherished nearly as much by European historians as by Arab Bedwins, it is yet an incontestable fact, that the Valley of the Nile, from Egypt to the southern limits of Sennâr, is chiefly occupied by a mulatto population, whose physiognomy differs from that of the West Indian mulatto, as the Arab visage differs from the European, being at once more dusky and more regular. The Arab tribes near Shendy may still perhaps justly boast of the purity of their blood; but, generally speaking, within the limits mentioned above, the slave or negro population is always about a sixth of the whole, and continually amalgamating with it. While Nature kindly endeavours to wash out the stain, every caravan from the south or west pours in a new supply of slaves, and restores the blackening element. Such is the process from which originates that peculiar style of rounded Ethiopian beauty, so much admired in some of the sculptures of ancient Egypt. Nor is it confined to the Valley of the Nile, or to the country immediately above Egypt. A large mixture of negro blood is found among the Abyssinians, the Somâly, the Gallas, and among the Arabs, who occupy the eastern coast of Africa as far south as cape Delgado. This offspring of mingled race bear every where a family resemblance to one another and to the Nubian type; and no where are they handsomer than on the borders of the negro country, where the intermixture is most actively maintained—at Sennâr on the one side, and the sea-coast near the river Juba on the other.

But while the features of the Nubians offer an equivocal testimony on the one side, their sable hue is an unanswerable evidence on the other. The Ethiopians represented in the paintings which ornament the walls of the Nubian temples, were not a black people. Negroes sometimes figure in those paintings as captives and slaves, bound together, or laden with the produc-

tions of the south ; but the people whose national exploits were blazoned on these monuments, are painted of a dull red colour ; which, though to a European it may appear unnatural, nevertheless differs very little from the complexion of the Adhareby and other Bishary tribes at the present day. In short, a moment's inspection of these monuments must satisfy any candid enquirer, that they record the triumphs and religious ceremonies of a race differing widely in complexion from the modern Nubians. But we can call a witness of no mean authority in corroboration of our opinion. Ptolemy (Lib. i. cap. 9) confutes Marinus Tyrius, who extended the Ethiopian country of Agisymba as far as the southern tropic, in the following words :—
 ' For in corresponding situations on our side of the equator, that is to say, under the tropic of Cancer, men have not the colour of Ethiopians, nor are there elephants and rhinoceroses. But a little south of this, (the northern tropic,) the people are moderately dark, (*ἡρέμα τυγχάνουσι μέλανες*) as those, for example, who inhabit the thirty Schoeni, (as far as Wady Halfe,) above Syene. And for this very reason, Marinus himself places the Garamantes, not under the tropic of Cancer, nor yet north of it, but quite to the south. But in the country round Meroe, the people are already sufficiently black (*ἤδη καὶ ἀκόρως εἰσὶ μέλανες*), and there first we meet with pure negroes, (*Αἰθίοπες ἄκρατοι*) as well as elephants and other strange animals.' This passage of the Alexandrian geographer proves beyond dispute, that in the second century of the Christian era, the Valley of the Nile immediately above Egypt was occupied by a race extremely unlike its present swarthy possessors, who are unquestionably the darkest people on the river, the Dongolawy excepted ; the beauties of Shendy and even of Sennâr being pale and unripened in comparison with those of Philæ.

But enough has been already said to overturn the common belief, which is indeed a bare presumption, that the Nubians are descended from the Egypti-Ethiopians. They are, in fact, but the supposititious inheritors of that accumulation of fame which admiring posterity award to the erectors of so many noble monuments. According to Erastosthenes, the Nubæ extended, on the western side of the Nile, (he does not say at what distance,) from the latitude of Meroe to that of the great bend of the river, (that is of Dongola.) They were governed by petty chiefs quite independent of the Ethiopians. This statement received the sanction of Strabo ; Ptolemy placed the Nubi at a great distance from the river. Pliny sets them on the eastern side of the Nile, eight days from Meroe, while he transports the Sebritæ and Blemyes to the west. His error is manifest, but it is sufficient

for our purpose to observe, that his Nubæ were not within the limits of modern Nubia.

In little more than a century after Ptolemy, we find the Nobatæ (the original name having received a more thoroughly Greek form) brought from a distance and established in the valley of the Nile by Diocletian. Here, therefore, in the vicinity of Egypt, in the country most thickly studded with Ethiopian temples, we see clearly the comparatively recent introduction of the Nubians. Scanty gleams of historical light, and an inscription or two, just suffice to show us the fluctuating fortune of the Nubian colony. They were at first driven up the river, but their conversion to Christianity obtained for them abler guidance, and a temporary superiority. The general spread of the Christian religion soon after united the hostile nations; and the Nobatæ or Nubians occupied the valley of the Nile as joint tenants with a people of totally different race, and who were evidently the prior possessors of the soil. Then comes a long period of historic obscurity and confusion, and, as the darkness clears off, we discover a nation called Nubians, occupying a long extent of territory above Egypt, and hear, for the first time, of a country called Nubia.

If our readers should seek, for they would not be justified in peremptorily requiring of us, an explanation of this change, or a developement of the silent and almost imperceptible revolution by which one nation came to supersede another, we must again appeal to their candour; and warn them, that though they might feel strong in denying our proposition, they would be sadly at a loss for positive proofs in support of its contradictory. Mankind, though always mistrustful of new hypotheses, have no objection to the most gratuitous assumptions which have been some time in circulation. Yet, where history is silent, we must necessarily have recourse to conjecture to explain the course of events. The utmost that can be done, in such a case, is to offer an explanation conformable to the general history of mankind, in which each event is referred to its most natural cause, the peculiar circumstances of society being taken into consideration, and the individual influence of heroes and other poetic agencies being jealously excluded;—an explanation which relies, in short, on the operation of no causes but those which the experience of history shows to be more or less inevitable.

Nature has nowhere prescribed in a more authoritative manner the social condition of man, than in the countries immediately above Egypt. The chain of high mountains which flank the western shores of the Red Sea, are visited by periodical and heavy rains; and pour down numerous torrents, which are ab-

sorbed by the intervening plains before they reach the Nile. These hills, therefore, with the plains of Taka, which are annually inundated by the Mareb, are capable of supporting many nomadic tribes; the impulse towards a wandering life being continually communicated by the nature of the soil and climate. But the vast plains which spread on the western side of the Nile, like the valley itself of the river, north of latitude 17° , are never or very rarely refreshed by passing showers. Hence we find that the roving tribes on the eastern side of the Nile have been in all ages formidable neighbours to the more civilized settlers on the river; while the scanty nomadic population of the western desert (above Egypt) makes no figure in history. But among the hills of Kordofan a more humid atmosphere, with less violent vicissitudes, encourages cultivation and the habits of settled life. The Nubas, when they descend from their hills, still retain their original habits; they cultivate the soil where water can be found, but have never been seen associated in wandering tribes. In this way they now occupy small spots on the caravan routes northward from Kordofan; and it is highly probable that in ancient times they were the scattered tenants of the desert of Bahiúda, thus approaching the Nubian portion of the Nile only at its southern extremity, or at Dongola.

If we compare all the circumstances, physical and moral, of the Beja tribes on the one side, with those of the Nubas on the other, we cannot avoid arriving at the conclusion, that the former were the masters of the soil in the valley of the Nile, and that the latter were an adscititious labouring population. The negroes from Kordofan and the countries immediately south of Sennâr, are most highly esteemed as slaves; being peaceable, intelligent, and more or less acquainted with the humble arts which minister to social comfort. Bruce found flourishing colonies of Nuba in Sennâr; similar colonies have been recently established in Nubia.* Now, if we take into consideration the permanence of manners of unlettered nations, may we not confidently infer that the same negro tribes were equally esteemed in antiquity, and that the Nubas were as eagerly sought then as at present to fill every vacancy in the productive class? Or, we might rather ask, would it not be highly absurd and paradoxical to maintain that the nations dwelling on the Nile, in ancient times, had no slaves, or supposing they had, that these were not chiefly Nuba? Now it is well known that negroes were numerous in the population of Ancient Egypt; and whence they came may be easily col-

* Rifaú, *Tableau de la Nubie*.

lected from the fact, that Nuba numerals have been detected in some specimens of the Egyptian Demotic writing.*

The Blemyes continually harassed the Roman territory above Egypt, of which the Nobatæ, under the imperial protection, had virtually the sole enjoyment, or where, as Procopius expresses it, 'they had every thing their own way,' (ἀγρον καὶ ἴφερον). But as soon as the Romans, weary of protecting at great expense an unproductive province, (like the Caliphs afterwards, and perhaps the Pharaohs before them,) withdrew from the valley of the Nile above Egypt, and ceded it to the Nobatæ, the natural balance was soon restored between the two races, in spite of Roman influence, and the Blemyes (a Beja tribe) became masters of the soil. The influence which the presence or proximity of the Romans must have had in raising the productive and checking the more turbulent party, cannot be reasonably doubted; and before it was totally extinguished, Christianity had reached the Nobatæ, and given them national unity. We need not enlarge here on the political results which we ascribe to the spread of the Christian religion, nor explain why the Nobatæ took precedence of their Beja neighbours in coming within its pale. These matters offer no difficulties to the minds of those who are tolerably conversant with the history of mankind. The Blemyes, worsted by the Christian Nobatæ, embraced the religion of their conquerors; and it was probably at this period of their history that they took the name of Macorrah. The two races now became politically united, though not blended together, under a hierarchical form of government, whence we might be justified in conjecturing that the ruling families were of Greek or Coptic descent.

A century after the conversion of the Nobatæ, the Arabs invaded Egypt, propagating a new faith by fire and sword. The Coptic clergy, flying from these conquerors, sought refuge in Nubia, where they strengthened the cause of Christianity at a most important crisis. The Mahomedans, carrying their arms southward, easily succeeded in making converts and allies of the more powerful Beja tribes, the kinsmen of the Macorrah. This circumstance is of the utmost importance to our speculation; since it is evident that it must have operated directly on the population of the river. In the course of the often repeated warfare carried on during a long period of eight centuries and a half, (for Christianity was not extinct in Nubia at the beginning of the sixteenth century,) between the Christians on the river and

* See a paper by Mr Hinckes on the Enchorial Language of Egypt, in the *Dublin University Magazine*. No. III. 1833.

the Mohamedan invaders, the Macorrah, it is manifest, occupied an equivocal and dangerous position—a position indeed which could not possibly be long maintained in a contest inflamed by religious hatred. They must have been compelled either to quit the river and join their brethren in the plains, or else, forgetting their origin, to lay aside the distinctions of their race, and to assimilate themselves as much as possible to the less questionable, that is to say, to the Nubian portion of the Christian community. In short, if Christianity first raised the Nubians into a nation, the long-continued struggle which they maintained with the Mahomedans must have had the effect of blending and uniting their society more closely together; the heat of religious animosity expelling every heterogeneous particle. The Macorrah disappeared, but not without leaving a faint vestige behind; the dialect spoken in the districts which they occupied differs from that spoken at the extremes of the Nubian valley, in the Wady el Keniúz and in Dongola; the physiognomy also of the inhabitants of Mahass and Sukkot betrays a Bejáwy extraction.

In fine, the chief articles of the historic creed which we here endeavour to promulgate, are, that the Ethiopians above Egypt, who resembled the Egyptians in manners, language, and religion, and whose monuments we gaze on with so much admiration at the present day, were of the Bejáwy race; that the Nubas or Negroes from Kordofan were always numerous in the Valley of the Nile, constituting the predial or servile population; that these latter were protected and increased by Roman policy; and finally, that their conversion to Christianity gave them a national existence, while their subsequent warfare with the Mahomedans rendered them the nucleus or main prop of a mixed population, and caused all lingering differences of race to be absorbed in the Nubian name.

We have not by any means exhausted the considerations which countenance our theory; but it is not our intention in the present instance to do more than to offer to the meditation of our readers such a chain of argument as fairly warrants our conclusion; and thus to submit the question in its simplest form to the decision of the learned world. The age which produces such splendid works as those of Gau and Rosellini,—works in which the scholar and the artist unite their efforts to perpetuate all that remains of ancient Nubia,—cannot surely be indifferent to a discussion which aims at establishing, with respect to that country, the historical relationship between the past and present, and at supplying, in some measure, the deficiencies of historical details from the philosophy of history.

ART. III.—*The Collected Poems of the late N. T. CARRINGTON.*
 Edited by his son, H. E. CARRINGTON. 2 vols. 12mo.
 London: 1834.

COUNTY histories, the antiquities of towns, topographical and legendary anecdotes of remarkable places, are not made half as much of as they deserve. How few persons have really studied them, although they are valuable for a variety of purposes! To instance only one: It is very desirable to connect the material and moral world as much as possible, and to multiply the links, by which a rational affection binds us to all the different concentric circles, which spread from home to country—from country to the world. Now, no Worcestershire squire, who is unacquainted with the three folios of its historian, Dr Nash, can at all know and love his county as he ought to do. The unknown and the nonexisting are so much the same, that, in this respect, he might almost as well have been born in Kentucky, where, some fifty years back, there was no history at all. The pride which the inhabitants of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire take in their cathedrals—the miles that the yeomen rode into Lincoln from the fens, when an accident had happened to ‘Great Tom’—the passion with which, on rebuilding York Minster, both laity and clergy were recently seen debating the future position of its screen—as things touching their inheritance—exemplify the degree to which, in even our wandering and business-like age, the living principal of local attachment may be strengthened by a single class of monuments and traditions. Interests to the full as powerful, whether in striking buildings or in curious remains, in beautiful scenery or in spots consecrated by great men and extraordinary events, are doubtless scattered over almost every district inhabited by an ancient nation. The difficulty is, in bringing them forward with the same effect, and keeping them equally present to the mind. The success of many a popular provincial ballad, shows what an important and delightful auxiliary towards the preservation of these feelings poetry may become; and certainly on easy terms. With these sentiments we took up the poems of Mr Carrington, the poet of Dartmoor and the banks of Tamar; and we have a satisfaction in thinking that they may be extremely useful and deservedly popular in Devonshire, although readers at the other end of the island should find them a little dull.

‘Open rebuke,’ says the wise man, ‘is better than concealed love.’ Be that as it may, there can be no doubt of its being infinitely better than preposterous and injudicious praise. It is

a truth-protecting law of nature, that exaggeration, instead of magnifying, lessens. The extravagance of the Stoics has made more Epicureans than Epicures; and the extravagance of some literary panegyrists, who forget that the West of England is not the whole of it, is exposing Mr Carrington's modest volumes to the penalty of a similar reaction. Mr Carrington himself (for we are sorry to say he is dead) was evidently a very meritorious and amiable person. A memoir of him also, which his son has prefixed to the present Collection, is written in good taste and good feeling. In justice to them both, we have done our best to get rid of the impression produced by indiscreet and provoking friends. The partiality of an editor-son is a very different affair. Every body feels tenderly towards it. Yet critics are bound to be on their guard even against the seductions of a son.

Mr Carrington was born at Plymouth. His father was a grocer, and apprenticed him at an early age to a measurer in the dock-yard. He was so disgusted at the 'blackguardism,' which at that time corrupted and disgraced this national establishment, (are things now on a better footing?) that he took the first opportunity of running away, and entered himself on board a man-of-war. In this manner, he was present at the victory off cape St Vincent. Some juvenile verses, which he indited in honour of the event, introduced him to the Captain, who immediately, on the return of the ship to England, restored him to his parents. After this naval frolic, he was allowed to adopt a profession better suited to his character and attainments; although, if we are to judge by his poetical complaints, it was not much more in accordance with the bent of his inclinations. He would have greatly preferred rambling under hedgerows, or along the sea-side, to teaching little boys. However, having once taken up the cross of a schoolmaster, the remainder of his life was faithfully devoted to its duties; and poetry became only the plaything of his holydays, or the recreation of an evening, after the heat and burden of the day. Residing at Plymouth, he dedicated his muse entirely to the beauties of his native country. It is agreeable to learn, that the gentlefolk of Devonshire were sufficiently alive to the value of a provincial poet to pay Mr Carrington considerable attention during his lifetime; and that his dispersed poems have been now collected into a uniform edition, in consequence of numerous enquiries for them. It is true, the Tamar has not been as fortunate as the river Duddon, nor, will Dartmore, be visited, like Loch Katrine, by pilgrims from foreign lands. But it is a gratifying triumph, worthily achieved, to have taken advantage, in ordinary minds, of the natural intro-

duction, which a vanity in their own beautiful neighbourhood may afford for the poetry that celebrates it; and to have provided the real admirers of simple nature with those more extensive and more affecting associations which, springing from human life, at once both inspire and are inspired by the mysterious harmony of numbers. This is what Mr Carrington has done. We admit that he is often too languid to be impressive, and too diffuse to be picturesque. But this is unfortunately a part of his case, and a distressing part of it. The variable spirits of an invalid, and the listlessness of a jaded schoolmaster, will account too well for the air of faintness and melancholy which he has thrown over his favourite pursuits, even at the moment of turning to them for relaxation from his labours.

The landscape painter has a great advantage over the corresponding branch of the sister art; since it is unquestionable that words, substituted for colours, speedily disappoint and tire. No degree of talent can prevent it. Let the poet accomplish all that every possible combination of language can place within his reach, what is it he can perform? His vales and mountains soon become indistinct—his breezes and waterfalls monotonous; the bee, butterfly, and lyric lark of one page, are only the same bee, butterfly, and lark which we parted company with a little while before. We have heard the absence of regular descriptive poems mentioned as a reason for suspecting that classical antiquity took but little pleasure in the beauties of nature. On the contrary, it is, in our opinion, only a proof of the wisdom of the ancients, that they declined attempting any thing of the sort, as a main continuous subject, on a considerable scale. In saying this, we are far from meaning to decry—nobody can be so foolish—the merit of good descriptions. The only question is, whether they can afford to be the principal object of a poem, or ought not to be kept subordinate. It is a question of proportion. On the first plan, (which is that of Mr Carrington,) unless the series of descriptions is to become intolerable, it must be interspersed with appropriate reflections, and enlivened by antiquarian and legendary allusions. If sameness is avoided, it is at the risk of breaking up the whole into detached pieces. In the latter case, the principal subject, whatever it may be, has a specific movement and interest of its own. The descriptions will be accessories only. Thrown in, incidentally, in order to excite, illustrate, or amuse, they are often necessary, and must be always agreeable, whether in lyrical narrative, or didactic poetry. What a splendid national effect may be thus created! Italy is a proof. Without a single purely descriptive poem, how completely is it sown with poetical recollections! and happy the day when a scholar, for the first time, sits

down on a hill at Rome, with a Horace in his hand! Pope was wont to say, that 'the Æneid was evidently as much a party 'piece as the Absalom and the Achitophel.' We have not the means of knowing whether the designs of Augustus would not have been more effectually served by putting the political object plainly forward. But we feel confident that the scenery connected with the last six books of the Æneid would have only suffered in interest, if, instead of occasional notices by its epic minstrel, it had figured as the substantial argument of a 'Tour in Latium,' or 'A Day upon the Tiber.'

Supposing that descriptive poems of any length must be tedious at best, Mr Carrington's are more so than need be. The school-room took out of him so much of his freshness, buoyancy, and vigour, that the fatal character of a prize poem, or composition made to order, is apparent on the surface. The poem called 'Dart-moor,' though not sent in in time for competition, was, in point of fact, written for a prize upon that subject, which was given by the Royal Society of Literature, and obtained by Mrs Hemans. The lack of muscle and spirit, to which we have already alluded, is felt throughout. The dangerous facility of blank verse has led him to run it up, slight in substance and flimsy in construction. Frequently, for a page together, it is not raised above the level of ordinary conversation, by as much elevation in the sentiment, or the expression, as Shakspeare thought befitting dramatic prose; nor transposed half as elaborately as the 'numerous prose' adopted by Milton and Shaftesbury.

The effect of some of the prettiest passages is worse than destroyed by a bad habit of dropping his voice on a sudden into a feeble and inglorious close.

'Soft the landscape melts away
Into the billowy distance, where the eye,
Resting upon the shadowy moor, discerns
Hengeston, with head majestic, looking down
On distant towns and hamlets, fertile vales,
Hills, lawns, and woods, and streams—a map immense.'

This is a climax which few people can admire, except it be Mr Arrowsmith.

The tide which had carried a party of pleasure up the Tamar turns abruptly. The misfortune is only made more dramatic by the emphasis of the apostrophe.

'Its force is spent,
Swift it retreats adown the verdant bank,
And ere yon lovely blushing flower had sipp'd
The draught saline, an agency unseen,
Check'd the usurping flow, and lo! it rolls
Backward its flood—behold the obedient ebb!'

There can be no objection to flowers drinking; but something

depends on the liquor, and much on the grace which is put into the operation. A 'draught saline' so administered is more than we can recommend to the poetical Floras of the north. Even still greater management is required in the successful use of metaphors from eating. We should think that a sentimental alderman (provided the anomaly exists) is the only reader who will not feel that the graceful compliment to evening is seriously injured by the word *repast*.

' If morning bid

Nature, reviving from her rest, to bless
The sky, the grove, with livelier song, fair Eve
Has too her dying and bewitching strains ;
A magic power is hers—a nameless charm,—
And rich is the *repast* she gives to him,
Who loves amid her fairy reign to rove,
And hear the lay that bids the sun farewell !'

If we are called upon for a reason—why *Fate* should not be as well entitled to a besom as *Fortune* to a wheel, or *Time* to a scythe—reason we have none : certain, however, are we, that the besom must be held by a more powerful hand than that of our author, or it will drop from the sublime of scripture to the ridiculous of bombast.

' But still the mouldering hand

Of Fate is on man's noblest towers, and *sweeps*
His columns and his cities from the earth
With such wide-wasting *besom*, that no trace
Remains to tell the traveller where stood
The boasted structures once !'

The great defect in the general execution of Mr Carrington's two principal poems, is, that the really poetical features in his landscapes are not sufficiently selected and condensed. In consequence, the lights are scattered, as if at random, over the different figures of the piece, while the subjects themselves seem capable of dragging on to an alarming and indefinite extent. No one part is more concentrated than the rest ; and the whole appears too desultory and rambling to come properly within the frame of a single picture. The only limits to the poem of ' Dartmoor ' is the same which limits to three hundred square miles, ' its rugged and mist-swept hills—its rock-strewn ' and torrent-haunted glens—and its wide expanses of purple ' heath, stretching miles and miles away, in utter and most impressive solitude.' The only limit to the ' Banks of Tamar ' is the length of its navigable stream, and the catalogue of the gentlemen's houses by which it flows. Not that we complain at the catalogue. It is quite as good a string in its way for tying together historical reminiscences as the Homeric catalogue of ships.

Dartmoor must be a singular region ;—vast, lone, and visionary, as a Scottish heath, among the smiling prospects and level land.

scapes of the south. Its terrible grandeur appears to have acted on the gentle imagination of the Plymouth schoolboy like a German fairy tale.

‘ Dartmoor! thou wert to me, in childhood’s hour,
A wild and wond’rous region. Day by day
Arose upon my youthful eye thy belt
Of hills mysterious, shadowy, clasping all
The green and cheerful landscape, sweetly spread
Around my home, and with a stern delight
I gazed on thee. How often on the speech
Of the half-savage peasant have I hung,
To hear of rock-crown’d heights, on which the cloud
For ever rests; and wilds stupendous, swept
By mightiest storms; of glen, and gorge, and cliff
Terrific, beetling o’er the stone-strewed vale;
And giant masses, by the midnight flash
Struck from the mountain’s hissing brow, and hurl’d
Into the foaming torrent; and of forms
That rose amid the desert, rudely shap’d
By superstitious hands, when time was young;
And of the dead—the warrior dead—who sleep
Beneath the hallow’d cairn!’

His worn out manhood,

‘ Struggling with the usual lot
Of genius, to be praised and be forgot,’

at times turned afterwards towards these solitudes with a deeper feeling than the emancipation of a holyday:—

‘ Here might the man, disgusted with the world,
Retire, and commune with himself, with God,
And nature; here, unsought, unvex’d, unknown,
The stern contemner of his race might dwell,
With mountain independence ever—lord
Of the lone desert. On his musings free
Nor speech impertinent, nor harsh command,
Nor frivolous talk, consuming half the hours
Of hollow artificial life, nor hum
Of populous cities, nor the deaf’ning din
And shout of savage war, would e’er intrude;
But he would live with liberty, and climb,
With vigorous step the heathy ridge, or wind
The vale, and list with rapture to the sounds
Delightful, that can bless e’en steep and stream
Of the scorn’d forest. Nor would winter’s voice,
Though stern, be undelightful; the high peal
Of the great thunder, and the winds that speak
Almost as loud as the loud thunder. Then,
Though guilt might crouch, his steady eye would mark
The lightning gild the hill’s tempestuous brow,
Or flash from tor to tor, illuming all

The man-deserted waste ; and, as the storm,
 Rocking his lowly home, sublimely raged,
 His high wrought soul would triumph in that hour,
 And hail the awful elemental war !'

An imaginary day upon the moor presents us with the successive effects of morning, noon, and evening. Nor do we see it merely as it exists at present. We are taken back (for our poet is one of Mr Polwhele's forest faction) to the days of luxuriant forests—of wolves and winged serpents. The Danmonii, 'our brave forefathers,' are reinstated in their round houses, standing singly on the hills ; and the Crockern Parliament resumes its sittings in the open air ;—an atmosphere probably not a great deal more unwholesome than that to which, but for the fire at Westminster, our modern senators would have continued to be condemned.

' Not always thus

Has hover'd, Crockern, o'er thy leafless scalp,
 The silence and the solitude that now
 Oppresses the crush'd spirit ; for I stand
 Where once the fathers of the forest held
 (An iron race) the parliament that gave
 The forest law. Ye legislators, nurs'd
 In lap of modern luxury, revere
 The venerable spot, where, simply clad,
 And breathing mountain breezes, sternly sat
 The hardy mountain council. O'er them bent
 No other dome but that in which the cloud
 Sails—the blue dome of heav'n. The ivy hung
 Its festoons round the Tor, and at the foot
 Of that rude fabric, pil'd by nature, bloom'd
 The heath flower.'

The mountain streams make admirable outlets from this dreary, if exclusive, subject.

' Streams—desert born !—I love you, and I love
 The fruitful mother that with look austere,
 Yet bountiful of heart, has sent you forth,
 A matchless progeny, to bless the earth,
 And bid it bloom like Eden. I could dwell
 For ever near you ; or, when flashing down,
 Far seen—far heard—the mountain steeps sublime ;
 Or when ye warble through the myrtle vales
 Of Devon, wide diffusing o'er her shores
 Atlantic, boundless beauty. But, farewell !'

The Cromlech and Logan of the Druids on the Teign, are the stepping-stones of superstition by which history passes on to the ruined monastery on the banks of Tavy. The prophetic inspiration of our poet consists in little more than in hastening to realize the patriotic hopes of Sir Thomas Tyrwhit. For the

'magic hand of cultivation' is slowly approaching the tor-crowned hills, and the railway already traces them.—

'Lo, along the iron-way
The rocks gigantic slide! The peasant views
Amazed the masses of the wild moor move
Swift to the destined port. The busy pier
Groans 'neath the granite spoils;—the future pile
Is there—the portal vast—the column tall—
The tower—the temple—and the mighty arch
That yet shall span the torrent.'

All interests will be reconciled, provided the improvers will only leave the antiquarians their granite god upon the moorland edge, and not carry away legendary tombstones (like that of Childe the Hunter) to make their doorsteps. Mr Carrington has written a spirited ballad on the fate of this savage sportsman. He was benighted on the moor it seems, and to keep himself warm, he killed his horse, disembowelled it, and went to bed in its belly. The precaution did not answer. So he left a paper, intimating, that whoever buried his body should have his lands at Plymstock. The tradition goes, that in this manner Plymstock came into the hands of the monks of Tavistock and the house of Russell. If such a story is no authority for the law of real property, it is some for the brutality and superstition of an age which could invent it.

The Tamar winds pleasantly on, under pensile boughs and the tell-tale smoke of lark-awakened cottages.—

'O! blest is he who in the rural reign
Lists to the rustling of the wind-swept blade,
The whispering of the leaf, the hymn of bird,
The flow of rill, the torrent's distant roar,
The burst of matin and of vesper song:
And, whether Nature in the summer noon
Reposes deep, or sends her breezes forth,
Is ever grateful, loves her changeful face,
Prefers his peaceful cot with foliage deck'd
To all the splendid domes that grandeur rears,
And, conscious of his happiness, contemns
The specious, heartless pleasures of the town.'

It was natural that Mr Carrington should think that persons who lived in the country, and had their time to themselves, and could get up every morning to see the sun rise, and write verses on it, must be happy. We suspect, however, that there is more heavy and wasted time in the country than in the town; and that, from the force of contrast and from greater activity of mind, towns-people have, as a class, the deeper feeling of the two for the beauties of external nature.

Mr Carrington's talent appears, on the whole, to the greatest advantage in his minor poems. At all events, the tedium of suc-

cessive descriptions made us read 'Wilverley' and 'The Land of the Logan,' with more unbroken pleasure than 'Dartmoor.' 'The Martyr Student' was a congenial subject to call out the sympathy of a teacher. It is an appropriate companion to a tender sketch of a consumptive child contained in the piece entitled 'My Native Village.' 'The Hell-weather' is a striking description of the loss of Sir Cloudesley Shovel with two thousand seamen on the Scilly rocks. But our space confines us. Therefore our readers must be content with two very favourable specimens of his ability as a painter of sea pieces. The first is a description of the ground swell—the second of a storm.

'The winds of June are sleeping—the light cloud
Is motionless in heaven—the earth is still
And silent as at midnight—e'en the sea
To the blue offing his unruffled flood
Spreads, beautifully smooth. And yet, upheaved
From depths that know not summer calms, a surge
Breaks round this crescent bay, and all its arch
Magnificent is foam-fringed. Earth may droop
In the dull, drowsy noon—her million songs
Be deeply hush'd—the gales forget to breathe
Upon her grassy seas, and all her woods
Be strangely still; but Ocean never rests,
And if, soft kiss'd by summer winds, he wears
A smiling mien—the smoothness of his brow
Conceals an unquiet bosom. Far away,
E'en to the dim-seen headlands of the west,
I mark him rushing on the surf-swept strand;
And here, ere since his billows lash'd the shores
Of the resounding globe, his huge, dark wave,
Has met the rock in anger, and his voice
Has spoken—audibly—as now.

'Ye fields,
In austral beauty clad—ye savage cliffs,
That fringe them—ye wild headlands that have spurn'd
The shatter'd surges of six thousand years—
Ye reefs, and fretted caverns—and ye dark
And lonely isles—not always speaks the voice
Of Ocean thus, in music. There are strains
Of deeper meaning—fearful tones that rise
Around you oft—too startling for the ear
Of weak humanity. Oh! when the winds
To battle with the great Atlantic rush,
Far, far from you the shuddering seaman steers
His fear-wing'd bark; for, where the mighty rocks
Fling off the mountain wave, dread sounds are heard,
Amid the giant strife, that almost chill
The heart blood of the bravest.'

Mr Carrington shows that the terrors of the Atlantic had not been lost upon him.

' The evening winds shriek'd wildly ; the dark cloud
Rested upon the horizon's hem, and grew
Mightier and mightier, flinging its black arch
Around the troubled offing, till it grasp'd
Within its terrible embrace, the all
That eye could see of ocean. Then arose,
Forth from the infinite of waters, sounds
Confus'd—appalling ; from the dread lee shore,
There came a heavier swell, a lengthen'd roar,
Each moment deeper, rolling on the ear
With most portentous voice. Rock howl'd to rock,
Headland to headland, as the Atlantic flung
Its billows shoreward—and the feathery foam
Of twice ten thousand broken surges sail'd
High o'er the dim-seen land. The startled gull
With scream prophetic sought his savage cliff,
And e'en the bird that loves to sail between
The ridges of the sea, with hurried wing,
Flew from the blast's fierce onset.

' One—far off—

One hapless ship was seen upon the deep,
Breasting the western waters. Nothing lived
Around her—all was desert—for the storms
Had made old Ocean's realm a solitude,
Where man might fear to roam. And there she sat
A lonely thing amid the gathering strife,
With pinions folded—not for rest—prepar'd
To struggle with the tempest.

' And it came

As night abruptly clos'd ; nor moon nor star
Look'd from the sky, but darkness deep as that
Which reign'd o'er the primeval chaos, wrapt
That fated bark, save when the lightning hiss'd
Along the bursting billow. Ocean howl'd
To the high thunder, and the thunder spoke
To the rebellious ocean with a voice
So terrible, that all the rush and roar
Of waves were but as the meek lapse of rills,
To that deep, everlasting peal which comes
From thee, Niagara, wild flinging o'er
Thy steep the rivers of a world. Anon
The lightnings glar'd more fiercely, burning round
The glowing offing with unwonted stay ;
As if they linger'd o'er the dark abyss,
And rais'd its veil of horror but to show
Its wild and tortured face. And then the winds
Held oft a momentary pause,

As spent with their own fury ; but they came
 Again with added power—with shriek and cry,
 Almost unearthly, as if on their wings
 Pass'd by the spirit of the storm ;

‘ They heard

Who rode the midnight mountain wave—the voice
 Of death was in that cry unearthly. Oft
 In the red battle they had seen him stride
 The glowing deck, scattering his burning hail,
 And breathing liquid flame, until the winds—
 The very winds grew faint, and on the wave
 Rested the column'd smoke ; but on that night
 He came with tenfold terrors—with a power
 That shook at once heaven, earth ; his ministers
 Of vengeance round him—the great wind, the sea,
 The thunder, and the fated flash ! Alas !
 Day dawn'd not on the mariner ; ere morn
 The lightning lit the seaman to his grave—
 The sea-dog feasted on the dead !’

Certain poetry is like certain wines—the natives alone relish it. We are far from saying that no demand for the present volumes is to be expected out of Devonshire ; but, as is the case with their cider and their cream, true Devonshire people, born and bred so, will best understand, and value them. There is another kind of poetry which is like another kind of wine ; to be enjoyed in perfection, it must be drunk upon the spot. If Providence should ever grant us a day on Dartmoor or the Tamar, Mr Carrington's muse shall have the benefit of the experiment. His principal poems have all that we should want in a guide-book—and have blank verse besides. They are indeed a guide-book put into verse—and into much more quiet and well-conducted verse than would suit the ambitious genius of most of those dilettanti works. Fame is far too high and sacred a word to tamper with on so slight an occasion. But if Mr Carrington would have been satisfied himself with as much of the ‘ unfading wreath of fame,’ as Mr Polwhele has acquired by his ‘ beautiful poem on the influence of local attachment’—and we suppose that he would have been so, from his verses in its honour,—thus far, we think, we may safely undertake for him. Mean time, we would advise his friends not to injure his honest credit by scheming or dreaming after more.

ART. IV.—*An Account of the present state of the Island of Puerto Rico*. By Colonel FLINTER, of the General Staff of the army of her Most Catholic Majesty. 8vo. London: 1834.

THIS volume has the recommendation of presenting us with a full and interesting account of a valuable island, less known in this country than even Japan or Madagascar; and it possesses an additional value in our eyes, from being the production of a writer who has evidently formed his opinions on his own account. His sentiments do not savour of any class or school: on the contrary, he frequently advances, in the same breath, positions which are usually maintained by persons of opposite principles in political matters. Thus, being an officer in the service of Spain, he has a high respect for the administration of the late King Ferdinand, and a thorough contempt for all the various liberal sects which overturned his absolute throne, and have now taken his daughter under their protection. He moreover holds in utter abhorrence all the promoters of the South American revolution, and all persons and things connected with the new republican governments; which afford, it must be confessed, but too good grounds for his sarcastic remarks. Here, however, besides the feelings of the soldier and the royalist, additional bitterness is imparted to the Colonel's pen, by his recollection of the sufferings and losses of his 'father-in-law, Don Francisco Arambureo, one of the wealthiest landed proprietors of Caraccas.' But at the same time he is a strong partisan of negro emancipation; and his book, written before, but published after, the passing of that great enactment by the British Parliament, contains some of the most pointed examples which have yet been adduced in its favour. He is moreover a political economist; and has garnished his pages with a great many citations from Say, who appears to be his favourite authority. But with all his ardour for the cause of free trade in general, he nevertheless impresses upon his government, the necessity of protecting the manufactures of the Peninsula: these he asserts the colonists of Cuba and Puerto Rico will not take, though as good and better than those of France and England, owing to a perverse prejudice; and they should be compelled, in his opinion, to adopt more impartial sentiments by the gentle arguments of the Custom House; while, on the other hand, they should be restrained from importing provisions from abroad, that they may be encouraged to develop their own agricultural resources. If, without entering into our military author's speculations on these subjects, we shall content ourselves with the facts which he has brought be-

fore us, concerning the present condition of this island, we shall find, in his details, some singular views of a state of society which was not believed to exist in the West Indies, and which, according to theories generally received amongst us, was *a priori* conceived impossible.

Colonel Flinter appears to have commanded, for several years, the regiment of Spanish troops which was in permanent garrison at Puerto Rico; and must have had ample opportunities of becoming fully acquainted with its internal condition. It will be perceived, no doubt, that his local partialities sometimes lead him into apparent overstatements and manifest contradictions; but every candid reader will make allowance for the spirit of exaggeration which appears occasionally to dictate his eulogies on his favourite colony.

The early history of Puerto Rico affords few features of interest. Although one of the oldest colonies of the Spanish crown, it served for three centuries only as a convict station; and its free population presented, until a few years ago, a marked specimen of the besotted indolence which characterised a Spanish settlement of the old times. The military and civil expenses were defrayed by remittances from Mexico; and it was not until the revolution caused these remittances to cease in 1810, that the island, owing to the extreme embarrassment of its financial condition, began to attract the notice of the mother country. In 1815 a decree was published in its behalf, distinguished, like many of the early acts of the restored government, by its enlightened sagacity. But this decree, whilst it greatly encouraged free industry, unfortunately at the same time gave an impulse to the employment of slave labour, which had hitherto been unused, rather from indolence and want of capital than from motives of humanity. Colonists were invited to the island on the most liberal terms—lands were allotted gratis—the settlers were freed from direct taxes, and, for a certain number of years, from the tithes and alcabala; as well as from the exportation duties, which formed one of the most impolitic features of the old Spanish system.

From the period of this decree, the advance of Puerto Rico in wealth and population has been unexampled, even in the virgin regions of America. A great additional impulse was given by the arrival of capitalists, driven by civil war from the Spanish Main;—men distinguished in the more prosperous times of South America for their steady regularity and probity in the transaction of business. Our limits will not allow us even to abridge our author's account of the rapid improvement of the island; and of the manner in which her soil has been cultivated, until she is become, next to Brazil and Cuba, the most formidable rival with

which our colonies have to contend in the production of their staple articles, and at the same time a granary competent to supply all the ordinary wants of her abundant population.

The island appears to be one of the most lovely of all those regions of loveliness which are washed by the Caribbean Sea. Even in that archipelago it is distinguished by the luxuriance of its vegetation and the soft variety of its scenery. It comprises every kind of tropical landscape in a space not much exceeding the area of one of the larger English counties. Like Jamaica, it is divided from east to west by a range of forest-covered mountains, which do not appear to exceed 3000 or 4000 feet in height, but which are sufficient to create a very marked difference of climate between their opposite declivities. The northern district is moist, subject not only to the periodical rains of the West Indies, but visited also by occasional showers. Hence its undulating surface is adapted for pasture and the more ordinary kinds of cultivation, and is intersected by numerous perennial rivers; whilst the southern part of the island is frequently without rain for many months together, although even here, water, according to our author, is always found at half a yard beneath the surface. The sugar-cane, notwithstanding the drought, thrives abundantly, and most of the chief plantations of the island are formed on this coast. This inestimable benefit of moisture, Puerto Rico derives from its forests, which as yet clothe a large portion of the interior; the thick cover at once attracting the rain and preventing evaporation. By the laws of the colony every person who cuts down a tree is bound to plant three in its place. But it is to be feared that a law so difficult of enforcement is habitually violated, and that it will come, like some other islands, which formerly exhibited a similar feature, to present a naked surface to the ineffectual vapours of the Atlantic: its fertility will then diminish, and its perennial rivers waste away; even as the clearing of the forests on various parts of the Mediterranean coasts,—in peninsular Greece and Sicily, for example,—which were well wooded within the historical era, has diminished the classical rivers of antiquity into mere occasional torrents.

Although the climate of Puerto Rico does not appear to differ materially, as far as its effects can be measured by instruments, from that of the other islands of the Gulf of Mexico, yet its inhabitants certainly seem to enjoy a more than ordinary exemption from the evils which afflict humanity in these sickly regions. The mortality, according to our author's tables, does not exceed that which prevails in some of the healthier countries of Europe. A still more singular characteristic appears to distinguish this island from its neighbours, namely, the great

deficiency of native animals of every sort; and especially the entire absence (if our author can be credited) of those noxious reptiles and insects which seem to inherit the rest of the West Indies as their peculiar possession.

The population of Puerto Rico amounted, according to the Spanish census of 1830, to 323,858; of which 127,287 were free people of colour, and 34,240 only, slaves. But as the numbers of all the classes were probably underrated; and as there was every inducement to return an under estimate of the slaves, in order to avoid the capitation, our author calculates, apparently on good grounds, the whole number at 400,000, and the slaves at 45,000; or nearly 180 inhabitants to the square mile.

Here, then, we have a free white population of 200,000 souls, or half the entire amount of inhabitants. What causes can have produced a result so utterly different from that which exists in all the West India islands, except those of Spain? Whence arises this numerous and prosperous Creole yeomanry, (for we shall see that a great proportion of them are owners or occupiers of land,) whilst other colonies are divided between a few white proprietors, and a degraded multitude of slaves, with hardly a vestige of an intermediate class? Such was not always the state of our own islands. Without admitting the exaggerated accounts of the early greatness of Barbadoes, we have abundant evidence that Antigua, St Kitts, Dominica, and other colonies, possessed, a hundred years ago, a multitude of English settlers; who have gradually dwindled away, by intemperance, by their own misconduct, and above all through the extension of the sugar cultivation, and of its companion the slave trade, to the small remnant which now exists. We believe, that if any causes should arise to give a sudden impulse to the colonial industry of this now happy Spanish island, it would soon follow—as Cuba is already following—the baneful course of our own settlements, and purchase wealth at the expense of happiness. But this is an opinion which our readers will be best enabled to estimate, by observing the results displayed in the work before us.

Of the free inhabitants of Puerto Rico, a very small proportion is settled in the towns: indeed, the capital, San Juan, with about 8000 souls, is the only place which seems to merit such a title. Some of the best, in point of connexions and respectability, are the descendants of military men, who, during the long period when the island was a mere garrison, formed alliances and settled within it. These people maintain the pride of their descent with all the stateliness of grandees; and some of them are opulent. Wealthy merchants and planters (many of whom are foreigners) form the next class; but the latter, fortunately for

the happiness if not for the riches of the island, form altogether but a small, and not now a very thriving class. The number of sugar estates is about 300 ; chiefly situated on the southern coast. They hardly pay at present, according to our author, the expenses of cultivation. But there are, in addition, some 1300 small plantations belonging to poor cultivators, who, growing only an acre or two of cane, devote their attention chiefly to the raising of provisions. There are 148 coffee estates ; but in this branch of cultivation, as well as that of sugar, the larger capitalists have been gradually losing money and abandoning their estates ; whilst the small farmer who pursues various lines of industry on his little tract of land, has been able, in this way, to increase his comforts.

It is this class which forms the distinctive feature of the population. A numerous race of cultivators—brave, for their courage was largely tried in the exigencies of the South American wars—of white blood, and Spanish feelings, opinions, and prejudices,—is something so widely different from what is to be found in our own islands or those of France—that we are almost tempted to abandon the principles of political economy, and to feel grateful for the want of enterprise, and slothful contentment, which undoubtedly have prevented the conversion of the island into one wide sugar factory, with white overseers and negro labourers. Our author gives the extraordinary number of 19,000 proprietors of land in perpetuity : nearly 18,000 of these are small occupiers, raising provisions and herding cattle. The *Xivaros*—as the white country population are called—are, it cannot be denied, an indolent race ; who seem to multiply under an easy condition of existence, without adding much to the commercial wealth or social refinement of their country.

‘ Like the peasantry of Ireland, they are proverbial for their hospitality : and, like them, they are ever ready to fight on the slightest provocation. They swing themselves to and fro in their hammocks all day long, smoking their cigars, and scraping a guitar. The plantain grove which surrounds their houses, and the coffee-tree, which grows almost without cultivation, afford them a frugal subsistence. . . . The cabins are thatched with the leaves of the palm-tree ; the sides are often open, or merely constructed of the same sort of leaves as the roof—such is the mildness of the climate. Some cabins have doors, others have none. There is nothing to dread from robbers, and if there were banditti, their poverty would protect them from violence. A few calabash shells, and earthen pots—one or two hammocks made of the bark of the palm-tree—two or three game-cocks, and a *machete*—form the extent of their moveable property. A few coffee-trees and plantains, a cow and a horse, an acre of land in corn or sweet potatoes, constitute the property of what would be denominated a comfortable *Xivaro*—who, mounted on his

meagre and hardworked horse, with his long sword protruding from his baskets, dressed in a broad-brimmed straw-hat, cotton jacket, clean shirt, and check pantaloons, sallies forth from his cabin to mass, to a cock-fight, or to a dance, thinking himself the most independent and happy being in existence.'—Pp. 76–78.

‘Riding out one afternoon in the country, I was overtaken by one of those sudden showers of rain so common in tropical climates. I fled for shelter to the nearest house, which happened to be the cottage of a poor Xivaro. It was on the slope of a little hill, surrounded by plaintain trees, which did not appear to be carefully cultivated, and a large patch of potatoes was close by. I placed my horse without ceremony under the projecting roof. I entered the humble dwelling with the usual salute, which is the same as in Ireland, “God save all here,” which was courteously answered by the man of the house, who seemed to be about forty years of age. He was dressed in a check shirt and wide linen drawers. He was coiled up in a hammock of such small dimensions, that his body was actually doubled in two; one foot rested on the ground, with which he propelled the hammock to and fro; and at intervals with his great toe he turned a large sweet potato, which was roasting on a few embers, placed on a flag on the ground close to him, and which no doubt was intended for his evening meal. He had a guitar in his hand, from which he produced sounds which appeared to me discordant, but seemed to please him exceedingly. On my entrance he turned on his side, and offered me the hammock, which of course I refused to accept. Two small children, perfectly naked, were swinging to and fro in another small hammock, and greedily devouring large roasted plantains. The woman of the house was squatted on the floor, feeding four game-cocks, which were lodged in the best part of the house, while the husband every now and then would warn her not to give them too much corn or too much water. They received me with an urbanity unknown to the peasantry of Northern Europe. They placed a large leaf of the palm-tree over my saddle to protect it from the rain; and pressed me to sit down in the kindest manner. The host was very communicative; he gave me the whole pedigree of his game-cocks, and enumerated the battles they had won. He pointed out one to me which he said was “a most delicate bird,” an expression made use of by the Xivaros to denote its great value; and he concluded by offering it to me as a present. Indeed a Xivaro would form a very poor opinion of a person who could not discuss the merits of a game-cock. In going away they offered me their cabin with as much politeness as if it had been a palace, and hoped to see me again. I was forcibly struck with the native courtesy of these people, and it gratified me to observe the content and happiness they enjoy, without a thought for the present or a care for the future—without wants, without wishes, without ambition.’—P. 80.

We cannot see, in the descriptions of character which the Colonel has here given, any symptoms of the industry which he elsewhere attributes to the husbandmen of Puerto Rico. But it is quite clear, that the spread of these tropical backwoodsmen

over the virgin soil of the island, has prevented it thus far from falling into the hands of the sugar monopolist; and it furnishes a sufficient answer to those who imagine that a European race, living by its own labour, cannot exist, where 80° is the average height of Fahrenheit's thermometer. With the gradual diffusion of education, of which our author admits that there is a lamentable deficiency, much of the grosser parts of their character may be progressively removed.

Puerto Rico produced in 1830, 414,000 quintals of sugar, 250,000 of coffee, and 35,000 of cured tobacco, besides other colonial produce; and it possessed, in addition, very numerous herds of cattle, divided among numerous proprietors—from the three or four who owned upwards of 1000 each, to the poorest of the free peasantry, who possessed a cow or two for the supply of their family. Its revenue is stated at 800,000 Spanish dollars; its whole expenses, civil and military, at 630,000.

The free coloured inhabitants of Puerto Rico are by far more numerous than in any other West India island; and this fact alone,—when we consider the ineradicable prejudice attaching to colour, which has brought such infinite misery, and social discomfort, over great part of the world,—speaks more than any eulogy in favour of its people and their government. The whole British West Indies contained, before 1834, not more than 80,000 free coloured inhabitants, in a population of ten times that amount: of these, sixteen thousand were to be found in Trinidad alone,—an island which had long been governed by Spanish laws. Although white blood is, in Puerto Rico, as every where else beyond the Atlantic, a patent of nobility, yet the Xivaro no more treats with contempt and contumely his inferior in caste, than the grandee of Old Spain, his inferior in station.

But the good treatment of the slaves is the basis upon which the polity of the island may be said chiefly to rest. Small as their number may be, we may safely say, that in every community in which slavery is recognised, it gives a character to the whole society;—that the people in general are licentious, cruel, disorderly, according to the estimate formed of the lowest class. The peculiarities of the Spanish character are as strongly marked in the New, as in the Old World. No national character, perhaps, is so deeply engrained with opposite hues of excellence and of evil. The same natural and fundamental goodness of disposition,—paradoxical as it may seem to speak thus of a people whose evil deeds are blazoned in the worst pages of European history,—prevails wherever the Castilian standard has been raised, and the industrious Catalan and Biscayan have assembled around it. The Spaniard is, above all mankind, subject to strong and overpowering passion. His

goodness of disposition, although radical, is but a passive quality, easily subdued by the prevalence of strong emotion. His reasoning powers are of the same character as his moral,—fundamentally good, yet swayed and distorted by every impulse of prejudice. Thirst of gold in former times, then zeal for religion, and lastly, the spirit of party, have roused up in him all the savage ferocity of which nature is capable. Yet in the worst crisis of the passions, when the evil spirit was silenced even for a moment in the bosom which it swayed, a natural and graceful kindliness of heart has often shone forth in full brightness. It was while the mania of avarice ruled the early conquerors of America, and seduced them into practices revolting to human nature, that the foundations were laid of a code of laws both for slaves and the native Indians, the spirit of which has ever since prevailed among the Spanish creoles, and which puts to shame the nations which arrogate to themselves exclusively the title of enlightened. Shallow thinkers have often entertained the paradox, that free states show less humanity in their colonies, than is shown in those under absolute monarchies. Of all West India annals, those of the French islands, before the Revolution, were perhaps the most darkly stained with cruelty. And the free states of South America, on the other hand, have not only followed, but have still farther extended, in the midst of their anarchy and factions, those principles of Christian mercy and justice, which Spain alone, until recently, knew and practised.

By the Spanish laws, the hours of labour, the amount of food and clothing, and various other particulars in the treatment of the slaves, are minutely and humanely specified. Owners are obliged to have their slaves instructed in the elements of Christianity, so that they may be admitted into the church by baptism within a year after their importation. Twenty-five stripes form the maximum of punishment. The regulations for the encouragement of marriage—according to our author's statement—are so favourable to the slaves, that they must frequently produce much hardship to the owner. These are only a few specimens of a clement code, which seems to be so seconded by the natural humanity of the people, as to leave as little of misery and shame attached to servitude, as is compatible with its miserable and shameful nature.

Thus far it is easy to agree with our author, upon the whole, in his estimate of the condition of his favourite island. The statements by which he endeavours to establish the practicability of sugar cultivation, by unrestricted labour, although highly encouraging, are not, we confess, wholly conclusive. But they form the most important passages in his book; and, on a question of such infinite importance—one, as yet undecided, and which awaits

for final decision the issue of the momentous experiment now in trial—all evidence is useful : and, we may add, without partiality, that all evidence which appears to bear on the side of truth and religion is peculiarly welcome.

In 1823, Jamaica, with 340,000 slaves, exported 1,400,000 quintals of sugar. Puerto Rico, with 45,000 slaves, produces about 410,000. The French colony of Guadaloupe, with twice as many slaves as Puerto Rico, produces an equal crop of sugar. The soil of the latter is far more fertile than that of the other islands, already in great measure exhausted. But, on the other hand, capital and industry form essential elements of the manufacture, in the British and French isles, while the Spaniards are far behind in all pursuits requiring either. From these premises our author concludes, not unreasonably, that a large proportion (which elsewhere, however, he calculates at one-fifth only) of this crop of sugar is raised by free labour.

But it must be remembered, that, besides the greater estates, there are in Puerto Rico some 1200 or 1300 small sugar plantations, the property of the Xivaros of the interior, who live cheaply and work lazily, but who contrive to raise a small quantity of this valuable article, together with provisions and cattle. If such rough cultivation as this succeeds at all, it can only be in consequence of the vast productiveness of the soil, cleared of its forests only within the last twenty years, which gives the planter the same advantage over his brethren to windward and leeward, as the settler of Illinois has over the cultivator of the worn out 'old fields' of the Atlantic coast. Such production can in the nature of things be only temporary. On the other hand, the great sugar estates, which must form the main sources of this commodity, are evidently cultivated here as elsewhere by slaves; and although at present the cultivation of sugar on a large scale is extremely unprofitable, a rise in its price would undoubtedly cause at once an increased importation of slaves, and the application of more capital and ingenuity to the business, until the small farmers would be driven from the market by the slave-owning capitalists. Many contingent events might occasion such a rise;—as a temporary diminution of the produce of the British islands; or an increased consumption in Great Britain in consequence of a reduction of the duty. Upon the whole, therefore, notwithstanding the flattering anticipations of our author, we cannot see, in the present state of Puerto Rico, much to justify his prophecy that slave labour will be permanently dispensed with, merely from the preference which free labour will find in the market.

At present the question of the future destiny of this beautiful

and happy island may be said to remain undecided. But it soon must call for a final adjustment. Slave labour, reinforced by the slave trade, cannot long coexist with the industry of a free race of cultivators. Puerto Rico, long neglected and unknown, now called into unexampled prosperity by the same causes which once raised cities and established small commonwealths in the windward islands, is fast reaching the same crisis in her fate which they reached; and it is in the power of the Spanish Government, by abolishing the slave trade, to enable her to pass that crisis in safety. The island is only preserved from presenting a spectacle similar to theirs, by a concurrence of circumstances which render the cultivation of sugar at present a disadvantageous investment of capital; and by its yet unexhausted soil, which affords an ample return of other colonial produce to such labour as her free husbandmen are inclined to bestow upon it. Remove that obstacle, and let capital flow into the island, together with an unrestricted slave trade, and Puerto Rico will follow the fortunes of Cuba. That island, when visited by Humboldt, thirty years ago, was chiefly tilled by the labour of freemen. But at the close of the war, the baleful influence of African importation began. One hundred and eighty-five thousand slaves were landed at the Havanna alone in fourteen years; a peaceful and industrious people became contaminated with vice and disorder of every kind; the slaves already exceed in numbers the white free population; and the old Spanish kindness and loyalty between master and slave has so far disappeared, and tyranny has so far begun its usual work, that the planters openly confess that one of the reasons for the importation of fresh slaves is, to supply the masters with a guard of Mamelukes against the discontented negroes of the colony. If the colonists of Puerto Rico will not follow the example, which Antigua alone of all the West Indian Islands has yet proclaimed, by setting her negroes free on the day when statutory emancipation began, without apprenticeship, or deduction from freedom of any kind, it is at least in the power of the crown of Spain, without injustice to any one, to cause the greater evil of the slave trade to cease; and to rescue one fair island,—one loyal and gallant people,—from the insidious advances of ruin. Would that we could with confidence anticipate this or any other good result, from the issue of the ill-omened struggle which now convulses that unfortunate monarchy!

ART. V.—1. *Statements as to the Proceedings of the Committee for Classing the Mercantile Marine.* By JOHN MARSHALL, Esq. 8vo. London: 1829.

2. *The Mercantile Navy Improved.* By JAMES BALINGALL, Esq. 8vo. London: 1832.

3. *Sea Insurance the Cause of Shipwreck.* 8vo. London: 1834.

ON various occasions we have felt it to be our duty to expose the fallacy of the statements of the shipowners in ascribing the reduced rate of freight they have obtained of late years, and the other disadvantages under which they labour, to foreign competition. But though we have differed with them as to the source of their grievances, we never doubted as to their really existing; and every one aware of the vast magnitude and importance of our commercial marine, and of its subservience to the security and defence, as well as to the opulence of the country, must be heartily disposed to approve of any practical measures which, without being injurious to other interests, may tend in any degree to promote the prosperity of the shipowners. Some such measures have been, and others may be suggested; and it is not difficult to show, that while they are easy of adoption, and would be of signal service to our shipping, they are imperiously required by higher considerations, and cannot indeed be deferred without seriously compromising the interests of the public and of humanity.

The mercantile navy of Great Britain, including that of the plantations, consists at present of about 24,500 vessels, manned by about 160,000 seamen. The total burden of the registered vessels is about 2,650,000 tons; and valuing them, rigging and stores included, at a rough average, at L.10 per ton, the entire aggregate value of our mercantile shipping will be no less than L.26,500,000. Nothing surely ought to be omitted that may contribute in any degree to increase the security of so many valuable lives, and of so great a mass of property.

We regret, however, to have to state that these important national objects have been, and continue to be, very little attended to. Nothing, indeed, can be farther from our intention, in making this remark, than to recommend any vexatious interference with the rights of individuals; or even to insinuate that governments ought ever to undertake duties that may be as well, or nearly as well, performed by individuals. But there is a medium between too much interference and too little; and there are cases in which the latter may be quite as objectionable and

ruinous as the former. No person ever thought of blaming the Government for enforcing a general system of regulations as to pilotage, lighthouses and ballast. But there are other circumstances connected with shipping quite as well entitled to its attention, and where its judicious interference would be productive of even more advantage. These, however, have been entirely neglected; and in consequence of this culpable indifference practices have been allowed to grow up, and to exist for a lengthened period, the operation of which has been most destructive, and which have in fact occasioned the loss of many thousand lives, and of many millions' worth of property. This may seem to those not familiar with such subjects a startling statement; but unfortunately it is one as to the truth of which there can be no dispute.

Every one who reads the newspapers—and who does not?—has every now and then his feelings painfully touched by accounts of shipwrecks. In point of fact, however, the details as to the greater number of these catastrophes never find their way into the public prints. Many ships founder at sea—many are wrecked on distant shores—and, with few exceptions, it is those only that are cast away on our own coasts of the loss of which we ever hear. It might indeed have been supposed, seeing the vast improvements that have been made in astronomy, in the construction of chronometers, in the art of navigation, the accurate charts that have been published of most seas and places of general resort, the erection of lighthouses and beacons, and the various means and devices that have been fallen upon for lessening the dangers incident to navigation, that it would now be comparatively safe. But such, we regret to say, is not the case. In so far at least as England is concerned, shipwreck is at present more prevalent than ever, and has indeed grown to an excess that is quite frightful, and which has begun forcibly to excite the public attention. It appears from an examination of Lloyd's List from 1793 to 1829, that the losses in the British mercantile navy only, amounted, at an average of that period, to 557 vessels a-year. In 1829 the casualties were as follows:—*'On foreign voyages, 157 wrecked; 284 driven on shore, of which 224 are known to have been got off, some with more and some with less damage; twenty-one foundered or sunk; one run down; thirty-five abandoned at sea, eight of which were afterwards carried into port; twelve condemned as unseaworthy; eight upset, one of them righted; twenty-seven missing, one of them a packet, no doubt foundered. Coasters and colliers, 109 wrecked; 297 driven on shore, of which 121 are known to have been got off, and probably more; sixty-seven foundered*

‘ or sunk, four of them raised, six run down; thirteen abandoned, five of them afterwards brought into port; three upset, two of them righted; sixteen missing, no doubt foundered. During the year four steam-vessels were wrecked; four driven on shore, but got off, and two sunk.’* This enormous loss has not diminished in the interval, but has gone on increasing. In 1833, no fewer than 800 merchant ships, or a *thirtieth part* of the whole number of ships belonging to the British dominions, including the plantations, were either entirely lost or driven on shore! Of the prodigious number of ships that are thus annually engulfed many are laden with valuable cargoes; so that besides the loss of lives and of ships consequent to such an appalling extent of shipwreck, there is also a great loss of mercantile and other property.

A good deal of this wide spread calamity must no doubt be ascribed to the casualties naturally incident to a navy, whose flag is displayed on every sea, however remote or dangerous. But we are, notwithstanding, well convinced that more than *two-thirds*, we believe we might safely say *three-fourths*, of the total number of shipwrecks are ascribable to entirely different causes; —to the vicious customs and regulations under which the business of sea insurance is conducted, the defective construction of ships resulting therefrom, and the incompetence of the masters.

I. However advantageous, insurance, whether of ships or houses, is not without its evils. It procures security, but it is at the same time apt to generate carelessness, and occasionally fraud. Those whose ships are insured cannot be expected to be in all respects so attentive to their condition, and to the fitness of the master, as if they had to bear the whole risk of the adventure. But the mischief does not stop here, and it is a fact established by the records of our judicial proceedings, and of which there cannot otherwise be the least doubt, that ships and goods have been sent to sea in order that they might be cast away, and a profit made at the expense of the insurers. There is not, however, any good ground for thinking that the losses that may be fairly traced to the operation of the circumstances now mentioned are at all considerable. It must be conceded that, generally speaking, caution and vigilance are diminished by the practice of insurance; but its influence in this respect is not material; and the miscreants who insure ships in the view of profiting by their loss, like those who insure houses with the intention of setting them on fire, do not amount, compared with

* See M'Culloch's *Commercial Dictionary*, second edition, p. 1268.

those who resort to insurance in order to acquire a guarantee against an unforeseen and accidental calamity, to *one in a hundred*. It is absurd, therefore, to affirm, as some have done, that insurance is of itself the cause of the excessive amount of shipwrecks. It would, we are well convinced, be too large an allowance if we supposed that twenty out of the 800 ships wrecked in 1833 met their fate in consequence of the carelessness or fraud occasioned by insurance. The temptation to neglect or destroy insured houses, warehouses, &c. is quite as great as the temptation to neglect or destroy insured ships. But, except in the case of incendiary fires, which have a totally different object and origin, it is not believed that *one* fire in *fifty* originates otherwise than in the merest accident. And it is well that such is the case. For had the prevalence of shipwreck depended on any thing in the nature or of the essence of insurance, the evil, how much soever it might have been deplored, would have been quite incurable. In highly civilized societies insurance will always exist, and it is in truth one of the least equivocal proofs and advantages of civilisation. But though it were otherwise, we might just as well try to prevent men from dealing in bread and butter as in risks. If it could be prevented, the consequences would be fatal. Not one man in twenty who has capital vested in ships would ever have placed it there, or would continue to hold it, were it not for insurance—were it not that by paying a small sum as a premium he acquires a security against loss; and that consequently his stock, though it may be floating on the Atlantic or Pacific ocean, is really as secure as if he had vested it in land or houses in his native parish. Those who propose putting down insurance might as well begin by putting down navigation. The latter is dependent for its extraordinary increase on the former—on the security which it affords to the merchant and shipowner, and without which the one would not commit his goods nor the other his ships *truci pelago*.

But, though there is nothing in the nature of sea insurance to warrant the complaints made against it, the mode in which it has been long conducted in Great Britain has been in the last degree objectionable. To insure a ship on right principles, or so that the premium shall be the proper equivalent of the risk, is no easy matter. The risk, and, consequently, the premium, depends partly on the condition of the ship and the capacity of the master and crew—partly on the nature of the cargo she is to take on board—and partly on the voyage she has to perform. The last two circumstances disclose themselves, and their influence may be appreciated, at least with sufficient accuracy for practical pur-

poses, without any difficulty. But it is far otherwise with the condition of the ship and the fitness of the crew. It is essential to the adjusting of an insurance on fair and equal terms, that these should be known; whilst it is at the same time exceedingly difficult to acquire any accurate information with respect to them.

Different means for ascertaining the condition of ships have been adopted in different nations. It is not, however, merely true, that the means hitherto adopted in Great Britain for the attainment of this object have been utterly ineffectual; it is farther true, that they have contributed, in a far greater degree than any thing else, to deteriorate our shipping, and consequently to multiply shipwrecks and disasters at sea. It is impossible, indeed, to imagine any system less calculated to promote that for which it was intended, or better calculated to promote that for which it was not intended. There is obviously but one mode of learning any thing satisfactory as to the condition of ships, and that is by having them inspected by persons of competent knowledge, during their construction; or, if the information be desired at a subsequent period, by having some of the planks taken off, and a thorough examination made of the state both of the hull and the rigging. How little soever an individual may be acquainted with shipbuilding, every one must perceive that an inspection of this sort is absolutely indispensable to enable any thing like a fair estimate to be formed of the state of the ship. It signifies nothing to be told that such a ship is new and such another old. If all ships were built in the same way and of the same materials, with the same care and exposed to the same wear and tear, the age of the vessel would be a tolerably good criterion of her condition. But there is as wide a difference between the mode in which, and the materials of which, different ships are constructed, as there is between St Paul's Cathedral and the meanest hovel in Wapping. Some ships are built wholly or principally of oak or teak, whilst others are built wholly or principally of fir; some are double planked, whilst others are only planked outside the timbers; some are copper-fastened, and others not; the timbers, knees, and beams of some are sufficient in number and of adequate scantlings, whilst those of others are deficient both in number and strength, and so forth. It is impossible, indeed, to conceive any thing more completely different, than the construction of different ships. There are not a few instances of ships being so defectively built, that they have foundered and gone to pieces on their first voyage, while others have run for twelve, fifteen, and twenty years, or upwards, with but little repair.

But, notwithstanding the criterion of age is thus really worth less than nothing, as a rule by which to judge of a ship's condition, it is *the only one that has for a long period been referred to in this country*. Since about the year 1760, or perhaps earlier, ships have been arranged by the underwriters at Lloyd's, in classes marked by the letters A, E, I, and O, and the figures 1, 2, and 3,—the former referring to the hull of the ship and the latter to the rigging. A ship marked A. 1, is in the highest class; one marked E. 1, in the next; one marked I. 1, is in the lowest available class; formed of such as are fit only for carrying coals, or other goods not liable to sea damage, along the coast: those marked O, are unseaworthy. But to get into the highest class, and to be allowed to continue there for a certain number of years, no examination of the ship, or none worthy of the name, has been required. Unless some very flagrant defect be obvious in her construction, she is entitled to stand for a certain number of years, varying according to the port in which she is built, in the highest class, or in A 1. This is sufficiently absurd; but the whole extent of the injury thence arising is not immediately obvious. Supposing two ships were built at the same time, in London or any other port—that one has been constructed of the best materials and in the best way, whilst the other has been constructed of the worst materials and in the most defective manner: those two ships would be placed side by side in the class A 1. The underwriters, seeing them there, would, without farther enquiry, insure them at the *same premium*; and the merchants would, for the same reason, be quite as willing to freight the one as the other! The temptation to construct what are called *slop-built* ships, of the worst construction, is therefore quite irresistible. For a half, or at most two-thirds of what would be required to construct a good and really seaworthy ship, a shipowner gets an inferior vessel, of equal burden, sent to sea; and, owing to the matchless absurdity of the system of classification, the worthless ship is placed in the same rank with the superior—enjoys all the advantages such distinction can give—and is, in the public estimation, deemed quite as good and as deserving of employment as the other. This is a more copious source of shipwreck than all the currents, fogs, and rocks that infest our seas; but it is not the only one. At the end of a certain number of years, never exceeding twelve, and seldom less than six, both the ships referred to above would be degraded to the class E; and yet it may happen that the well-built ship is, when so degraded, better entitled to continue in the class A, than the ill-built ship was ever to be in it. But even this does not exhaust the whole absurdity of this preposterous scheme; for, supposing that the well-built ship had

been so thoroughly repaired, as to be quite as good as the day she came off the stocks, and that the inferior ship had got no repair at all, still they would both be placed side by side in the class E ! We challenge any one to produce in all the annals of all the maritime nations of the world, from the Phœnicians downwards, any instance of a regulation so perverse, contradictory, and absurd. That it should have subsisted amongst us for the greater part of a century, strikingly illustrates the influence of association and of habit in making men insensible to the mischief of perpetuating the most destructive practices and errors.

But, though it still keeps its ground, the practice has at different periods, and particularly of late years, been much objected to. In consequence principally of the strenuous and laudable exertions of Mr Marshall, the author of one of the works, the title of which is prefixed to this article, the evils of the present system were brought forcibly under the notice of the merchants, shipowners, insurers, &c., of the metropolis ; and, in 1824, a committee, consisting of representatives from these different bodies, was appointed to enquire into and report on the subject. This committee collected a great deal of valuable evidence ; and seems, indeed, to have performed the duty intrusted to it with equal ability and discretion. The Report of the committee was laid before a general meeting of merchants, shipowners, &c., on the 1st of June, 1826 ; and any one who looks into it will be satisfied that we have done any thing but give a coloured or exaggerated view of the mischiefs originating in the present system. The following extracts, to which it is unnecessary to call the reader's attention, will more than bear out all that we have stated :—

‘ From the absence of all control on the original construction of ships while building,—and the impossibility of ascertaining by any inspection after completion their real quality,—it appears to be indisputably proved, by an almost uniform concurrence of testimony, that the first character, or A. 1, is indiscriminately extended to ships differing widely in strength, durability of materials, and all those qualities on which character ought to be dependent ; that many ships to which the first class is assigned are decidedly inferior to others which are placed, from lapse of time alone, in a lower class ; that many become totally unfit for the conveyance of dry cargoes, long before the expiration of the period during which they are entitled, according to the present system, to remain on the first letter, in which they are notwithstanding continued ; that instances are on record of first class ships, which have been unfit from their origin for the conveyance of dry cargoes ; and some are declared to have been hardly fit, when new, to proceed to sea

‘ with safety. One case is even adduced, in which, from ill construction, and insufficiency of fastening in a *new ship*, her insecurity *was predicted*, and she actually *foundered on her first voyage*; and yet this identical vessel was ranked, according to the indiscriminate system pursued, in the *first class*.

‘ Such, as respects *new ships*, appears by the evidence to be the practical results of a system, which, assuming to designate by marks their intrinsic quality, provides no means of actually ascertaining that quality; but offers in effect, a premium for the building of inferior and insufficient ships, by the inducement it holds forth to fraudulent construction; and by the equality of character it indiscriminately extends to the best and the worst ships built at the same port.

‘ Nor, your committee regret to have to report, is the evidence of the errors, inconsistencies, and evils arising from the existing system, as applied to *old ships*, by any means less conclusive. By the *refusal to restore character*, in consequence of repairs, however extensive, the inducement to maintain ships in an efficient state is removed; whilst from the absence of all regular provision for stated or periodical examination, their efficiency or inefficiency is rendered dependent upon the varying views, the caprices, or the interests of the proprietors. Hence though the second character, or E 1, is declared by the rules of the system to be the designation of ships which, having lost the first character from age, are “kept in perfect repair, and appear on survey to have no defects, and to be completely calculated to carry dry cargoes with safety,” the whole body of evidence distinctly proves that character to be in very numerous instances assigned to ships, which, from original defect or want of requisite repairs, are *utterly unfit and unsafe* for dry cargoes; while others which, from sound constitution or efficient reparation, are pronounced in the evidence to be superior to many new ships, are indiscriminately classed with the actually worthless and unseaworthy. Hence, too, the employment of ships after they have passed the period prescribed by a fallacious standard of classification, becomes uncertain, precarious, and difficult: the ship-owner is injured; the shipper and underwriter misled; the building of superior ships, capable of long service, is discouraged; and *direct inducement* is held out to the construction of those of an inferior description; the general character of our mercantile marine is degraded; and it is to be feared that, could the system be traced to its ultimate results, it would be found to be productive of a lamentable loss of property and life.’

Besides operating as a large bounty on, and a powerful incentive to, the construction of *slop-built* worthless ships, preventing all thorough repair, and causing an unequalled extent of shipwrecks and loss of property, this system is one of the main causes of the low rate of freight and of the distress of the shipping interest. It must have always appeared inexplicable to those not pretty well acquainted with the arcana of the trade that, notwithstanding the long continued, loud, and probably exaggerated, but still, on the whole, well-founded complaints of the ship-owners, from *seven hundred to a thousand* new ships should be annually built and sent to sea. To a superficial observer this would seem to establish that our shipping interest was in the most prosperous state imaginable; but those who look a little more closely into it, will find that it does no such thing. The demand for new ships is mainly factitious, and arises out of the vicious system of classification. Hitherto the object has not been to build a really good and durable vessel, and to keep her always in sufficient repair, but to construct a *slop-built* ship that should be about *run off her legs* in ten years or thereby. The reason is, that she will then, whatever be her condition, be degraded from the class A. 1; and that it is hardly possible, in most departments of trade, to find a merchant to employ, on any thing like reasonable terms, a ship to which these symbols of imaginary excellence are not attached. Hence the shipowner, instead of repairing his ten year old ship, sells her for what she will fetch, and builds a new one. But the person who has purchased the ship degraded to E. 1, forces her, though at an enormous reduction, into business; so that there are *two* bad ships in the field, whereas, under a reasonable system of classification, there would be only *one* good ship. The injury that this does to the shipping interest is too obvious to require being pointed out. It is no exaggeration to affirm that it has been fifty times more adverse to it than all those reciprocity treaties, and that foreign competition about which there has been so much idle clamour. ‘If the system of classification were founded on the principle of *intrinsic merit*, if the real efficiency of the ship formed the basis on which character was given, the consequence in numerous instances would be, that instead of supplying the place of those ships that at present lapse from *age only* into the second class with new ones, the owners would effectually repair the existing ships, so that there would speedily be, not only a material improvement in the construction of ships, but a material decrease in the amount of tonnage, and a corresponding increase in the rate of freight.’—(MARSHALL’S *Statement*, p. 19.)

The conclusive Report previously referred to, and the evidence

by which it was supported, were drawn up and collected, as already stated, so far back as 1826. It might have been expected that, after such an exposition, measures would have been immediately taken for effecting a total change in a system productive of such disastrous results. But instead of this, the Report seems to have been very soon forgotten. Government does not, for reasons best known to itself, appear ever to have thought that this was a matter with which it had any thing to do ; and, owing to the difficulty of breaking through long established practices, the old system flourishes in rank luxuriance, annually engulfing our ships by hundreds, and our seamen by thousands !

But the enormity of the evil has at last led the merchants, ship-owners, and underwriters, to take measures for carrying into effect the suggestions in the Report of 1826, by classifying ships, not according to their age, but according to their construction, as ascertained by the reports of competent inspectors. The plan which the committee has proposed seems very judicious, and it would, were it carried into effect, certainly be productive of the greatest advantage. But we are thoroughly satisfied, as well from the nature of the thing, as from the statements of some of the most intelligent shipowners, that it is not possible to form, in the first instance, or to maintain, a correct system for the classification of ships, without the sanction and co-operation of government. It is indispensable to the existence of such a system, that ships should be inspected at different times while they are building, and periodically afterwards, by surveyors of undoubted ability, experience, and character. But the services of such men cannot be secured otherwise than by allowing them competent salaries ; and unless Government interfere, we see no means by which these can be paid. The proposed plan is, as we are given to understand, that a classified register of all ships should be annually published, and sold at a certain price to the subscribers, that is, to all the more eminent shipowners, underwriters, merchants, &c. ; and that the salaries of the surveyors should be paid from the produce of the sale of this book, and other voluntary sources. But it is obvious that a scheme of this sort must speedily fall to pieces. If the surveyors be men of character, and do their duty honestly and fairly, they must very soon give serious offence to many individuals, who will, of course, withdraw from the association, or endeavour to get it remodelled. Complaints, jealousies, and divisions will arise ; so that it requires little discernment to foresee that its operations will, at no remote period, be either paralysed or suspended. Inasmuch, too, as every thing must depend, in classifying ships according to their real condition, on the surveyors, it is clear that they ought not only to be allowed ample salaries, but that

these salaries should be quite independent of the good or ill will of those whose property they are to inspect and report upon. If it be otherwise, the appointment of surveyors will necessarily open a door for the most flagrant jobbing; and, execrable as the present system is, such a substitute for it would undoubtedly be, if it could hold together, a good deal worse. The surveyors are to be *Judges* in matters of great difficulty and importance; and it is in every respect as essential that they should be independent of those whose property is to be submitted to their inspection, as that judges in courts of law should be independent of those upon whose conflicting claims they have to decide.

It would be worse than useless to take up the reader's time, by entering into any lengthened arguments to establish the right and duty of the government to interfere in a case of this sort. No one doubts the propriety of its interfering to render navigation secure, and to obviate the chances of shipwreck, by enacting regulations as to lighthouses, pilots, &c. But the defective classification of ships occasions more shipwrecks than all the other causes of that calamity put together; and if it be right and proper for government to interfere to counteract the least copious sources of loss, can any one doubt that it is bound to interfere to counteract those which are incomparably more mischievous? Governments should not interfere in matters of this sort, unless their interference be calculated to obviate some considerable evil, or to accomplish some considerable good, which cannot otherwise be obviated or accomplished. Now the case in question is clearly of this description. The evil to be avoided is of the most flagrant description; it is the annual loss of hundreds of ships, of thousands of lives, and of a vast amount of property; and the good to be effected consists not merely in the obviating of this enormous evil, but embraces the improvement of our mercantile marine, and the advancement of the interests of the public, as well as those of the shipowners. We say the interests of the public; for, exclusive of the loss of life, the increased premiums required under the present system to indemnify the insurers, and the increased wages required to tempt men into so hazardous a business, all go to increase the freight of commodities, and consequently fall, in the last place, on the public.

It is, in fact, altogether nugatory to imagine that the crying evils of the present system can be eradicated or even materially mitigated without the interference of the legislature. The underwriters have little interest in the matter, for they raise their premiums so as to cover their risks. The more respectable part of the shipowners wish for an alteration in the present system; but that large class who send to sea *slop-built* ships, and the buyers of ships degraded to E. 1,

have no wish of the kind, but the reverse. The merchant is much in the same state as the underwriter : he insures, and includes the premium in the cost of the goods, so that, as already stated, the loss falls on the public. The seamen are the only class who have a direct, positive, and, it might be thought, overpowering interest in getting the present system abolished, and a better established in its stead ; but, in point of fact, they care less about it than any one else. The frequency of shipwrecks makes parents keep their sons, in as far as possible, from going to sea ; but, when once they have embarked in a seafaring life, a ship must be worthless indeed if a small increase of wages does not procure for her abundance of hands. Unless, therefore, the government and the legislature lay it down that the preservation of the lives of seamen, and the prevention of shipwreck, are objects beneath their attention, they are bound to interfere, and to adopt and enforce such regulations as may ensure an accurate classification of ships.

At present, no ship is permitted to enjoy the privileges of a British ship unless she be navigated by a certain number of British seamen according to her tonnage. But surely if the legislature interferes by a regulation of this sort to force his Majesty's subjects on board ships, it should take care that these ships are seaworthy. It cannot refuse to do this without a gross violation, not of humanity merely, but of the most obvious principles of justice.

That there are considerable difficulties in the way of a proper system of classification no one can doubt ; but they would be easily overcome were government to take up the subject in a proper spirit. The first object should be to prevent, in as far as possible, favouritism and jobbing in the appointment of surveyors. To accomplish this, it has been suggested that committees should be formed in London and a few of the principal outports, consisting of some of the principal merchants, underwriters, ship-owners, and shipbuilders ; and that these committees should have, in rotation, the power to name two individuals as surveyors on every vacancy ; and that the Lords of the Admiralty, or the elder brethren of the Trinity-House, should be authorized, after conferring with the Surveyors of the Navy, to select one of them to fill the office. As the power to be intrusted to the surveyors would be very considerable, it would be necessary, in order to prevent its abuse, to allow all shipowners who considered themselves aggrieved by their decision, to appeal to some other tribunal ; and one might be framed for this purpose, consisting of another surveyor, one or two of the elder brethren of the Trinity House,

and one of the Admiralty Surveyors. It is not supposed that the expense of the whole scheme would exceed L.18,000 or L.20,000 a-year; and it might be defrayed by charging a small sum per ton when the ship was built and registered, and at each subsequent inspection.

But though the expense of the classification were to amount to L.25,000 or even L.30,000 a-year, and though it were to be made a charge on the consolidated fund, that surely could be no objection to the proposal. Our financial situation must be wretched indeed, if we should grudge such a sum to obviate one of the principal causes of shipwrecks. We have given generously, no doubt, but at the same time wisely, *twenty millions* to effect, with justice to all parties, the emancipation of the slaves in the West Indies; and having done this, it would be rather too much to refuse to give L.20,000 to prevent the annual sacrifice of some hundreds, if not thousands, of our seamen. Economy, when rightly understood, is a good thing; but it is no economy to save a shilling at the expense of a pound; and such will assuredly be the case if an improved statutory classification of ships be opposed on the ground of its costing a few thousand pounds. The fact is, that though the public were to expend L.100,000 a-year on this object, they would be, even in a pecuniary point of view, prodigious gainers seeing that the property that is annually engulfed and lost, because of the existing system, amounts to many times that sum.

II. But the interference of government must not stop here. An erroneous classification of shipping is one great cause of shipwreck, but it is not the only one. The ignorance and incapacity of the commanders and officers is another and hardly a less copious source of disaster. Officers of the navy are all subjected to a course of discipline, and are obliged to undergo certain examinations as to their proficiency in seamanship. This, also, was the case with the officers of the East India Company's ships, which were exceedingly well navigated. Indeed, the Company trusted entirely for protection to the goodness of their ships, and the skill of their officers and men; it not being their practice ever to insure. But the masters and officers of ordinary merchant ships are not subjected to any specific training or any regular examination. Every thing is left to mere individual investigation and selection; and this, as every one knows, depends almost wholly on accident; or, which is nearly equivalent to it, on the skill, industry, liberality, &c. of the shipowner. Every one must be satisfied that masters so chosen cannot fail of being

in many instances very ill qualified for their business. Few, however, have any notion of the extent of the mischief thence arising. But we have, at this moment, a letter before us, from a gentleman of undoubted information, and most extensively connected with the business of insurance, in which he states that, in his opinion, *nearly half the losses at sea may be ascribed to the ignorance, incapacity, and carelessness of the masters and officers.* Perhaps there may be some exaggeration in this; but supposing that only a third part, or that 266 out of the 800 vessels, wrecked in 1833, were lost through the incapacity of the masters, is not that enough not merely to justify government interfering to avert so great an evil, but to make such interference a positive duty?

The interposition of government in a case of this sort is not only absolutely just and necessary, but it is conformable to the highest authority. The famous French Ordinance of 1681, admitted by Lord Mansfield, the late Lord Tenterden, and every other authority, to be the best digested, most complete, and perfect body of maritime law that has ever been promulgated, has the following article:—*Aucun ne pourra ci après être reçu capitaine, maître, ou patron de navire, qu'il n'ait navigué pendant cinq ans, et n'ait été examiné publiquement sur le fait de la navigation, et trouvé capable par deux anciens maîtres, en présence des officiers de l'Amirauté et du Professeur d'Hydrographie, s'il y en a dans le lieu.*—(Liv. ii. tit. i. § i.) A similar article has been inserted in the *Code de Commerce*; and in 1825 the French government issued an Ordinance specifying in detail the qualifications that are necessary before any one can obtain a certificate of his fitness either to command a ship on a foreign or on a coasting voyage;—the persons who are to examine candidates, and the rules that are to be observed in the examination. Some similar ordeal ought certainly to be established in this country. The authority of the master is so very great, and the trust reposed in him, including not merely the ship and goods of his employers, but the lives of the crew and passengers, is so exceedingly important, that it is the bounden duty of the public to provide that it be not committed to ignorant or incapable hands. We have just seen what have been the consequences of the neglect of such precautions in this country; and after such a public exposure, we are slow to believe that any government can be so forgetful of its duty, as to delay introducing measures adequate to prevent such abuses, by making sure that those to whom the command of ships is intrusted know something of their business.

Perhaps it would at first be enough to enact, that no ship which cleared out for an *oversea* voyage, should be deemed a British ship, unless her master and the second in command had received

a certificate of fitness from the proper authorities. This would leave it to the owners to take whom they pleased as masters of coasting vessels; but we believe the better way would be to oblige all masters of vessels, above a specified tonnage, without regard to their destination, to be selected from among certificated persons.

Boards for the proper examination of candidates might be established in London and the other great seaport towns; and, were the system once put in motion, which it might be without any difficulty, and very little expense, we venture to say that it would, in a very short time, have the most beneficial influence.

III. The way in which the tonnage or capacity of ships is ascertained in this country has had an injurious influence on their construction. Dock, harbour, light, and other dues, with the number of men and apprentices, &c., are generally proportioned to the registered tonnage, so that it is of considerable importance to have it as low-rated as possible. Were ships measured on a proper principle, it would, of course, be out of the question to attempt gaining any thing in this way. But we have been for a lengthened period in the habit of determining a ship's tonnage by her length and breadth merely, without regard to her depth, or the curvature of her sides. During the war, when the dock and other dues were very heavy, this preposterous regulation led to the building of ships of a ridiculously disproportioned depth. Latterly it has not been so injurious; but it still continues to exert a material influence. Such a system ought to be put an end to. We do not know whether the bill for that object that was introduced two sessions ago, was the best that might have been devised; but it would, at all events, have been a great improvement on the present practice, and, if nothing better can be had, we hope it will be allowed to pass.

When a new system of classification is laid down, it will be necessary to prescribe the general rules or principles according to which all ships entitled to rank A. 1 are to be built. There is a great deal of valuable information on this subject in the work of Mr Ballingall, the title of which is prefixed to this article. He has produced many instances of shipwrecks, attended with the most frightful loss of life, that were entirely owing to the defective construction of the vessels, and when, had they been properly constructed, no loss, either of property or life, would have ensued.

We have again and again urged the repeal or modification of the timber duties. If there be one article that a manufacturing and maritime nation ought to endeavour to obtain of the best quality, and at the lowest possible price, timber is that article.

But our policy, if we may call it so, is exactly the reverse. We do our best to inoculate our ships and our houses with dry rot, by levying a duty of 55s. per load on the best timber, while we admit the worst at a duty of 10s. ! To comment on such a regulation would be to insult the common sense of our readers. But as it is highly esteemed, we presume, on account of its contradiction and glaring impolicy, we need not, we are afraid, look for its speedy abolition. We do, however, hope, that, whatever may become of our houses and our machinery, our ships will, at least, be exempted from the operation of this most mischievous law. This may be easily done, by allowing them to be built *in bond*; and were such leave given, British ships would be decidedly cheaper than those of any other nation; and we might, if we chose, not only supply the world with cottons, but also with ships.

But we must have done. Of the 800 shipwrecks that occurred in 1833, we have been well assured that not more than 200, or at most 250, can be fairly ascribed to natural causes. The remaining 550 or 600 shipwrecks are wholly owing to the absurd and vicious classification of our shipping; and to the ignorance, incapacity, and carelessness of the masters. We have shown how these causes of a destruction of life and property, unparalleled in the history of navigation, may be easily, cheaply, and effectually obviated; and we trust that the next time we have to notice this subject will be to announce that the measures specified above, or others of a like import, have been carried into effect.

ART. VI.—*Lyrical Compositions, selected from the Italian Poets, with Translations.* By JAMES GLASSFORD, Esq. 8vo. Edinburgh: 1834.

WE have been greatly pleased with this little volume, as much from its general character as from the grace and polish of its execution. It is evidently the production of one possessing a quick natural sensibility to poetical beauty, improved by art and study, and no inattentive or unsympathizing observer of the poetry of our times. It is equally evident, however, that he has no very cordial admiration of its object or tendencies: the march of modern poetry he thinks imposing and magnificent enough, but its progress appears to him to be entirely in a wrong direction; and he pretty plainly insinuates that there are not a few Pistols and Parolles among the ranks. Accordingly, he will on no account march through Coventry with them. He turns his back

on the whole glittering and noisy pageant, and betakes him to the quiet and almost deserted quarters they have left behind them.

To a considerable extent, we think a similar feeling now begins to be pretty generally diffused. There are symptoms of *reaction* in poetry, if they are not to be found in politics;—an impression gradually gaining ground, that ‘the movement’—the poetry of passion and impetuosity, of vehement sensations and violent action, has been carried forward ‘something too wildly,’ and that a return to the calmer and more contemplative spirit of our earlier poets would not be undesirable. As the artificial and frigid taste of the eighteenth century, pushed too far, produced in the nineteenth a sudden return to the rude energy of style and natural simplicity which distinguish the childhood of poetry—so, again, this principle of freedom had begun to run into ‘wasteful’ and ‘ridiculous excess;’ impressing upon the poetry of the day an unnatural vehemence of action—a hyperbolical exaggeration of tone—an irregularity of structure—and a capricious ruggedness and coarseness of style. Our descriptive poetry was becoming political—our didactic, polemical—our narrative, *convulsive*. The first symptom of a return to better taste, was the more than indifference which the public began to show to such compositions: they had learned to be dissatisfied with what they had, though they did not yet exactly perceive what they wanted. Gradually these convictions became clearer, and were brought into action: here and there some volume, breathing a purer, calmer, and more philosophic spirit, stole upon the public notice, and was received with a welcome, which showed that it was not to poetry, but only to bad poetry, that the world was indifferent.

The reception lately given to Mr Taylor’s ‘Philip Van Artevelde,’ a work conceived in a grand and simple spirit, sufficiently proves to us that there is no want of sensibility on the part of the public to compositions of a classic character. The love of the strained, the gigantic, and the irregular, which Mr Glassford seems, from his preface, to regard as characteristic of our times, is really rather a past than a present taste. We appear to have bequeathed it to France, which, like most imitators, is even exaggerating our exaggerations. In every department of poetry and fiction we think the tendency at present is towards a return to a more subdued and equable tone of sentiment,—a more chastened and less hyperbolical style. We cannot indeed revert implicitly to those views of poetry which prevailed during the golden age of our literature, or re-create in the nineteenth century the strains of the sixteenth; nor would it be desirable if it were possible. Each age of course stamps its own character on its poetry; and as the men differ so must the

spirit which animates their productions. But we are likely, we think, so far to recur to the principles and practice of our elder worthies as to abate something of that undue prominence which had latterly been given to action, and passionate excitement, over more tranquil feelings and pictures ; to seek for originality rather in the new and harmonious combinations of natural and familiar emotions, than in the conception of strange situations and moral problems ; and to trust, not to the effect of insulated and fragmentary scenes and passages worked up with elaborate and startling effect, but to the due relation and subordination of all parts to one clear general design.

We should not apprehend, therefore, (as Mr Glassford appears to do,) that the present moment is at all inauspicious for the appearance of a selection from those great lyrical writers of Italy from whom our own Spenser, Shakspeare and Milton, were not ashamed to borrow inspiration. We do not anticipate that English readers, at the present day, are likely to be insensible to the beauty and propriety of design, the blending of classic correctness with modern feeling, and the singular polish and beauty of versification which the lyric poetry of Italy in its best specimens affords ; and which qualities are distinctly perceptible in the present volume. Of Mr Glassford's translations generally we think highly. In translation, as in other things, we have of late been acquiring some new ideas ; and it seems now to be pretty generally felt that the main object of a translator should be to exhibit his author and not himself. If a work is worth translating at all it is worth translating *literally*, 'for better for worse,' neither attempting to add nor to take away. So far as the necessities of versification permit, Mr Glassford acts faithfully on this principle ; and, keeping in view the difficulties presented to a translator by the intricacies of the sonnet and canzone, his translations are at once remarkably literal, spirited, and harmonious. He has no inconsiderable command of poetical expression ; and has obviously studied the Italian sonnet in that spirit of love which alone will ever enable a translator to bestow the care and polish which are necessary to master the difficulties it imposes. Of the exquisite canzone of the Italian lyrists he has exhibited but a few specimens, and perhaps not unwisely ; for its intricate and perpetual recurrence of a few fixed rhymes, 'in linked sweetness long drawn out,' seems to place it beyond the pale of English versification. Of the still more intricate sestina, compared with which even the fetters of the sonnet are perfect freedom, he has judiciously attempted no specimens.

We shall ramble through a few of the best of his sonnets,—a department in which we think him on the whole more successful

than in his canzoni, or in those numerous translations which he has attempted of the very untranslatable *aria* in the operas of Metastasio; for perfect as those little similes and clusters of imagery are, both in thought and expression, they do not bear separation from the scenes in which they occur.

In all the departments of English poetry the sonnet is the one in which the fewest specimens of excellence, or even moderate success, could be pointed out. He would be a bold man that would undertake to point out thirty first-rate sonnets (in the proper sense of the word) in all Mr Capel Lofft's Anthology. We say, in the proper sense of the word, because unfortunately many English compositions, highly beautiful as poems, have really no greater resemblance to sonnets than the Macedonian river had to the Welsh. There are fourteen lines, to be sure, in the one as in the other, but all the laws of rhyme, which the Italians have studied and inwardly digested, and on which in truth half the musical charm of the sonnet depends, (and the very name 'sonetto' denotes its musical origin,) are utterly set at defiance. Noble or beautiful as are many of the sonnets of Shakspeare and Spenser, we hardly recollect one that is framed on the proper Italian model. Even in the works of Daniel and Drummond, who had studied the character of the Italian sonnet deeply, and who in other respects approach closely to their southern models, the requisites of the proper number and distribution of the rhymes seem quite as often neglected as observed. They appear to have taken for granted that the comparative poverty of English rhyme was a sufficient reason for dispensing with a rigorous fidelity of imitation in this particular. Yet Milton has shown that even in this particular the difficulty may be successfully surmounted; and that it is not rhyme, but patience, and a proper command of the resources which our language affords, which are wanting. His sonnets, which exhibit every variety of sentiment, from the inspired grandeur of that on the Piedmontese Massacre, to the tenderness of those on his blindness, and on his deceased wife,—the grave dignity of that to a Young Lady, or the cheerful and Attic grace of those to Lawrence, and Cyriac Skinner,—are framed with the strictest adherence to the proper rules of the sonnet; and prove that in English, as well as in Italian, a consummate artist can render this form of poetry equally subservient to pathos, fervour, satire, philosophy, or humour.

Of Wordsworth's sonnets, highly as they must be admired by every one for their noble grandeur and simplicity, we would say, that they would probably be most admired by those who are least versed in the laws of the sonnet, as laid down in the Italian

code. For, though a good many specimens of the strict Italian measure might be selected from his works, yet in by far the greater part, the vital requisite, that the rhymes of the second quatrain shall correspond with those of the first, is neglected. This is the case, for instance, with two of his very finest,—the sonnets on Milton, and on the extinction of the Venetian Republic—sonnets, in other respects, worthy to be placed beside those of Milton himself, or the very best of the Italian. On the other hand, and particularly among his sonnets to the river Duddon, there are many in which he has shown that under all the fetters imposed by the strictest forms of the Italian versification, he can bring out, with consummate grace of developement and finish of language, the *one* leading idea of which the sonnet should consist. In one point, the sonnets of Milton and Wordsworth are the safest of models; more so, indeed, than many of the most celebrated among the Italians: they are above the littleness into which too many of the continental writers have fallen, of finishing off their sonnets, like a firework, with a flash at the close. They never confound the sonnet with the epigram. One leading thought, not so obvious as to be common, nor so remote as to appear far-fetched or artificial, and the developement of which was suited to the space allowed, was carefully selected, its form and relative proportions clearly arranged, laboriously and carefully polished into harmony, and then poured forth as a consistent whole, of which no one part or fragment could be spared, without marring the perfect finish and compactness of the whole.

If the composition of a good original sonnet be difficult, the successful translation of a good sonnet is not much less so. The field within which even the original writer must move is narrow enough; but to the translator, who cannot vary the thoughts to suit the exigencies of the rhyme, the restraint is, of course, far more embarrassing. In this respect, and as specimens of translation, where the strict rules of the original versification are preserved, and that, too, without the too common sacrifice of reason to rhyme, or of simplicity to quaintness or affectation of expression, the present translations are entitled to very considerable praise. A certain degree of quaintness, indeed—an antique cast of expression—or some inversion of construction, so far from injuring, may even, in some classes of sonnets, assist the effect; and this translator, we observe, frequently employs these peculiarities with good taste and discretion.

We are not altogether satisfied with his selections from Petrarch, which we do not think among his most successful translations; and, save in the strict 'legitimacy' of rhyme, inferior to those of Lady Dacre, as well as to some very beautiful specimens

of translation, published anonymously in this city, some years ago, but attributed, we believe, justly to the Rev. Dr Morehead. It may be matter of taste, too, but we confess that Mr Glassford seems to us to have made but an indifferent choice in selecting such sonnets as 'Cesare poi che 'l traditor d' Egitto,' and 'Pò, ben 'puo' tu portartene la scorza,' which, though of considerable merit, are certainly not of first-rate excellence. His readers, in general, we are convinced, would have willingly exchanged these moral and reasoning sonnets of Petrarch, for one or two of those more personal and pathetic strains, in which,

'Wat'ring the tree that bore his lady's name
With his melodious tears—he gave himself to fame.'

From Petrarch, Mr Glassford passes at once to the period of Bembo and of Sannazzaro, passing over an interval of about a century; an omission which we cannot say we are disposed to regret; for, though great men certainly illustrated other branches of Italian literature during that period, the lyric poetry of the time, and particularly the sonnet, corrupted by a misjudging and feeble imitation of the worst parts of Petrarch's manner, affords little which is likely to prove attractive to an English reader. Here, however, is a very good specimen from Sannazzaro,* the author of the *Arcadia*; one of the few works which, though now never read, actually reached in its day a sixtieth edition. We place the Italian beside it, that our readers may see with what fidelity as well as spirit the translation is executed.

'My soul such pleasure oft in sleep receives,
That death begins to seem a pleasant thing,
Nor to be arm'd, perchance, with such a sting,
Or taste so bitter as the world conceives.
For, if the mind alone sees, hears, believes,
While ev'ry limb is dead and languishing,
And greatest pleasure to herself can bring,
When least the body feels and least perceives,—
Well may the hope be cherish'd, that when quite
Loos'd from the burden of her earthly chain,
She hears, and sees, and knows her true delight.
Rejoice, thou troubled spirit, though in pain—
If thou canst take, ev'n here, so sweet a flight,
What wilt thou in thy native seats again?'

* 'Parmi che'l sol non porga il lume usato.'

‘ Si spesso a consolarmi il sonno riede
 Ch’ omai comincio a desiar la morte
 La qual forse non è tant’ aspra e forte
 Ne tanto acerba quanto il mondo crede.
 Che se la mente vegghia, intende, e vede
 Quando le membre stan languide e morte;
 Ed allor par che più mi riconforte
 Che’l corpo meno il pensa e meno il chiede:
 Non è vano sperar, ch’ ancor dappoi
 Che dal nodo terrestre fia disciolta,
 Vegghie, veda ed intenda i piacer suoi.
 Gode dunque alma affetta in pene involta—
 Che se qui tanta gioia prender puoi,
 Che farai tu nella tua patria accolta? ’

The following beautiful sonnet, by Vittoria Colonna, written after the death of her husband, the Marquis of Pescara, reminds us of some of those in the noble collection of dedicatory sonnets, prefixed to the ‘Faery Queen.’ She is one of the best of the Italian *sonneteers*, (‘a vile phrase,’ but not easily avoided,) and, in the grave dignity of her sonnets, and in the absence of conceits and epigrammatic turns, approaches nearly to the style of Wordsworth.

‘ Methinks the sun his wonted beam denies,
 Nor lends so fair light to his sister’s car;
 Methinks each planet mild, and lovely star,
 Has left its sweet course in the spangl’d skies.
 Fallen is the heart of noble enterprise,
 True glory perish’d, and the pride of war;
 All grace and ev’ry virtue faded are—
 The leaf is wither’d and the flow’ret dies.
 Unmov’d I am, though earth and heav’n invite,
 Warm’d by no ray, nor fann’d if zephyr blow;
 All offices of nature are derang’d,
 Since the bright sun that cheer’d me vanish’d so—
 The courses of the world have quite been chang’d.
 Ah, no! but sorrow veils them from my sight.’

One of the best of the Italian lyric poets is Giovanni della Casa (1503—1556). Abandoning the vitiated manner which had been introduced by the later Petrarchists of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, he introduced a noble simplicity of thought and style into his compositions; and, in conjunction with Bembo, Tansillo, and Bernardo Tasso, the father of the great epic poet, may be considered as one of the restorers of the national taste. We consider the sonnet ‘O dolce selva solitaria amica,’ as beautiful in itself and beautifully translated:—

' Sweet wood, whose loneliness bears true consent,
 With troubled thoughts like mine ! now that the hours
 Are few and dismal, and the north wind pours
 His icy bolts down heav'n's dark battlement ;
 That age thy green and spreading boughs hath bent,
 And on thy locks, like mine, are winter show'rs,
 Now that, in room of white and vermeil flowers,
 Are all thy sunny slopes with hail besprent :
 I ponder, by the short and glimm'ring light,
 What soon myself shall be ; for I, too, feel
 My veins to stagnate, and my limbs grow dumb,
 But more than thee, and inly, I congeal :
 My winter with a keener blast will come,
 And days more dim and cold, and longer night.'

With the translations from Filicaja we have been less pleased. The celebrated '*Italia, Italia, o tu cui feo la sorte,*' is but indifferently translated ; and, indeed, though we have perused some twenty versions of this (somewhat overpraised*) sonnet, we have never met with any which did justice to the original. Nor do we think Mr Glassford's other selections from Filicaja, though pretty numerous, have been made with much felicity. We looked in vain for the well-known sonnets on the death of Christina Queen of Sweden, on Providence, on the Seasons, or the indignant appeal to his country, '*Dovè Italia el tuo braccio.*' All these, we think, are by many degrees superior to those to which Mr Glassford has given a place. Perhaps we shall be excused for attempting a translation of two of these sonnets.

ON PROVIDENCE.

' Qual madre i figli con pietoso affetto.'

Even as a mother o'er her children bending
 Yearns with maternal love : her fond embraces
 And gentle kiss to each in turn extending,
 One at her feet, one on her knee she places,
 And from their eyes, and voice, and speaking faces,
 Their varying wants and wishes comprehending,
 To one a look, to one a word addresses,
 Even with her frowns a mother's fondness blending.

* Much as we admire the general structure of this famous sonnet, we think it would not be easy to produce two worse lines than the two last of the second quatrain :—

' Che del tuo bello ai rai,
 Par che si strugga e pur ti sfida a morte.'

So o'er us watches Providence on high,
 And hope to some, and help to others lends,
 And yields alike to all an open ear,
 And when she seems her favours to deny
 She for our prayers alone the boon suspends,
 Or, seeming to deny, she grants the prayer.

ON THE DEATH OF CHRISTINA, QUEEN OF SWEDEN.

' Questa che scossa delle sue regie fronde.'

The tree which, shaken of its royal boughs,
 Gave with its trunk a shelter and a shade;
 Whose broad and tow'ring top to heav'n arose
 High as on earth its roots were deeply laid:
 Where men the nest of all their hopes had made;
 Whence virtue sought support amidst her woes;
 The branches of whose glory widely spread
 From the far west to where the Caspian flows,
 Yields, as its massy roots are rent away,
 And, in its mighty ruin, buries all
 That in the shelter of its shadow lay—
 It sinks, as if the solid world gave way,
 Majestic in the thunder of its fall,
 And mighty ev'n in ruin and decay!

Two omissions in the work rather surprise us; the one, the famous sonnet of Giambattista Pastorini, on the bombardment of Genoa by Louis XIV;* the other, the total omission of the very name of one of the best of the Italian sonnet writers, Benedetto Menzini. We shall endeavour, very imperfectly, to supply the defect, by attempting a translation of one of his sonnets.

' Dianzi io piantai un ramoscel d'alloro.'

I planted, in my youth, a laurel bough,
 My humble pray'rs to Phœbus offering,
 That, by his fost'ring care, the tree might grow,
 And shade and shelter to the poet bring:
 That Zephyr might his kindly warmth bestow,
 And fan it with the flutter of his wing;
 And that the icy north might vainly blow,
 And have no pow'r to blight its blossoming.
 Full slow, indeed, beneath that fost'ring care,
 I see my tender plant its branches rear

* ' Genova mia se con ciglio asciutto.' This sonnet, if we recollect rightly, is erroneously attributed by Matthias, in his 'Componimenti,' to Gaetano Passerini.

'Midst trees of loftier height and nobler name ;
 But yet I grieve not at its slow uprise,—
 His is no easy task, nor common prize,
 Who justly wins and wears the wreath of fame !

We should have been glad if we could have spared room for some of Mr Glassford's translations from Bembo, Tansillo, and Celio Magno, but our limits will admit only of other two extracts ; and these shall be the ' Care dell' alma stanca' of Carlo Maria Maggi, and the ' Leggiadra Rosa, le cui pure foglie' of Metastasio ; the refined beauty and finish of whose sonnets and lyrical pieces in general have been eclipsed by the more obvious fascinations of his operas.

CARLO M. MAGGI.

' O welcome as the hall to pilgrim feet,
 Ye woods and steeps, breeze, fountain, shade, and green,
 Where bitter draughts of life, and sorrows keen,
 To fond remembrance change, and musing sweet !
 Home of the sober mind, whose calm retreat
 A haven to my shipwreck'd bark hath been,
 How has my heart oft bless'd your friendly screen,
 How own'd the comfort of your silent seat !
 Companion of the poor, here let me stray,
 Who, distant far from the world's fretful waves,
 Expect in tranquil joys their resting day :
 Here let me learn what fortune never gave,—
 To pluck from life its flatt'ring mask away,
 Here of its terrors to disarm the grave !'

METASTASIO.

' O, fair unsullied rose ! whose leaf was fed
 With sweetest dews, and drank the morning ray,
 Whose graceful bud now bending on the spray,
 Fann'd by Aurora's breath, puts on the red,
 That careful hand which plucks thee from thy bed,
 Removes thee only to a brighter day,
 Where stripp'd of them, never to decay,
 Thy choicer beauties may unmingled spread.
 Thus art thou planted a perennial flower,
 Far from this fickle region full of gloom,
 Which winds disturb, and frost, and sweeping shower.
 A faithful guardian tends thee now, by whom
 Secured thou shall combine in peaceful bower
 Immortal fragrance with immortal bloom.'

Among the canzoni and hymns, of which the present volume contains translations, perhaps the most successful are the famous hymn of Cotta, ' Odami cielo e terra,' and the opening canzone

from Petrarch, 'Standomi un giorno solo alla finestra.' We regret that instead of the 'Amor Superno Amore' of Felicaja, Mr Glassford did not rather give us translations of his noble odes to John Sobieski, King of Poland, or that on the siege of Vienna by the Turks,—two of the most splendid lyrical compositions to be found in any language, and to which we are sure he would have done ample justice; and we also wish he had made room for Celio Magno's magnificent canzone, entitled 'Dio,'—perhaps the finest burst of religious inspiration in the Italian language. We would express a hope, in conclusion, that if the translator should venture on some farther selections, he will not choose them so exclusively from the religious and moral class: a few more specimens of the amorous, or even the humorous sonnet, of which there is no want in the Italian language, would have given additional interest to the present volume; and we are rather apprehensive that Mr Glassford, from the almost unvaried tone of its contents, may have somewhat exposed himself to the remark of Boileau—

'Tous d'un même ton semblent *psalmodier*.'

ART. VII.—1. *Report of the First and Second Meetings of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, at York in 1831, and at Oxford in 1832; including its Proceedings, Recommendations, and Transactions.* 8vo. London: 1833.

2. *Report of the Third Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, held at Cambridge in 1833.* 8vo. London: 1834.

THE political convulsions which distinguished the close of the eighteenth century were accompanied with various secondary movements, more pacific in their character, and more permanent in their results. Though not contemplated by the apostles of anarchy, the changes to which we refer were perhaps among its legitimate consequences; and when they have been studied through a longer period of their perturbations, they will doubtless be ranked among those compensatory adjustments in which Providence strikes a balance between present and overwhelming evils and future and permanent good. In the political, as in the natural world, the desolating torrent which sweeps away its bulwarks often loses its power in the depth of its excavations, whilst it forms a new barrier out of the very elements which it has displaced.

Amid the subversion of ancient institutions, whether established by despotism or deformed by corruption, the elements of society are let loose from their forced arrangements; and, in obedience to their natural affinities, they enter into new and less constrained combinations. Kindred minds unite their sympathies for good or for evil: Daring and restless spirits conjoin their physical powers of mischief. Wealth seeks its preservation by uniting itself to wealth, and power strives to extend itself by an alliance with power. But when the transfer of the social elements is over, and the ebullition which accompanies it has subsided, we are permitted to see the powers which have been in exercise, and the products which they have formed. In such political movements, wealth and rank have frequently exercised a predominant influence; and brute force has still oftener enjoyed its short-lived triumph; but intellectual power, the weapon of virtuous and educated minds, has never failed in establishing its just and unalienable rights. When this irresistible auxiliary is allied with the ambition of the despot—when it guides the schemes of an unprincipled oligarchy—or when in its individual action it gives birth to theories of wild import directed against the peace and happiness of man, it may, as it has done, exercise a baneful influence over civil and religious liberty: But even then its ascendancy is only temporary. It perishes at an elevation where it cannot breathe, and its inspirations are only deep and strong in the humbler level of reason and justice.

Whatever be the forms which the institutions of society have assumed,—whether they are crowned with the diadem of a monarch or the many-headed cowl of a republic, they must ultimately be amenable to the calm and stern scrutiny of reason. The attribute of antiquity, in place of being a shield against improvement, is an argument for closer enquiry; and the long-continued monopoly of privileges by one class of society, and the long-continued exclusion of others, are irresistible inducements to change. There are no abuses more to be dreaded than those which are hoary with age; and no act of misgovernment more deserving of reprobation, than those which refuse to extend to all orders of society, and to all descriptions of merit, the same honours and advantages, and to make real talent and honest merit the principal, if not the only, passport to the offices of the state.

Great as have been the improvements in our social institutions, Europe has not yet achieved in any of her states the blessed triumph of a paternal government. The events which now agitate England indicate her distance from so glorious a consummation. While the interests of a great country are frequently and suddenly transferred from one set of statesmen to another, of

opposite principles, neither can the people be happy nor the nation prosperous. The Minister, indeed, who shall first obtain for his country the blessings of a stable government, must summon into his service the intellectual might of England. He must banish ignorance from its strongholds; and privileged power, and democratic violence, will soon follow the culprit into exile. The education of the people—the diffusion of knowledge—the encouragement of literature and science and talent of every kind, are the only ballast for a government like ours, exposed to the double hostility of popular menace and aristocratical inroad. But of all these elements of stability the most efficacious is that of intellectual power, whether it is exhibited in the statesman's forethought and sagacity, in the philosopher's powers of combination and judgment, or even in the lighter and more elegant accomplishments of the scholar and the poet. The shaft of the stately column is not weakened by the acanthus which curls at its summit, nor is the reason less enlightened when it derives a ray from the imagination. Intrenched in such defences, an honest administration could never be dislodged; and the blessings of the people, and the respect of foreign states, would give it fresh vigour and endurance. A government thus constituted could devote the time now wasted in its own preservation to the real business of the state; and *local legislation*, or the adjustment of the laws to the varying localities and conditions of the different parts of the empire, would receive that attention which it has never yet met with from a British Parliament.

Did our limits permit, we might draw from ancient and modern history innumerable proofs of the truth of the views which we have now advanced; but we can scarcely conceive minds so constituted as to deny their truth, and if such persons do exist, they must have closed their eyes against the most instructive events of their own times. The young diplomacy of the American states was raised into distinction when Franklin took upon himself the functions of her ambassador; and France was at the zenith of her glory when the Marquis Laplace was President of her Conservative Senate, Lagrange a Peer of France, and Carnot her Minister at War.

We have been drawn into these observations from a desire to make our readers acquainted with the circumstances and views which led to those large reunions of scientific and literary men which have recently sprung up in Europe; and, also, to enable them to judge of the advantages, and predict the destiny of such powerful associations of talent.

Of all the continental states, those which compose the German empire had derived the least benefit from the calamities which

had afflicted themselves, and from the convulsions which had been raging around them. The free spirit of her population, however, and the speculative boldness of her philosophy, were ill suited to antiquated institutions and absolute governments. Men of all castes—the political, the theological, and the philosophical writers of the day—were restless under the ignoble pressure which weighed upon their faculties; and the censorship, which blighted the periodical press, extended its paralysis even to the journals of literature and science. Professor Oken, a learned naturalist, who filled the chair of Natural History in the University of Jena, in the duchy of Saxe Weimar, was one of those independent men whose inherent love of liberty was fostered by the study of nature. In his journal of literature and science, called the *Isis*, he had published some political articles which were ill suited to the temper of the government. The vengeance of power instantly descended on his devoted head; and he was indulged with the alternative of relinquishing his Professorship or discontinuing his journal. The independent spirit of the editor predominated over his passion for science; and while he surrendered his chair at Jena he transferred the publication of his journal to the freer atmosphere of Leipsic.

During his residence at Jena, and, we believe, previous to his political transgression, Oken had proposed to assemble, in an annual congress, the cultivators of natural history and medicine from every corner of the German's fatherland. The very suggestion of so extensive a reunion rendered him unpopular with the alarmists around him; and the peaceful naturalists, who had never wielded a weapon save their lancets and their dissecting knives, became the objects of hatred and suspicion. A phalanx thus summoned from the Rhine, and the Danube, and the Bohemian frontier, and representing the intellectual community between the Southern Alps and the remote shores of the Baltic, could not be viewed with indifference by an arbitrary and suspicious government. In every German capital where its banner was to be unfurled, it could not fail to leave behind, its mantle of knowledge and of free discussion; and it was scarcely to be apprehended that men accustomed to witness in the kingdom of nature the benignant and tender adaptation of its laws and arrangements to the wants and desires of every order of being, could shut their eyes against the obtrusive deformities, and the vicious and selfish laws of aristocratic rule. It was not, indeed, the object of Oken and his friends to study or to slay the monsters of German policy; but the dread of an adversary's power is the very act which invests him with it; and the attempt to guard against designs that were never meditated is often the germ

from which they spring, as well as the arm by which they are executed.

But, while the projected congress of philosophers existed only in the ardent mind of its founder, and in the proscribed pages of his journal, it met with more opposition than when it was regularly organized, and invested with the powers of mischief. The first meeting, which took place at Leipsic, in 1822, was so impotent in numbers, as to excite contempt rather than fear. About twenty individuals from the city, and twelve strangers, formed the first Philosophical Congress in Europe; but the snowball was moulded—the plains of Germany lay extended before it—and it now rivals the most gigantic iceberg of the frozen zone.

The following were the laws which this small but enlightened band laid down for the future government of the association:—

‘ 1. At a meeting of German naturalists and physicians, held at Leipzig on the 18th September, 1822, it was resolved, That a *Society* be formed to be named the *Society of German Naturalists and Physicians*.

‘ 2. The chief object of this society is to afford an opportunity to the cultivators of natural science and medicine in Germany, to become personally acquainted with each other.

‘ 3. Every person who has written upon natural science or medicine, is admissible as a member.

‘ 4. The composition of a mere inaugural dissertation, does not entitle any person to be considered as a writer.

‘ 5. A particular election is not necessary, and no diplomas will be given.

‘ 6. All persons are admissible to the meetings who employ themselves with natural science or medicine.

‘ 7. Only Members have the right of voting at the Meetings.

‘ 8. Every thing shall be decided by the majority of voices.

‘ 9. The society shall meet every year, and deliberate with open doors; to commence on the 18th of September, and continue for several days.

‘ 10. The place of meeting shall be variable. At each anniversary, the place of meeting for the ensuing year shall be determined.

‘ 11. A president and a secretary, resident in the place of meeting for the time being, shall conduct the affairs of the Society till the ensuing anniversary.

‘ 12. The president shall appoint the hours and place of meeting, and arrange the business; and every one who has any thing to bring forward must notify the same to him.

‘ 13. The secretary shall have charge of the minutes, the accounts, and the correspondence.

‘ 14. Both office-bearers shall subscribe only in the name of the Society.

‘ 15. They shall make known, as early as possible, the authority conferred upon them by the immediately preceding assembly, and at the same time take measures for making the ensuing place of meeting as generally known as possible.

‘16. At each anniversary, the office-bearers for the ensuing year shall be appointed. Should the appointment not be accepted, the office-bearers shall select another individual, and must, at the same time, appoint a new place of meeting.

‘17. Should the society lose one of its office-bearers, the survivor shall nominate another. Should it lose both, those of the preceding year shall resume their office.

‘18. The society shall form no collections, and except its records, possess no property. Whatever is laid before them shall be again withdrawn by its owner.

‘19. The expenses of the meeting shall be defrayed by the contributions of the members present.

‘20. These regulations shall remain unaltered for the first five years.’

Assembling in successive years, and with continually increasing numbers, at Hallé, Wurzburg, Frankfort, and Dresden, the congress met at Munich, in 1827, where it received the patronage and hospitality of Louis Maximilian, King of Bavaria. This patriotic monarch, whose predecessor had been the liberal patron of the illustrious Fraunhofer, invited the members of the congress to dine with him in his palace; and he marked his opinion of the association, and the merits of its founder, by appointing Oken, in the same year, to the physiological chair in the University of Munich.

Thus stamped with royal approbation, the German congress rose rapidly in public esteem. The objects of the association were now better defined and more widely extended; and, in place of assembling in one hall, the philosophers divided themselves into sections, corresponding to the sciences which they cultivated; and arrangements of the most judicious kind were adopted, for promoting the objects of the meeting, and securing the comforts of its members. These practical improvements were especially effective in 1828, when the congress was held at Berlin. In this capital, the seat of a learned academy, the Society of Naturalists attained its highest splendour. The celebrated traveller, Baron Humboldt, was chosen president of the meeting; and the *soirée* which he gave, on the first day, to about 1200 guests, was graced by the presence of the King of Prussia, the heir apparent of the crown, and the other princes of the blood; while the Prussian nobility, and foreign princes and foreign ambassadors gave additional lustre to the party. The great concert room attached to the theatre, where this party assembled, was fitted up for the accommodation and amusement of the guests; and the names of the most illustrious philosophers of Germany were inscribed in letters of gold at the end of the largest hall.

This was doubtless a proud day for the intellectual community

of Germany. The homage thus paid to science by a powerful sovereign, was at once a compensation for her labours, and an acknowledgment of her power. Nor was this the only effect of the royal benignity. While so gracious a sovereign must have risen in the esteem and affections of his people, the interests of education and knowledge must have received a vigorous impulse; and the latent and developed enthusiasm of youthful genius must have been roused and inflamed by the display of honours thus placed within their grasp.

The *Savans* who attended the Berlin meeting amounted to 464, the number of strangers being 269. Of these, 175 were from Berlin, 95 from the Prussian provinces, 43 from the German states, 21 from Saxony, 12 from Bavaria, 5 from Hanover, and 2 from Wirtemberg. The only kingdom of Germany which sent no representative of science was Austria. The helmsman who guided her vessel of state had long viewed these philosophical unions as the harbingers of a political storm; and it has been generally believed that individuals were sent from Vienna to watch their proceedings. But, however this may be, the fact that no Austrian philosopher went to the Berlin meeting, whilst it establishes the hostility of the Austrian government, exhibits a distressing picture of the obsequiousness of her philosophers. The Emperor of Austria is said to have perused the accounts of the German meetings, and to have expressed his surprise that his own capital had not been honoured as one of their places of resort. When a map of Europe, which indicated only the towns which had sent representatives to Berlin, was found by the Emperor not to contain Vienna, the monarch, unacquainted with the views of his minister, openly expressed his chagrin; and conceiving that the want of means for the journey must have been the only cause, he announced that the necessary funds would in future be supplied from his treasury. When the next meeting took place, passports were asked from the director of the police; but, though they were not refused, the applicants learned the important lesson, that in accepting the liberality of the emperor, they might forego the good graces of his minister.

In the year 1829, the German naturalists held their eighth anniversary in the beautiful city of Heidelberg. The members amounted only to 273, of whom 193 were strangers; and though the splendour of a court was not here thrown round the meeting, yet its proceedings were highly interesting to science, while the hospitality shown to strangers was creditable to the university and the city.

The honour of receiving the philosophers at their ninth reunion was contested by Hamburgh and Gotha. Copenhagen,

though out of the pale of the German Empire, had implored a visit from the continental naturalists; but, though their petition embodied the anxious wishes of the King of Denmark, the rules of the society could not be broken, and Hamburgh was fixed upon as the place of rendezvous. Although placed in a corner of Germany, the strangers amounted to 258, and the whole number to about 400. The Emperor of Austria seems to have at last overcome the scruples of his minister, for the tenth anniversary of the association was fixed to be held at Vienna; but we believe it did not assemble, on account of the prevalence of cholera in that capital and throughout the rest of Germany.

This brief chronicle of the German Association has brought us down to a period in our own history, when the state of British science had become a subject of controversial discussion. Four English philosophers, Sir Humphry Davy, Sir John Herschel, Mr Babbage, and Sir David Brewster, under a deep concern for the honour of England, boldly pointed out the fact of the decline of science and the scientific arts. They investigated the causes by which so fatal a change had been produced, and suggested the means by which the sciences might be fostered and revived. Some individuals, interested in science as a source of professional gain, and others, prompted by vanity and ignorance, endeavoured to thwart these appeals to the government and the country. A third class, already enjoying professorships, and other university appointments, repudiated the idea of a national establishment for science, which had produced such glorious effects in Prussia, Russia, and France. They conceived that philosophers, like Puritans, would be disgraced by secular honours and dignities; and it was their desire that science, like virtue, should be its own reward! But in the rare and pure ether which they breathed, they had forgotten that in the two English universities, no fewer than *nine* professors had received *from government* an annual addition of L.100 to their incomes. This unexpected disclosure, though not creditable to their consistency, was yet favourable to their argument. The science of this little institute had been so feebly advanced by the national bounty, that they were doubtless justified in opposing a more extended establishment; and it was natural, too, for men who destined themselves to be deans, prebends, and bishops, to maintain the aristocracy of science, by stopping even a parish allowance to the lower orders of philosophy.

It was from this controversy that the British Association derived its origin. The public had judged calmly, and decided justly; and ministers, in power and out of power, had pledged themselves to a more generous patronage of science. Sir Robert

Peel had made two distinct, though small, steps in its favour; and his successors in office would no doubt have pursued and completed its regeneration, had not the loud demand for more urgent reforms, and the necessity of eradicating deeper seated and wider felt grievances, absorbed all their attention. It was necessary, however, to keep the public mind at its pitch—to employ a force of high pressure against the antagonist power of political excitement; and to marshal in favour of science all who had the courage to enlist under its banner. In one of the appeals to the public, above alluded to, Sir David Brewster declared, ‘That the sciences and the arts of England are in a wretched state of depression, and that their decline is mainly owing to the ignorance and supineness of the Government; to the injudicious organization of our scientific Boards and Institutions; to the indirect persecution of scientific and literary men, by their exclusion from all the honours of the state; and to the unjust and oppressive tribute which the patent-law exacts from inventors.’ And, despairing of any effect being produced by individual zeal and activity, he suggested what he considered to be the only remedy for such palpable evils. ‘An association,’ says he, ‘of our nobility, clergy, gentry, and philosophers, can alone draw the attention of the sovereign and the nation to this blot upon its fame. Our aristocracy will not decline to resume their proud station as the patrons of genius; and our Boyles, and Cavendishes, and Montagues, and Howards, will not renounce their place in the scientific annals of England. The prelates of our national Church will not refuse to promote that knowledge which is the foundation of pure religion, and those noble enquiries which elevate the mind and prepare it for its immortal destination. If this effort fail, we must wait for the revival of better feelings, and deplore our national misfortune in the language of the wise man: “I returned and saw under the sun that there is neither yet bread to the wise, nor yet riches to men of understanding, nor yet favour to men of skill.”’

The objects of this Association, therefore, were to revive science from its decline, and the scientific arts from their depression;—to instruct the government when ignorant, and stimulate it when supine;—to organize more judiciously our scientific institutions, and the public boards to which scientific objects are intrusted;—to sweep away the oppression of the Patent Laws;—and to raise scientific and literary men to their just place in society, and vindicate their claims to the same honours as every other class of national benefactors.

In a month or two after the publication of this appeal, (in October, 1830,) which had excited a strong feeling throughout the king-

dom, its author conceived the idea of assembling at York, in 1831, the cultivators and friends of science from every part of the British islands. He selected this city as the most central point of reunion for the three kingdoms, and as possessing an active Philosophical Society, at whose apartments, and with whose assistance, the meetings might be conducted; and he published the two following notices of the intended meeting in the 'Edinburgh Journal of Science.'

'Great Scientific Meeting to be held at York.'

'Arrangements are now making for holding at York, in July next, a meeting of the cultivators of science from every part of the British islands. The object of the association is similar to that of the German society, so fully described in this number. The sittings will continue for a week. The Lord Mayor and the authorities at York have, as might have been expected, entered heartily into this plan, and the Philosophical Society of that city have kindly offered to charge themselves with any preliminary arrangements which may be necessary.

'Scientific individuals who propose to attend or to become members of the association, are requested to communicate their intention to John Robison, Esq., secretary to the Royal Society of Edinburgh, who has undertaken to act as secretary till the association be constituted.'—(*Edin. Journ. Science*, March, 1831. No. VIII. p. 374.)

This notice was widely circulated through the kingdom, and when the arrangements were farther advanced, the following more extended notice was published.

'Some months ago it occurred to the Editor of this work that the general interests of science might be greatly promoted by the establishment of a Society of British cultivators of Science, which should meet annually in some central town in England. He accordingly corresponded on the subject with several influential individuals, and found that there was a general desire for the organization of such a society. As York possessed peculiar advantages for the first place of meeting, from its local position in reference to the three capitals of the kingdom—from its having a Philosophical Society, containing many distinguished members—and from its having a Museum and other apartments, suited for the meetings of the Society, he addressed himself to Mr Phillips, the secretary to the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, in order to ascertain how such a meeting would be viewed by that Society, and by the principal authorities in York. Mr Phillips lost no time in obtaining the desired information; and having made application to the Mayor of York, (the Right Honourable Lord Dundas, we believe,) he was able to report that the authorities of York entered heartily into the plan, and that the Philosophical Society would willingly charge themselves with any preliminary arrangements which might be necessary.

'Upon receiving Mr Phillips's letter, he transmitted it to John Robison, Esq., who had kindly agreed to act as Interim-Secretary, and who, with the assistance of J. F. W. Johnston, Esq., who attended the last meeting of German Naturalists at Hamburgh, proposed to draw up a set

of regulations or laws to be submitted to the Society at its first meeting.

‘ Under these circumstances, he drew up the notice of the meeting which was published in the last number of this Journal, and which has been widely circulated by the periodical press.

‘ These steps having been taken previous to the dissolution of Parliament, it was conceived by some individuals who were extremely anxious about the success of the plan, that the election might interfere with the meetings of the Society, and that it might be more prudent to delay its establishment to another year. As the political agitation of the country has entirely subsided, there can be no sufficient reason for such a delay, and it has accordingly been agreed upon to hold the first meeting of the Society at York, on *Monday, the 26th September*.

‘ The following regulations, most of which are adopted by the German Association, are suggested to the consideration of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, *who ought to be prepared with a code of laws, to be submitted to the Society at their first meeting*.

‘ The rules now suggested will be useful in enabling those gentlemen who mean to attend, and who will be entitled to act as members, to transmit any observations or suggestions on this subject, to R. Phillips, Esq., Secretary to the Philosophical Society, York.

‘ 1. The Society shall be called the Society of the British Cultivators of Science.

‘ The principal objects will be, to promote personal intercourse among scientific individuals, and *to adopt every means for advancing the interests of science in every part of the world, by promoting scientific enquiries, and procuring assistance to men of science in the prosecution of their researches*.

‘ 3. That the Society shall consist of those only who have written upon scientific subjects, or who have been the zealous patrons of science.

‘ 4. The Society shall be managed by a President and a Secretary, resident in the place of meeting for the time being.

‘ 5. The Society shall meet annually on the —, and shall deliberate with open doors.

‘ 6. The Society shall hold its meetings at different towns, where sufficient accommodation can be obtained; and the place of meeting for the next year shall be fixed by the Society before the termination of its sittings.

‘ 7. The Society shall hold no property; but if books, &c. are presented to it, they shall be lodged in the museum of the town where the Society last met.

‘ 8. A record of the proceedings of the Society shall be kept by the Secretary.

‘ 9. The expenses of the Society shall be defrayed by the contributions of the members present.’

In consequence of these arrangements, the Association met at York on the 26th of September, 1831. It was a fortunate circumstance that it first assembled in a city containing so many able and respectable individuals; and still more fortunate that the

Philosophical Society had for its vice-president the Reverend Mr Harcourt, who devoted himself with enthusiastic zeal to secure the foundation, and promote the objects of the Association. Nor was it among the least auspicious events which fostered the new institution, that it was patronised by the learned and venerable the Archbishop of York, whose amiable and intelligent family graced its meetings, and whose kind hospitality was experienced by all its members.

The members of the Association did not exceed 200. They consisted of men who never doubted the utility of the Institution. The common impulse of an enthusiastic admiration of science convoked them round its smoking altar; and with the sincerity of true worshippers, they offered their sacrifice in peace and friendship. Dalton, Brisbane, Greenough, Lloyd, Pritchard, Howard, Pearson, Murchison, Smith, Robison, and Scoresby, emulated the younger members in activity and zeal; and we venture to state, that every individual, of what was then considered a large meeting, left the scene of their labours with one common conviction, that the success of the meeting, and the personal instruction and happiness which they had received, far surpassed their most sanguine expectations.

Our readers will no doubt be desirous of knowing the composition of the first meeting of the Association. It contained a great number of dissenters, as well as members of the established church; and in addition to those whom individual zeal brought to York, there were deputations to the meeting from various philosophical societies, particularly in the north of England. The universities stood aloof—perhaps to watch—perhaps to stem the flowing tide of knowledge. Oxford sent *one* representative, that ardent and liberal philosopher, Dr Daubeney; but Cambridge, like Austria among the German states, sent *none* of her scientific host. It was understood, however, that she was willing to take an active part, and bring up her contingent to Oxford, provided that the *decline of science* was not to be the watchword, nor its *direct national encouragement* among the objects of the Association. By what secret article these concessions were made, or supposed to be made, and by what ingenious modification of the avowed designs of its members these integral parts of the plan were surrendered, or supposed to be surrendered, we never learned, and have no means of ascertaining.

In the year 1832, the Association met at Oxford, on Monday the 18th June, Dr Buckland being president, and Sir David Brewster and the Rev. Mr Whewell, vice-presidents; and though this meeting assembled while the Reformed Parliament was sitting, yet many members of the House of Commons, and many

of the nobility, honoured the Association with their presence. The Vice-chancellor, Dr Jones, the heads of colleges, the professors, and the clergy of Oxford, received the meeting with unbounded hospitality. The gorgeous halls of this city of palaces opened their portals to men of all castes ; and it is a fact which will never be forgotten in the history of this university, and which should be balanced against less liberal parts of her statutes, that of the four philosophers on whom she conferred the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws, there was not one of them a member of the Church of England. The proceedings of the sections or scientific committees were carried on with considerable regularity. Many interesting papers were read, and many beautiful instruments exhibited ; but perhaps the most prominent feature at Oxford was the production of several Reports on the present state of various branches of science, the preparation of which had been suggested by the Rev. Mr Whewell, now one of the most active members of the Association, and himself the author of the best report which has yet appeared.* The number of members was about seven hundred.

The third meeting of the Association was held at Cambridge, on the 18th June, 1833, under the presidency of Professor Sedgwick, and the vice-presidency of Dr Dalton and Professor Airy. In this venerable university, which has been long and justly placed at the head of the universities of Europe, the congress was received with the greatest hospitality and the highest distinction. The vice-chancellor and the other functionaries exerted themselves in promoting the comfort of eminent strangers ; and the honours which it was in their power to bestow, were liberally conferred on the more distinguished members. The proceedings of the sections were carried on with much spirit ; the scientific reports read at the public meetings were able and interesting ; and the domain of the Association was extended by the addition of a new section on Statistics. The meeting was attended by more than nine hundred members.

The fourth congress of British philosophers was held at Edinburgh, on the 8th of September, 1834 ; Sir Thomas Brisbane being president, and Sir David Brewster and the Rev. Dr Romney Robinson, vice-presidents. The great distance of our city from the scientific population of the island had excited considerable fears about the success of the meeting ; but these fears were happily disappointed. The famed hospitality of the Scottish metropolis

* Report on Mineralogy.

was never more nobly displayed; and the arrangements which were made by the committee were in every respect elegant and convenient. The sections, which met in the lecture-rooms of the university, had never been so well accommodated; and even the sub-sections into which some of the committees were necessarily subdivided, found ample room for their meetings. On this occasion the scientific reports were very properly read at the sections; and at the public meetings which were held every evening in the city Assembly Rooms, popular lectures were delivered. These public meetings were alike numerous and splendid, and the demand for ladies' tickets could not be supplied.

Among the many distinguished individuals who assisted at the Edinburgh Congress were some of those members of the late ministry, who were more particularly connected with Scotland. Lord Brougham, who, on the motion of Sir David Brewster, was admitted a member by acclamation at the concluding meeting of the general committee, attended the public sitting of that day,* and delighted the immense assemblage by that powerful and striking eloquence with which he adorns his various acquirements.

The number of foreigners who attended the previous meetings of the Association was extremely small; but several distinguished individuals, the chief of whom were M. Arago, Professor Moll, M. Treviranus, and M. Agassiz, honoured the present meeting with their presence. M. Arago, whose splendid discoveries in optics and magnetism, have placed him among the first philosophers in Europe, assisted at all the meetings of the natural philosophy section; and contributed greatly to the interest of the proceedings by his extensive knowledge, as well as his readiness and power as a speaker.

The Magistrates of the city, and the University, bestowed each their peculiar distinctions on some of the more eminent members of the Association. The freedom of the city was conferred on M. Arago, Dr. Dalton, Professor Moll, and Sir Thomas Brisbane; and the *Senatus Academicus*, by an unanimous act, conferred the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws upon M. Arago, Professor Moll, Dr Dalton, M. Agassiz, and M. Treviranus. The Judges of the Supreme Court, the Law-Officers of the Crown, the Dean of the Faculty of Advocates, and several of the Professors of the University, rivalled each other in their attention and hospi-

* This meeting was held in the grand Hall of the University Library, one of the noblest and most beautiful apartments in the island.

tality to strangers. The number of members present at this meeting amounted to twelve hundred and sixty-eight.

Having thus given some account of the origin and history of the British Association, we shall now proceed to consider its primary objects; the manner in which they have been pursued; the advantages which may be expected from the pursuit of these objects; the objections which have been urged against such an assemblage, and its future duties and prospects.

We have already stated, on the authority of published documents, the views entertained by those who originated this congress respecting the state of British science, and the means by which it might be fostered and extended. The York Philosophical Society having, 'at the express desire of the promoters of the 'meeting, undertaken to make all the arrangements for it, and to 'prepare the plan of a permanent Association,' this plan was brought forward by their vice-president, Mr Harcourt, who thus stated the objects of the Association:—'The Association contemplates no interference with the ground occupied by other institutions. Its objects are—To give a stronger impulse and a 'more systematic direction to scientific enquiry—to promote the 'intercourse of those who cultivate science in different parts of 'the British Empire with one another, and with foreign philosophers—to obtain a more general attention to the objects of 'science, and a removal of any disadvantages of a public kind, 'which impede its progress.'

The slightest examination of this statement will convince the reader that it assumes, though with some ambiguity, all those opinions which were maintained by the originators of the congress.

1. It takes for granted that there were grand objects in science to be promoted, which none of the existing institutions were either able or willing to undertake; or which, if they did form part of their plan, had been wholly neglected.

2. It assumes that science was in a declining state so as to require a stronger impulse; and that the direction of scientific enquiries was so oblique or devious that it required a new power to render it more systematic;—or, to use Mr Harcourt's more definite language, *to point out the lines of direction in which the researches of science should move—to indicate the particulars which most immediately demand investigation—to state problems to be solved, and data to be fixed, and TO ASSIGN TO EVERY CLASS OF MIND A DEFINITE TASK.* Without adverting at present to the impossibility of such objects as these being accomplished by an ambulatory association which enjoys only a week's existence in

the year, we may remark, that if our three Metropolitan Societies, and our hundred provincial ones, have neglected all these useful, and obvious, and necessary duties, they ought to have been suppressed by act of Parliament. Mr Babbage and his friends never charged these public bodies with such culpable remissness, and never formed so low an estimate of their real and developed resources. The Royal Society itself is stated by Mr Harcourt 'to have contemplated in its origin the objects which we now 'propose to pursue.' If they were practicable they should pursue them still; but if they found them visionary and chimerical, it is in vain for any other body to attempt to realize them.

3. It takes for granted that the objects of science are not sufficiently attended to in Great Britain, and that there are *disadvantages of a public kind* which impede its progress, and which ought to be removed. These last objects are stated so generally that the words employed do not excite in the mind any definite idea; but they are thus clearly explained in Mr Harcourt's address when he moved the adoption of them:—

'Among the subjects to which a scientific association may be justly expected to call the public attention, I would particularly instance a revision of the law of patents. The protection which is given to every other species of property is not given in the same extent to the property of *scientific invention*. The protection which it does receive must be bought of the state at a high price; an expense, varying from two to four or five hundred pounds, is first to be sustained. Then, after encountering the risk of this outlay, the patentee is compelled to specify publicly, and with legal precision, the particulars of his invention; thus it is exposed to be pirated, with the redress only of ruinous proceedings at law; and the consequence is, that no patent is considered of any value till it has actually maintained a litigation; and though patents are still taken out, their chief use is understood to be, not so much to secure a right, as to advertise a commodity. Such is the present policy of our law respecting the remuneration of practical science; a policy which seems to have no other end than to restrain the multiplicity of inventions.

'With regard to the direct national encouragement which is due to scientific objects and scientific men, I am unwilling to moot any disputed or disputable question.

'There is a service of science to be rendered to a state with which it cannot dispense; and all, I think, must allow that it is neither liberal nor politic to keep those, who employ the rarest intellectual endowments in the direct service of the country, upon a kind of *parish allowance*. It would be difficult also to withhold our assent from the opinion that a liberal public provision would have a powerful effect in promoting those studies of *abstract science* which most require artificial encouragement; and that "to detach a number of ingenious men from every thing but

“ scientific pursuits ; to deliver them alike from the embarrassments of poverty and the temptations of wealth ; to give them a place and station in society the most respectable and independent, is to remove every impediment and to add every stimulus to exertion.”* But I will not on this occasion enter upon a subject on which any difference of sentiment can be supposed to exist, nor pretend to decide whether Playfair judged rightly of the degree in which a provision of this kind has actually improved the state of science in a neighbouring country when he adds, that “ to such an institution operating upon a people of great genius and indefatigable activity of mind, we are to ascribe that superiority in the *mathematical sciences*, for which, during the last seventy years, they have been so conspicuous.”

To these admirable observations Mr Harcourt adds,—

‘ I have spoken both of scientific societies and of the national policy with all freedom ; because I take *free speech upon points in which the interests of science are deeply concerned*, to be one of the PRINCIPAL PURPOSES for which we are now assembled.’

Now it is manifest from these observations that two of the principal objects of the Association were to call the public attention to the revision of the law of patents ; and to discuss, if not to recommend to the Government, the propriety of making a liberal public provision to those who employ the rarest intellectual endowments in the service of the country ; in order to detach them from every thing but scientific pursuits, and give them a respectable and independent place in society.

Such were the avowed objects of the British Association when it met at York, as published in official documents. Let us now see how these objects have been pursued, and whether any or all of them have been modified or abandoned.

The primary and grand object of the Congress, that of collecting in the focus of an annual weekly meeting the lights and the fuel of British Science, has been nobly and successfully pursued. This is her vestal fire, which will ever burn ;—this the true origin of that impulse of high pressure, which can alone elevate the prostrate science of England—which can give speed to the faltering steps of its hard-working sons, and which will ultimately wring from a reluctant Government that liberality which every other Government and every other Sovereign have voluntarily proffered to the living stars of their empire. Those who have enjoyed the happiness of sitting down at these intellectual banquets can alone judge of the strength and fervour which they

* See Professor Playfair's Dissertation prefixed to the *Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica*.

infuse into ardent and ambitious minds. To discuss the topics of abstract or natural science at the same board with the Daltons, the Aragos, the Herschels, the Faradays, the Browns, the Airys, of modern science, is a privilege of immeasurable value. A light from the union of such minds, or even a spark from their collision, would rouse the decaying fires of the oldest sage—would excite the dullest flame of the youngest aspirant, and summon to fresh triumphs the surviving faculties of the most exhausted mind. But, besides this electric influence which darts through kindred spirits, the communion of eminent great men presents more direct and durable advantages. At the sectional meetings we have listened for hours to the details of original research ;—we have examined fine instruments and apparatus ;—we have been taught new methods of observation ;—and have witnessed instructive and brilliant experiments. Thus was knowledge added to enthusiasm, and thus was the excited and improved mind sent back to pursue its enquiries with a stronger impulse, and in a more systematic direction.

But there are other incitements to labour presented by the congenial intercourse of the cultivators and the friends of science. While popular assemblies afford abundant orifices for the discharge of shallow declamation, and sufficiently numerous occasions for the gratification of pompous vanity, modest merit is brought forward even by its own silence ; and he whose youthful or unpatronised genius has never had a friend to guide, or a patron to approve, will here find his labours appreciated, his friendship courted, and his fame extended. Nor are these advantages conferred by his fellow-labourers alone. Rank and wealth and official dignity add their applause ; and the young philosopher resumes his toils under the strongest and the noblest impulse which can be applied to a generous mind.

But where is the raw material to which our impelling power is to be applied,—and where the race of original and inventive minds which are required for the varied labours of science ? There may be a thousand provincial societies ready to listen to geology and literature, and fraught with a large proportion of respectable talent and scientific zeal : but in all these assemblies there may not be one philosopher who is destined to carry his name beyond the limits of his borough, still less beyond the British Channel, and still less to the crest of the Ural and the Andes. Original and inventive minds are not of earthly mould. Divinely formed, they are the instruments through which Providence discloses to man the wonders of creative power, and the laws of his material universe. When the stars of this small but bright constellation appear above the

horizon, they must be watched and studied. But how are we to stop them in their course, and avail ourselves of their splendour? When a youth without fortune, but gifted with high powers, and dazzled with the ambition of fame, resolves to pursue the career of discovery, he is soon checked with the vulgar recollection that he must be clothed and fed. If he is an ingenious inventor, the Patent Law prevents him from deriving benefit from his genius. If he is a man of science, there is no situation to which he can reasonably look where he can find bread to eat and leisure to discover. He must therefore choose a profession, unless he ventures on the dangerous expedient of living by his wits, and perhaps losing his wits in attempting to live by them. He becomes doctor, lawyer, or divine, and devotes to other studies those brilliant powers which might have extended his own or his country's fame.

In France, Prussia, Russia, and other states, the young philosopher looks at once to a home in their Institutes and Academies, or in their Boards of Longitude, or in those numerous establishments which are intrusted to scientific men; and, to repeat the language of Professor Playfair, he is 'detached from every thing but scientific pursuits; he is delivered alike from the embarrassments of poverty and the temptations of wealth;—he receives a place and station in society the most respectable and independent: every impediment is removed from his path, and every stimulus added to his exertion.

During the existence of the British Association, its leaders have almost entirely neglected its fundamental objects. Though more than once urged to it, they have not considered the question relative to the Law of Patents. Though Mr Harvey, Mr Owen, and Mr Gill recommended, both at Oxford and Cambridge, that the state of naval architecture in England should have 'the early attention of the Association, assisted by the Government,' yet not a single step has been taken on the subject; and, though one of the express designs of the congress, not a single measure has been adopted relative to the national encouragement of scientific men. We are not disposed to enquire by what influence, or from what motives these primary objects of the Association have been so singularly overlooked; but we have no hesitation in predicting their speedy and complete accomplishment.

The remaining object of the Association, which is supposed to distinguish it from the German institution, is that of giving a systematic direction to scientific enquiry. This is no doubt a most desirable purpose; but it is one, we fear, wholly beyond the

power of any body of men to accomplish ; at least by any more effectual process than that which has been employed by various other societies. If the scientific enquiries here alluded to belong to the highest departments of physical knowledge, the attempt is equally hopeless and presumptuous. Where is the great intellectual captain who is able to compose, and daring enough to issue such general orders to original talent,—or if such a sage does exist, will he devote his powers to the drill-sergeantry of science? If he does, we venture to predict his failure. We do not think that, if the British Association were to send their compliments to Sir John Herschel, and request him to investigate the manner in which the hypothetical tubes in gaseous bodies absorb and transmit definite rays under the changing circumstances of heat, pressure, and variable thickness—he would renounce his present occupation for the task ; and still less do we think that the Association will be able to suggest any lines of direction into which his own genius would not naturally conduct him. Mr Faraday will not quit his rich vein of electrical discovery to study the sulpho-salts ; nor will Dr Prout abandon his transcendental chemistry to study the radicals of the earths. Those high powers, indeed, which are worthy of being directed, will not run either on railways or in grooves, however wisely they may be prescribed. Let true genius be fostered and cheered. Give it a generous impulse. Give it leisure and a fair field, and it will speedily find a starting point—a direction—and a prize.

But if by the scientific enquiries above referred to, are meant those humble labours in which specific experiments and observations of a local nature may be made, and data fixed and collected for the higher purposes of generalization ;—if they refer to the collection of tide observations—to measurements of rain,—to the extension of hourly observations of temperature,—to the phenomena of the aurora, and such like classes of facts, the intentions of the Association will be most useful to science. But almost all of these objects and many more have been pursued, and are at present pursued by other societies. The Royal Society of Edinburgh instituted meteorological observations throughout all Scotland ;—carried on hourly meteorological observations for three years, and had observations on the magnetic intensity made throughout all Scotland. The Society of Arts for Scotland offered prizes for various specific objects in natural history, and for detailed accounts of the botany of the Scottish counties ; and the Irish Institutions have, we believe, pointed out many specific objects of investigation. We have mentioned these merely as specimens of the directive energy of two societies ; and we leave it to the other metropolitan and provincial bodies to say whether they have or

have not endeavoured to give a direction to scientific enquiry in the sense in which we use it. If they have not, they have neglected their first duty; and we would counsel them to vindicate their claim to scientific diligence by giving a beginning at least to so good a work.

If the systematic direction of scientific enquiry is exhibited in the recommendations of the different committees, we admit at once that the Association has *recommended* much, and that its recommendations are, so far, in a systematic order, that they are given under the heads of the different sciences;—Astronomical recommendations under Astronomy, and Botanical ones under Botany: but though the list of recommendations is an useful one, yet it may have the effect of misleading individuals from a more congenial course of study; and we cannot understand why the Astronomical Society should not have prepared the astronomical, and the Linnæan Society the botanical recommendations; and still less can we understand why the sovereign Association, swaying its sceptre only during one week of the year, while it is in a state of hybernation during the other fifty weeks, should be better able to originate and enforce *recommendations* than the *same* individuals sitting in the Astronomical, Linnæan, and other societies, who meet together, week after week, during the greater part of the year.

Whatever, in short, can be done by other institutions, as well as by the Association, should be left to their individual management: or if they have not spontaneously undertaken the task, it should be enforced upon them with all the influence of the larger body. Thus, freed from petty details, which would be more leisurely, more continuously, and therefore more efficaciously executed by the same individuals in their respective societies, the Association would be able to direct its power to purposes worthy of its développement; and would relieve itself of the charge of having neglected the grand objects of its union.

In order to illustrate this position by an actual example, we shall take the first that occurs in the list of recommendations referred to.

‘The Committee for Mathematical and Physical Science stated, that it would tend much to the advancement of Astronomy and the art of Navigation, if the observations of the Sun, Moon, and Planets, made by Bradley, Maskelyne, and Pond, were reduced.

‘It was resolved by the General Committee, that a representation to this effect from the British Association be submitted to Government, in the hope that public provision might be made for the accomplishment of this *great national object*; and that a deputation, consisting of Professor

Airy, Mr Baily, Mr Davies Gilbert, and Sir John Herschel, be appointed to confer with the Lords of the Treasury on the subject.

‘ The application was immediately complied with by the Government, and an advance of L.500 has been made by the Treasury towards the reduction of the observations from the year 1750 to the present day.’

Now, it will scarcely, we think, be doubted that the four philosophers who obtained from the treasury the advance of L.500 for the great national object of reducing old astronomical observations, to forward the calculations of some individual astronomers, could have obtained the same sum if they had approached the treasury as Fellows of the Royal Society; or that the same gift would have been given on the application of the Duke of Sussex or Mr Lubbock. But whilst we mention this piece of labour as one which did not require the hundred horse power of the Association, we must speak of it also as an example of misdirected influence. Science would have derived much greater advantage by the appropriation of L.500 to promote original discovery,—especially in cases where expensive instruments were required; and we humbly think that the first bounty craved by the Association from the Government should have been for the most important general purpose which it could recommend, and one also which would have commanded the approbation of the entire body, in whose name it was obtained.

In admitting that the plan of directing scientific enquiry by drawing up reports, and recommending topics of investigation, is an useful, though a humble task, we cannot conceal our astonishment that such an object should be considered as rendering the British Association a *more permanent body* than the German Congress; or than itself would have been had no such plan been proposed. It was an essential and prominent design of the British Congress, before it met at York; and, in the printed notice it is stated as a principal object, ‘ to ADOPT EVERY MEANS for advancing the interests of science in every part of the world, by promoting scientific enquiries, and procuring assistance to men of science in the prosecution of their researches;’ and these means would have been vigorously and assiduously used, whether the meeting had been called at York, Manchester, or Liverpool. It is a most groundless assertion, too, that the German Congress is nothing more than a reunion of philosophers for the promotion of personal intercourse, and the interchange of scientific discoveries. We are sure that this ardent body have exerted themselves in every possible way, both in impelling and directing scientific enquiry; and our readers will find it stated in Mr Johnston’s Account of the Congress at Hamburgh, *that the German Congress wrote a letter to the KING OF ENGLAND, and another to the EAST INDIA COMPANY, requesting their assistance*

in the promotion of botanical enquiry throughout our Indian empire! Having few duties of this kind to perform at home, because their own sovereigns are not disinclined to the patronage of science, the German Congress have applied their moral power to do the work of the British Association, by attempting to rouse the slumbering energies of England. It will be a proud day for the science of these islands when the British Association shall be bold enough to recommend scientific enquiry to foreign potentates; and a prouder one still when we can apply to the King of England what Baron Humboldt, at the Berlin Congress, said of the Prussian monarch. 'What inspires every Prussian with youthful strength, and with an enthusiastic love for the ancient reigning dynasty is, that he graciously attaches to himself every species of talent, and extends with confidence his royal protection to the free cultivation of the understanding.'

To say that the German Congress is not a permanent body is equally erroneous and foolish. It is a regular society, which keeps permanent records of its proceedings, its accounts, and its correspondence. It began its career by enacting laws which should be unalterable during the first *five* years of its existence: it has now met for ten years, and we can see no reason why its anniversary may not continue to be held for centuries to come. Nor can we for a moment imagine that its rate of mortality would be extended, by resolving to write reports and accumulate recommendations. But, though despotism may tame the spirit of German research, and suppress its unions, the British Association can never be exposed to so rude a shock. Its anniversary will be celebrated under the canopy of free institutions when its reports have ceased, and its recommendations have outrun the power of obeying them.

But admitting, for an instant, that the German Congress has its days numbered, how can permanency be given to it by the addition of that which is itself not permanent? The reports and recommendations of the British Association are the only part of the plan which is not lasting, and which must, sooner or later, come to an end. During the first three years of its existence, *eighteen* reports have been published; and as other *thirteen* were undertaken at Cambridge, and probably read at Edinburgh, the whole will amount to about thirty-one. Now, if thirty-one reports have been produced in three years, two hundred and seventeen will be made in twenty-one years; which, we think, will comprehend copious histories of all existing sciences. The total recommendations are now one hundred and eighteen; and, if they continue to accumulate at the same rate, they will soon form a bulky register of the inactivity of the philosophers to whom they are

addressed. There will then be no want of impulses and excitements. Every scientific man in the kingdom, metropolitan and provincial, will, like a well filled pin-cushion, be stimulated in his four quarters to supply all data, to solve all problems, and to sift all hypotheses. They will be spurred on to enquire into the lunacy of the barometer—to watch the plants in their excretories—and to study the spiders in their orgies ;—and, before twenty years have elapsed, every star will have its keeper, every rock its historiographer, every weed its nurse, and every she-beast its man-midwife.

But there are other objections to the system of reporting, well worthy of grave consideration. It is nothing more than a species of book-making, already carried on far more appropriately in our different *Encyclopedias*, which contain admirable histories of science, often written by very distinguished individuals. Now we should not greatly object to this species of labour being undertaken by the Association, provided it were executed by a class of persons not fitted for other functions ; but surely every class of mind has not had assigned to it its proper task, and original talent has not been wisely directed, when such men as Peacock, Challis, Whewell, and Christie, have been each called upon to collect and to compose two reports for the Association.

The reports under our consideration occupy seven-eighths of the first volume of the Transactions ; and the other eighth is filled with the proceedings of the sections, which are brief abridgements of papers, many of which have been previously published in journals, or read at societies. These abridgements occupy 115 pages, or nearly one-fourth of the second volume ; and we have no hesitation in characterising this part of the publication as utterly unworthy of the British Association. When the reports have run round the circle of the sciences, the Transactions of the Association must either cease altogether, or become a magazine of meagre abridgements. Many years cannot elapse before it reaches this state of exhaustion ; and we scruple not to predict, that it will only reach its meridian when it is disencumbered of the labour of book-making, and the cares of authorship.

But let us suppose that the reports are drawn up in the best possible manner, so as to contain a valuable history of each science, brought down to the present day ;—such a work is nothing more than an *Encyclopedia*, whilst the transactions of the sections are nothing more than a *Journal of Science*,—with this mortifying result, that all this literary labour is a charitable gift to the Association, and that a large sum of money is thus withdrawn from the promotion of genuine scientific objects. Will the candid reader then admit that this mangled *Encyclopedia*,—this *Journal* of fragments,

—these notable torsos of the reproductive functions of the Association,—are in the least degree calculated to give it either character or stability? But after all, this *Encyclopedia* of reports, and this *Journal* of Science, is a miserable plagiarism. It is a cast-off project submitted to the German Congress when it met at Hamburgh. ‘A proposal,’ says Mr Johnston, ‘was made by ‘Dr Stintzing of Hamburgh, for the publication of an *Encyclopedia* or a *Journal of Science* by the Society, neither of which gave rise to any observation.’ Both projects were rejected, and both have been taken up by the British Association to ensure it long life and prosperity!

When the Association shall have lightened itself of these incumbrances, and shall cease to beg a charitable tribute from its members, it will then appear in its original and dignified character. It will then be a congress of ardent minds willing to impart to each other their intellectual stores; comparing and combining their views, and their methods, and their objects; animating each other’s ambition by the interchange of original discoveries; uniting their common efforts for promoting the interests of scientific and literary men; removing the impediments which check the progress of invention and discovery; giving respectability to knowledge, by uniting it with the rank and wealth of the state, and associating it with all that is amiable in the relations of domestic and social life. These noble and paramount objects, sufficient to occupy all the time, and exhaust all the energy of the Association, would then be pursued without the intrusion of book-making; and for the first time would this powerful machine execute its movements free from all interference with other societies and other works. It will acquire vitality and permanence by confining its cares to purposes worthy of a national assembly; and by leaving the concerns of municipal drudgery to those lesser corporations to which they have been so long intrusted, and by which they may be so well directed.

Having thus explained the *original* and *superinduced* objects of the British Congress, the methods by which they have been followed out, as evinced at its four anniversaries, and in its printed reports, we shall now proceed to consider some of the Objections which have been urged against such meetings.

When the Congress was first proposed, philosophers of real acquirements, whom no sectarian or corporation spirit had infected, came forward to unite their hands and hearts in the cause of science. But human nature is composed of various elements. Its little jealousies and private views were soon in a state of insurrection, and they came forth in the form of a thousand and

one objections to the purposes of the Congress. As these objections, however, speedily disappeared, and the very persons who urged them soon joined the Association, they are not now worthy of our notice. We shall consider, therefore, only those objections which still influence the minds of able and disinterested individuals.*

The *first* objection which has been stated to us is, That such a large assemblage must, in reality, be more an *imposing show* than a truly valuable and working institution; that there are already numerous societies for bringing together scientific men, and promoting scientific discussion; and that the rapid interchange of suggestions and discoveries may be thoroughly effected by the periodical press. We freely admit the force of this objection, and its special application to the meeting in its *present state*. It is doubtless a very imposing show; but it is in virtue of this attribute alone that it can effect the great purposes which it had originally in view. Union of numbers, sustained by talent, personal character, wealth and rank, and official dignity, may attain useful objects, which no individual efforts can accomplish. The pageant, therefore, of a numerous and imposing assemblage constitutes the working power of the Association. It is the brawny arm with which the intellectual giant is to procure his food, and to smite his enemies, and to extend his domain. The city where such a pageant is displayed acknowledges the power and the dignity of knowledge; its scientific men are either honoured for their diligence, or reproved for their supineness; a local spirit of invention and discovery is roused; and those who have the patronage of literary offices will be induced to exert it in favour of the best qualified and the most esteemed. The second part of the objection receives an answer from the very observation which accompanies it. While the Association is described as not a working reunion, it is allowed that the existing societies are sufficient for doing all the ordinary work of science. But the Association was not, at its institution, and never ought to be, a working body, for the very reason that is here assigned; and if it does assume the attitude of labour, it wants the capacity of execution. How can committees who are engaged at the sections in the forenoon, at the public meetings in the evening, and distracted too by the incessant hospitalities of a large city, find leisure or command abstraction for giving 'a systematic direction 'to scientific enquiry?' The thing is impossible. The whole

* The objections here noticed have been stated to us in writing, for the purpose of being considered in this Article.

management must and does fall into the hands of one or two functionaries, whose movements are sometimes aided and sometimes thwarted by a few intermeddling personages who wish to be regarded as the prime movers of the vast machine. The work of the institution, therefore, is actually done by a smaller number of heads than those which conduct any of the three Metropolitan Societies ; and this small number does not contain any individuals of high name, or who, in as far as we know, are carrying on any original or profound enquiries. The very functions indeed which they are called to perform in collecting reports and recommendations withdraw them from the original researches which they may be fitted to carry on, or in which they may have been previously engaged. Our answer, therefore, to the objection which has been stated is, briefly, that the Association is an imposing show, and ought not to be a working reunion—that pageantry is its power and work its weakness.

The *second* objection which has been stated to us is, That such meetings are calculated to encourage and to bring into notice forward and shallow declaimers, to the exclusion of modest merit ; and to lower the character and true dignity of scientific men, by giving them inducements and opportunities to make public displays, for which their habits are not at all suited. Although this objection is well founded, yet it is one which applies to all public meetings whatever ; and in institutions of human origin we must often tolerate what is evil for the sake of what is good. At York there was little room for personal exhibition. At Oxford and Cambridge the spirit of oratorical display excited general disapprobation ; but the improved arrangements at Edinburgh, and the accident of silent office-bearers, rendered it less frequent and offensive than it had been at preceding meetings. We shall consider it very fortunate if the Association shall quit Dublin, next August, without any accession to its oratorical Caput. If the eloquence of our philosophers had been always directed to legitimate objects, some excuse might have been found for its exercise ; but when adulation is dealt out with indiscriminate prodigality, and men of inferior talent with the garnish of a little rank, or wealth, or official importance, are placed on the same, or on a higher level than those who possess commanding powers, the character of the assembly that sanctions it is degraded, the sacred interests of truth are sacrificed, and the claims of science are meanly compromised.

At the Oxford meeting there was a display of too remarkable a character, and too illustrative of the objection under our consideration, to be passed over in silence. At a public meeting in the Theatre, the geologists found an opportunity of making a

series of orations, by delivering to Mr W. Smith, the Wollaston medal, part of the Wollaston prize, which had been previously delivered to him on the 11th of January preceding. By this act, the British Association was transformed for a time into a meeting of the Geological Society; and if the same freedom had been taken by other societies who had awarded medals, the whole time of the Association would have been sacrificed to objects equally unimportant and extraneous. It was not merely the liberty which was used with the time of the Association that was here reprehensible; the whole transaction was one of bad taste, and eminently calculated to discredit a rising institution, on which the public verdict had not yet been pronounced. But this is a subject on which we cannot enter.*

The *third* objection which has been stated against the Association is, That it has a tendency to generate cabals and jealousies amongst its members. In admitting the truth of the objection we make no admission injurious to the Association. There is no society in which the elements of human nature may not enter into disagreeable combinations, or start into painful collisions; and it becomes a duty amongst the members of so large a body to check every appearance of unseemly discordance, and to put down every allusion and discussion in which personal feelings and interests are likely to be concerned. We are not aware of any cabals which have yet arisen in the British Association; but there is one topic, relative to its origin and progress, the introduction of which has, more than any other, a pernicious tendency, and which has already begun to throw a shade over its future prospects. This body is little more than three years old, and every particular of its origin and history is as well known to its members as if they were delineated in visible symbols. Those who originated, and those who fostered the British Congress, are well known to every person interested in its success; and their respective merits were distinctly recognised at York. The moment, however, that the contingent from Cambridge joined the Association, some scheme seems to have been formed to obliterate its origin, to paralyse its objects, and to take it under their own charge as something which they had remodelled, and to which their talents and zeal had given a new birth and a new impulse. This plan showed itself at Oxford, in ways which we shall not notice; but the first public expression which indicated its ex-

* See Babbage's *Reflections on the Decline of Science*, p. 115; and *Edin. Journ. Science*, No. VIII., April 1831, p. 357; and No. XII., O. S., April 1827, p. 369.

istence, was in the speech of Dr Buckland, (whom we acquit of all blame, and of any knowledge of such a plan,) made on assuming the office of President. ‘With regard,’ said he, ‘to the objects of this meeting, they have been ably, eloquently, and philosophically set forth by my friend (the Rev. Mr Harcourt) the vice-president,—I may add, the *Founder of the Association*.’—(*Oxford Journal*, June 23, 1832.) Mr Harcourt, who saw at once the inconvenience of such discussions, and felt the incorrectness and injustice of the statement made by Dr Buckland, took the earliest opportunity of giving it a public contradiction. At the great entertainment, given on the same day, when his health was drunk as the late Vice-President of the Association, Mr Harcourt, in returning thanks, said, ‘That the splendid success of this meeting must undoubtedly be highly gratifying to those with whom the plan originated,—to Sir David Brewster, who suggested the idea, and was therefore entitled, if any one, to be called the *Founder of the Association*;—to the individuals who seconded it;—and to the Society which adopted it, and undertook the task of carrying it into execution.’—(*Oxford Journal*, June 23, 1832.) To these sentiments, worthy of the honourable feelings of the mind which dictated them, Mr Harcourt added,—‘That of the many fine experiments which Sir David Brewster had made, this was the boldest and the most successful.’

The merits of Mr Harcourt are so well known, and the services which he has rendered to the Association so universally admitted, that it is inexplicable why his indiscreet friends should try to excite and perpetuate feelings which should never have existed; or imagine that they can add to his reputation by the sacrifice of truth, and by denying to others their just and acknowledged rights. We had hoped that such claims were for ever put down by Mr Harcourt himself; but at the first public meeting of the Association in Edinburgh, another individual renewed to him the adulation from which he shrunk at Oxford; and obliged him once more to repudiate a compliment which he had already spurned.*

The harmony which has hitherto characterised the British Association will, we trust, not be disturbed by such unworthy attempts. An intellectual congress is not the sphere for flattery: its food is not the gaseous element which is inhaled by the

* He did so, at the general meeting of the Association, held in the University Library, in almost the same words which we have quoted from the *Oxford Journal*.

foliage ; it is the substantial and nutritive sap which enters by the root.

The claims and discussions now referred to have their origin in some mysterious influence, which, though now and then cropping out to the surface, we are unwilling to explore. There is an incubus pressing on the vitals of the Association with its livid weight ;—there is a congestion somewhere near its heart, impeding its respiration, and disturbing its most vital functions. Is it political, ecclesiastical, or personal, or is it all of them combined ? We dare not try to answer the question ; but this we know, that if it is not soon relieved, we shall speedily witness the last heavings and the final expiration of the asthmatic giant.

In making these observations on the origin, history, and objects of the British Congress,—on the methods by which these objects have been pursued,—and on the objections which have been urged against such a reunion,—we have been moved by an anxious desire to free it from its imperfections ; to direct its energies to objects of permanent value ; to guard it against all oblique influence and collision with existing interests ; and to warn it against the fatal error of founding its claims to public esteem on any other basis than the actual benefits which it obtains for the cultivators of science, the patronage which it extends to the scientific arts, and the amount of original discovery which it secures.

In order to draw from the Association such pure and inestimable advantages, its management must be confided to men of no illiberal views—of no sectarian influence—and pursuing no separate objects and interests of their own. The permanent Office-bearers must not be secretly guided, or openly led, by any junto of individuals ; and no measure, or rule, ought to be taken or sanctioned till it has been proposed for deliberate consideration and discussion at a general meeting. Without such arrangements, the schemes of the Association are only suggestions of individuals, who propose them at the general committee, when distracted with business, or weak in numbers ; and they are then read at a public meeting not assembled for discussion, and pass unnoticed as the decrees of the aggregate wisdom of British science !

The arrangements for the annual weekly meeting of the Association still require improvement. Those which were made at Edinburgh greatly surpassed all preceding ones ; but much yet remains to be done. The arrangements and business of the General Committee ought to be finished, if possible, during the week previous to the meeting ; so that the undivided strength of the Association may be marshalled for its real business in the

Sections. Hitherto the Sections have all met at the same time; the consequence of which is, that the members of one Section are deprived of the pleasure of attending any of the rest; and they return home mortified at not having heard particular papers in other Sections,—seen particular instruments and experiments, and become acquainted with particular individuals. The only method of removing this evil, (and after all it will only be a partial removal of it,) is that some of the Sections should meet at eight in the morning, some at ten, some at twelve, and others at two o'clock. This method was adopted by the Foreign Association at Hamburg; and notwithstanding its obvious inconveniencies, it deserves a fair trial. The public evening Meetings were well conducted in Edinburgh. If eminent individuals are willing to give popular lectures on any branch of their own subject, there can be no better way of amusing and instructing a numerous audience. The lectures of Dr Buckland, at these meetings, were agreeable specimens of blended instruction and amusement. The discussions and debates which were got up on some occasions, will, we trust, never more be heard of. They excited much ridicule in Edinburgh; and their tendency was to degrade rather than to advance science, and to claim for presumption and vanity that meed of praise which should have been reserved for unobtrusive merit.

With regard to the great objects contemplated by those who originated the British Congress, and which are so well stated in Mr Harcourt's address already quoted, the General Committee, at their first sitting, should appoint several sub-committees, chosen by ballot, to report to a general meeting on the following important matters:—

1. On a direct national provision for men of science.
2. On the revision and repeal of the patent laws.
3. On the advancement of astronomy, navigation, and general geography, by fitting out ships of discovery.
4. On the advancement of general science, by the erection of physical observatories.
5. On the most scientific and economical method of lighting the coasts and harbours of Great Britain.
6. On the improvement and extension of the lines of communication throughout the kingdom, by roads, railways, and steam-boats.
7. On the formation of a scientific board for improving our naval architecture.
8. On the improvement and extension of the British fisheries.
9. On the mines and minerals of the kingdom.
10. On the formation of a statistical board.

11. On the propriety of having an annual exhibition of inventions, and of the products of British industry, at the place of meeting of the Association.

12. On the propriety of intrusting to each metropolitan and provincial society certain specific objects of enquiry, and furnishing the means, when necessary, to carry them into effect.

13. To arrange a system of prizes for the successful prosecution of particular branches of science.

When such committees have been organized, the public will recognise the utility of a national union, and the science of Britain will soon feel its power. But even should it fail in all these attempts to do good, and should it strive in vain to excite an unfriendly government, and rouse a torpid population, there is happily one result which it will never fail to secure — that of blending in unity and peace the hearts and sympathies of the friends of knowledge, and creating a moral force which will ultimately overpower the enemies of the best and most permanent interests of their country. It was well stated by Lord Brougham, as one of the principal advantages of such associations, ‘that they bring together, on the *neutral ground of science*, men of all countries, of all religions, and of all shades of political opinion.’ Nations, and communities, and individuals, separated by exasperating feuds, by religious creeds, by speculative differences, and by personal distastes, find here one kindly tie, which unites them in the common brotherhood of intellectual natures, cherishing the love, and admiring the wisdom, of one common Father. The repulsive elements of clashing opinions, and dissevered hearts, are compressed into closer contact by the force of aggregation, which binds them but for a while; and ties which were assumed only as temporary, become the bond of unbroken concord, and the cement of enduring friendship.

ART. VIII.—*Travels into Bokhara ; being the Account of a Journey from India to Cabool, Tartary, and Persia ; also, Narrative of a Voyage on the Indus, from the sea to Lahore : performed under the orders of the Supreme Government of India, in the years 1831, 1832, and 1833.* By Lieutenant ALEXANDER BURNES, F. R. S., of the East India Company's Service. 3 vols. 8vo. With a Map, by J. Arrowsmith. London : 1834.

IF, seated on the summit of Kantal, or some other towering pinnacle of Himaleh, and seeing beneath us innumerable streams glancing in silvery lines from the skirts of its everlasting snows, and swelling into mighty rivers, which portion out the earth, and distribute the blessings of abundance among populous nations—if, we say, throned on such an eminence, we were called on to point out the region over which we should choose to wander, we should unhesitatingly select the very country which Mr Burnes has had the good fortune to visit in safety. It is true that the eastern horizon might promise us an ampler field of novelty, and an infinitely richer display of barbaric greatness ; but still, between the Indus and the Oxus lies the scene of the deepest historical interest : here we find the traces of the Macedonian and the Mongol,—the demigod and the demon,—of Alexander and Zengis Khan ; and the face of nature glows with a more lively expression in the rays shed on it from the epochs of history. The day is not far distant, we believe, when a flood of light will be thrown on the Bactrian kingdom, or Macedonian India, and when the passes of the Paropamisus or Hindu Kùsh will be all made known. In the mean time, we hail with gratitude and pleasure the volumes now before us, the adventurous author of which, though not the first European who has crossed the Hindu Kùsh from Cabùl to the Oxus, is yet the first who has given us a circumstantial account of that almost unknown country. In our analysis of Mr Burnes's volumes, however, we shall adhere to the chronological order of his journeys, rather than to the publisher's arrangement, or rather disarrangement of them, founded on the doubtful title of relative interest ; and shall therefore commence with the voyage on the Indus which occupies the third volume. Or rather, we shall begin from his earliest peregrinations, and mark by what course of training his active spirit was prepared for difficult and important undertakings.

In the year 1828, Mr Burnes being at that time attached to the Quarter-Master-General's department in Cutch, conceived the project of exploring the Rajpùt country along the river

Loonee, and between that river and the Indus. This plan, so well calculated to complete our knowledge of the frontiers of British India, was approved of by the government of Bombay; with some restrictions, dictated by the fear of awakening the jealousy of the governors of Sind. Mr Burnes accordingly visited Jaysulmere, the castle of which place is the grandest of the Rajpút strongholds; the mountain of Aboo, and its exquisitely carved temple; the fertile country near Ajmere, and a portion of the desert north of Cutch. It may be easily imagined that this tour among the independent Rajpút princes, afforded our author an opportunity of acquiring not a little insight into the character of the native Indian courts. In the mean time, the design on the Indus had ripened into a scheme more interesting and comprehensive.

In the year 1830, the King of Great Britain sent as a present to Maharaja Runjeet Sing, five dapple-grey horses of the largest description; and Mr Burnes, who was returned from his tour in Rajpútana, was appointed, on the recommendation of Sir John Malcolm, at that time Governor of Bombay, to proceed as the bearer of these presents to Lahore, by way of the Indus. The survey of this great river was, in fact, the most important object of the expedition.

‘In addition, therefore,’ says our author, ‘to the complimentary mission on which I was to be employed, I had my attention most specially directed to the acquisition of full and complete information regarding the Indus. This was a matter of no easy accomplishment, as the Ameers, or rulers of Sind, had ever evinced the utmost jealousy of Europeans, and none of the missions which visited the country had been permitted to proceed beyond their capital of Hyderabad. The river Indus likewise, in its course to the ocean, traverses the territories of many lawless and barbarous tribes, from whom both opposition and insult might be dreaded. On these matters much valuable advice was derived from Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Pottinger, political resident in Cutch, and well known to the world for his adventurous travels in Beloochistan. He suggested that it might allay the fears of the Sind government, if a large carriage were sent with the horses, since the size and bulk of it would render it obvious that the mission could then only proceed by water. This judicious proposal was immediately adopted by government.’ (III. p. 2.)

These arrangements, with sundry letters of a political complexion, had all for their object to outwit the Sindian Princes, and to parry their repugnance to the exploration of the Indus. It was a more sterling kind of prudence which determined Mr Burnes to forego the doubtful protection of a military escort; and to rely wholly for personal safety on the kind and generous feelings of the tribes with whom he was about to mingle. All pre-

parations being completed, our author, accompanied by Ensign J. D. Leckie, of the 22d Regiment N. I., a surveyor, and a doctor, both natives, and a suitable establishment of servants, sailed from Mandivee in Cutch, with a fleet of five native boats, on the morning of the 21st of January, 1831. On the evening of the 24th, he anchored in the Koree, once the easternmost branch of the Indus, but now only an arm of the sea.

‘We followed,’ says he, ‘the Sindé coast for four or five days, passing all the mouths of the Indus, eleven in number, the principal of which we entered and examined, without even the observation of the inhabitants. There was little indication of our being near the estuary of so great a river; for the water was only fresh a mile off shore from the Gora, or largest mouth of the Indus; and the junction of the river water with that of the sea was formed without violence, and might be now and then discovered by a small streak of foam, and a gentle ripple. The number and subdivision of the branches diminish, no doubt, the velocity as well as the volume of the Indus; but it would be supposed that so vast a river would exercise an influence in the sea far from its embouchure; and I believe this is really the case in the months of July and August, during the inundation. The waters of the Indus are so loaded with mud and clay, as to discolour the sea for about three miles from the land.’—(III. p. 8.)

The coast of Sindé is so low as to be rarely discernible a league off shore; and it has no trees which might serve as marks, or at least to give warning to mariners. On the evening of the 28th, the expedition anchored in the mouth of the Pittee, the most western branch of the Indus; and Mr Burnes having sent a notification of his plans to the authorities at Darajee, ventured to anticipate a welcome, by ascending the river about 35 miles from the sea. He was obliged, however, to retrace his steps; and in so doing, was so rudely treated by the natives, whose boats were gathering round him, that he thought it prudent to yield to their menaces, and await in the eastern branch of the river the effect of fresh remonstrances to the Ameer of Hydrabad. A letter soon arrived from this prince, which urged, in the strongest manner, the difficulty of navigating the Indus; but, as it did not refuse permission to make the attempt, Mr Burnes returned, and in spite of bad weather, succeeded in entering the Pieteanee mouth of the river. Still, no explicit permission to ascend the river arrived, the natives were uncivil, and our author, after spending a month on the inhospitable coast of Sindé, returned to Cutch.

Now came a fresh struggle of negotiations. Eastern duplicity vainly contended with the profounder artifice of European diplomacy. The one side pretended all friendship; the other affected to feel insulted. While the Ameer, with little regard for truth,

declared that the Indus had only water sufficient for canoes, our representatives maintained, (as if English cart horses were aquatics,) that the mission could not possibly proceed to Lahore by land; and when the former granted a passage through Sindh by land, he was understood to mean a passage by water. Matters being thus hypothetically arranged, Mr Burnes sailed a third time for the Indus, and entered the Hujamree, one of the central mouths of the river, on the 17th of March. A week's negotiation was necessary, nevertheless, to overcome thoroughly the reluctance of the Sindian government to allow the boats to ascend the river. This point gained, Mr Burnes consoled himself for the delays which had already occurred, with the reflection that they had afforded him opportunities of entering and examining all the mouths of the Indus, and of completing a map of the Delta, by the information collected during a week's residence at Tatta. This town, which contains a population of 15,000 souls, living in houses of wicker-work, plastered with clay, was formerly a place of great wealth and importance. Mr Burnes thought he saw evidence of its former greatness in the extent of its ruins; but we, without presuming to deny that Tatta has declined, will yet venture to insinuate that Europeans, in the nineteenth century, are not correct judges of the greatness of past ages and distant countries; and that they are too apt to measure antiquity by a false standard. Though the trade and productive industry of Tatta may have fallen to decay, the gains of its priests have by no means declined. It stands luckily on the high-road from India to Hinglaj, a celebrated place of pilgrimage in Mekran; and the priests, by instructing the devotees in the ritual of their penances, strip them of their money as infallibly as the pilgrimage washes away all their sins. But our author here furnishes us unawares with a curious piece of information.

‘A journey to Hinglaj purifies the pilgrim from his sins; a cocoa nut cast into a cistern exhibits the nature of his career; if the water bubbles up, his life has been, and will continue, pure; but if still and silent, the Hindoo must undergo farther penance to appease the Deity. The tribe of Goseins, who are a kind of religious mendicants, though frequently merchants, and most wealthy, frequent this sequestered place, and often extend their journey to an island called Seetadeep, not far from Bunder Abass, in Persia.’—(III. p. 33.)

So we have found at last, in the gulf of Persia, the *Sweta dwipa*, or *White island* of the west, which that arch-theorist, Major Wilford, laboured so unremittingly to prove to be Albion itself. The supposition that England was celebrated in the most ancient Sanscrit writing, as a paradise or elysium, under the

auspicious title of the White island, was among the brightest imaginings of that singular man.

It was not till the 12th of April that Mr Burnes and his party commenced their voyage up the Indus, in doondees or flat bottomed boats of Sinde; these boats are cumbrous floating houses, in which the boatmen transport their wives and families, their kids, fowls, and other live stock. The Indus gradually widens as it is ascended from the sea, and at Tatta has a breadth of 2000 feet. Its depth, from its mouth to the same town, is no where less than six fathoms. Its banks exhibit a cheerless waste. From Tatta to Hydrabad the country adjoining the river is kept by the Ameers in the unprofitable condition of a hunting thicket, overgrown with furze and brushwood. In Hydrabad, the mud-built capital of Sinde, our traveller met with a kind reception; the Ameer, it is true, had the meanness to intimate what articles he wished to obtain as presents; but such freedoms on the part of the host appear to us to be venial in a country, in which a guest does not blush to accept a purseful of rupees. An easy voyage of eight days carried our author to Sehwan, and thence, another ten days, to Bukkur, where his arrival was anxiously expected by the Ameer of Khyrpoor. Throughout this distance there is little navigation on the Indus.

‘There are few ferry-boats on the Indus, and it is a curious sight to see the people crossing it on skins and bundles of reeds. A native will often float down to a distance of fifteen or twenty miles, accompanied by a whole herd of buffaloes, preferring this mode of travelling to a journey on the banks.’—(III. p. 64.)

From Bukkur our traveller was conveyed in a state palanquin to Khyrpoor, fourteen miles distant from the river, where he was received with cordial hospitality by Meer Roostum Khan. This poor Belooch soldier, as the Ameer called himself, sent his guests twice a-day a meal of seventy-two dishes, served in silver, and dismissed them loaded with valuable presents. But our readers must not imagine that this munificence indicates a wealthy or luxurious state of society. The Sindian chieftains are the only rich persons in their respective dominions; they reduce their subjects to wretchedness in order to fill their own coffers; and their occasional profusion is measured rather by their pride than their resources. The progress of the mission up the river had now become a continued ovation; civilities poured in from every side; and the good fortune of the English was loudly proclaimed; since their little fleet was wafted against the stream by favourable breezes, in a country where the air is often motionless for months together. They found Bhawul Khan, the chief of the Daoodpootres, not less solicitous to please them than their friend

of Khyrpoor. But it is impossible to particularize the events of the voyage. The Indus, immediately below its junction with the Chenab, (which unites all the rivers of the Punjab,) is a mile wide. Our author proceeded up the latter stream, and at Ooch received the following information, which first awakened in his mind a desire to explore the countries north of the mountains of Hindú Kúsh.

‘ During our stay at Ooch, we were visited by some of the principal merchants of Bbawulpoor, who had followed the Khan. The intelligence of these people, and the extent of their travels, surprised me. Most of them had traversed the kingdom of Cabool, and visited Balkh and Bokhara; some had been as far as Astracan, and they used the names of these towns with a familiarity as if they had been in India. They had met Russian merchants at Bokhara, but assured me that they never came to the eastward of that city. The intervening countries they represented as perfectly safe, and bestowed the highest commendations on Dost Mahommed of Cabool and the Uzbeks, who encouraged commercial communication. These merchants are chiefly Hindoos, whose disposition peculiarly adapts them for the patient and painstaking vocation of a foreign merchant.’—(III. pp 94, 95.)

On the first day after leaving Ooch, the expedition passed the mouth of the Sutlege, and on the evening of the second reached the frontier of the Seik territory. Here they were met by a Sirdar, who, with a large escort of troops, had been long awaiting their arrival. This officer approached them in state, mounted on an elephant, and adorned with costly jewels, holding in one hand a bow, (the usual Seik offering) and in the other two letters enclosed in silken bags. The ceremony of presenting these was concluded by throwing bags of money at our travellers’ feet. Honours thus gathered round the mission at every step of its progress; nor were the Seiks, as it appears, without an equivalent gratification.

‘ No sooner had the day broke than the Maharajah’s people evinced much anxiety to view the dray-horses, and we had them landed for exhibition. Their surprise was extreme, for they were little elephants, said they, and not horses. Their manes and tails seemed to please, from their resemblance to the hair of the cow of Thibet; and their colour, a dappled grey, was considered a great beauty. It was not without difficulty that I replied to the numerous questions regarding them, for they believed that the presents of the King of England must be extraordinary in every way; and, for the first time, a dray-horse was expected to gallop, canter, and perform all the evolutions of the most agile animal. Their astonishment reached its height when the feet of the horses were examined, and a particular request was made of me to permit the despatch of one of the shoes to Lahore, as it was found to weigh 100 rupees, or as much as the four shoes of a horse in this country. The curiosity was forthwith des-

patched by express, and accompanied by the most minute measurement of each of the animals, for Runjeet Sing's special information. The manner in which this rarity was prized will be afterwards seen, when it is gravely recorded that the new moon turned pale with envy on seeing it!—(III. pp. 102, 103.)

It were needless to recount how many purses of rupees or jars of sweetmeats were lavished on Mr Burnes and his party in the course of his propitious journey through the country of the Seiks; or how much gunpowder was expended in saluting him. Suffice it to say that his conductors strictly observed their written instructions, 'to congratulate him in a hundred different ways,' and to supply him with the luxuries of the country, 'in quantities without bounds.' The portion of the Seik territory which lies on the Chenab is fertile and populous; not so the banks of the Ravee or Irastee, (the Hydraotes of the ancients,) which winds in a tediously circuitous course from Lahore to its junction with the Chenab, through a parched and uncultivated country. But it is time to conduct Mr Burnes to the end of his journey. On the morning of the 18th of July he made his public entry into Lahore, and took up his abode in the house of M. Ventura, one of Runjeet Sing's foreign generals. On the morning of the 20th he was introduced at Court. Eastern pageantry outdid itself on the occasion. The five dappled grey dray horses attracted all eyes. At length the party crossed the first court of the palace, and, says our author,

'While stooping to remove my shoes at the threshold, I suddenly found myself in the arms and tight embrace of a diminutive old-looking man,—the great Maharaja Runjeet Sing.'—(III. p. 150.)

All the members of the mission being then seated on silver chairs in front of his highness, Mr Burnes explained the object of the mission, and produced a letter from his Majesty's Minister for the affairs of India, (Lord Ellenborough,) in a bag of cloth of gold, and sealed with the arms of England. The Maharaja, standing up with all his court, touched his forehead with the seal of the letter, which he then handed to his secretary to read. When its friendly contents were half through, unable to contain his joy, he ordered a salute to be fired of sixty guns. His affability continued while nature lent strength to support it.

'The exertion,' says Mr Burnes, 'which his Highness underwent, seemed to exhaust him, and we withdrew. Nature, indeed, has been sparing in her gifts to this personage, and there must be a mighty contrast between his mind and body. He has lost an eye, is pitted by the small-pox, and his stature certainly does not exceed five feet three inches.'—(III. p. 154.)

If our readers wish to obtain a thorough insight into the cha-

racter of the Maharaja, let them consult the 'Correspondence' of Victor Jacquemont. The keen eye of that accomplished writer soon seized the reality, notwithstanding the dazzling pomp and circumstance which surrounded it. Jacquemont saw that moral sentiments had little influence over 'such a pagan as Runjeet 'Sing.' He felt that the Maharaja's conversation 'was a bore.' He perceived that the enjoyment of absolute power had perfectly developed in the ruler of the Seiks, abilities of the vulgarest order. Runjeet Sing owes his present eminence to his personal courage, and the improved organization of his army. But the European officers whom he employs are the constant objects of his fears; his troops, ill paid, are always on the brink of mutiny; and he himself, the main pillar of the Seik nation, is reduced to premature decrepitude by intemperance of all kinds. He cannot last long, and with him will probably fall to the ground the political fabric, to the aggrandizement of which his life has been devoted. Mr Burnes, impressed with the Maharaja's energy, was disposed to consider him a Hindoo prodigy; and experienced as a representative of the British government such a show of zealous friendship, as naturally tended to blind him to that ruler's failings. Who could judge with severe impartiality the possessor of the wealth described in the following passage, even though not the apparent object of his especial favour?

'In compliance with a wish that I had expressed, he produced the "Koh i noor," or *mountain of light*, one of the largest diamonds in the world, which he had extorted from Shah Shooja, the Ex-King of Cabool. Nothing can be imagined more superb than this stone; it is of the finest water, and about half the size of an egg. Its weight amounts to $3\frac{1}{2}$ rupees, and if such a jewel is to be valued, I am informed it is worth $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions of money, but this is a gross exaggeration. The "Koh i noor" is set as an armlet, with a diamond on each side about the size of a sparrow's egg.

'Runjeet seemed anxious to display his jewels before we left him, and with the diamond was brought a large ruby, weighing 14 rupees. It had the names of several kings engraven on it, among which were those of Aurunjzebe and Ahmed Shah. There was also a topaz of great size, weighing 11 rupees, and as large as half a billiard ball; Runjeet had purchased it for 20,000 rupees.

'His Highness, after assuring us of his satisfaction at a communication having been opened with so remote a quarter of India as Bombay, as it cemented his friendship with the British Government, then invested me with a string of pearls; he placed a diamond ring on one hand, and an emerald one on the other, and handed me four other jewels of emeralds and pearls. He then girt round my waist a superb sword, adorned with a knot of pearls. A horse was next brought, richly dressed out with cloth of gold, and golden ornaments on the bridle and saddle. A "Khilut," or robe of honour, composed of a shawl-dress, and many other manufactures of

Cashmere, were then delivered to me, as well as presents of a similar nature for Mr Leckie. Three of our attendants were likewise favoured by his Highness; and in his munificence, he sent a sum of 2000 rupees for distribution among the remainder of the suite. Maharaja Runjeet then produced a letter, in reply to the one I had brought from his Majesty's minister, which he requested I would deliver. It was put up in a silken bag, and two small pearls were suspended from the strings that fastened it. It occupied a roll from four to five feet long.'—(III. pp. 168-9.)

A letter five feet in length is too long for our readers, who will have found, besides, in the preceding extracts, sufficient illustration of the zeal of Runjeet Sing on the one hand, and of his English admirers on the other. We may hereafter return to glance at the political prospects and resources of the Seik nation; or as it may with perhaps more propriety be designated, the Kingdom of the Punjáb. At present we shall hasten to reconduct our author to the frontiers of British India; and then proceed to recapitulate briefly his valuable and interesting observations on the river Indus, both as a defence and a navigable channel of internal communication. Mr Burnes quitted Lahore on the 16th of August, and travelled thirty miles over a fertile country, watered by a canal from the Ravee, to Umritsir, the commercial capital of the Punjáb. Beyond this, towards the east, cultivation declined. He found the Beas or Hyphasis swollen by the rains, a mile broad; and crossing the Sutlege, where it had a breadth of 700 yards, he arrived at Lodiana, in the British territory, after a journey of ten days.

Mr Burnes has proved experimentally that the Indus and its tributaries may be navigated from the sea to Lahore,—a distance of a thousand miles. The navigation of this distance, at the most favourable season, when the south-west wind prevailed, and there was no flood, occupied exactly sixty days. Of these, forty were spent in ascending as far as Mooltan on the Chenab, about three-fourths of the whole distance. The ascent of the Ravee, which flows with a more rapid current, occupied twenty days. The last named river is the least of all the rivers comprised in the Punjáb. Its general width does not exceed 150 yards, and it is fordable during eight months of the year. The Indus, below its junction with the Chenab, never shallows to less than fifteen feet in the dry season; its average width is nearly half a mile. Its stream, free from rocks or rapids, flows at the rate of two and a half miles an hour. There can be no doubt that it is navigable in good sized boats as high as Attok, about 1200 miles from the sea. Our author supposes that a boat may drop down from Lahore to the sea in fifteen days, as follows:—To Mooltan in six; to Bukkur in four; to Hydrabad in three; and to the seaports in two.

This is a specious outline of an extensive inland navigation: but alas! the obstructions of the Indus are all arrayed in the most formidable positions; we mean, at its mouths. During the south-westerly monsoon, the sea breaks with fury on the coast of Sindé, which, at all times dangerous, is then unapproachable. The mouths of the river are all barred; some, including the largest, are scarcely accessible from the sea; the bars and sand-banks are in a state of continual change, so that under the most favourable circumstances the Indus can be entered only by small vessels not exceeding fifty tons burden; and indeed Mr Burnes seems to think that the navigation of that river must be always carried on in flat-bottomed boats, built after the native models, and not drawing more than four feet water. At present the Indus is but little navigated. From Lahore to the sea there are not above seven hundred boats, the greater part of which are stationed at the ferries. The extension of steam navigation to the Indus, of which our author seems to entertain some sanguine expectations, appears to us to be indefinitely distant. It is true that coal has been discovered on the one side in Cutch, and on the other at Cohat, not very far from Attok; but still the steam-vessels which are to navigate the Indus must be built for that especial purpose; the coal mines on both sides must be previously wrought and made available; and is it likely that the expense of securing these indispensable preliminaries will ever be incurred for the sake of a commerce not actually in existence, but which is only sought to be developed? The jealousy and barbarism of the native states on the river are also serious obstacles, though not altogether insurmountable. In fine, we will take our leave of the Indus with this reflection, that the gifts of nature, which are granted with certain provisos, or, as we may say, on tenure of active service, ought not to be considered less valuable on that account; since they can be developed only in the hands of a civilized people, and therefore call forth, as they require, greater moral strength.

But to return to the movements of Mr Burnes. From Lodiána he proceeded along the frontiers of British India to Simla, among the hills at the foot of the Himaléah, where the Governor-general of India, Lord William Bentinck, was at that time residing, in order that he might lay before his lordship an account of his mission. The Governor-general gave him the most gratifying proof of sincere approbation by sanctioning his project of a journey to Persia and Europe, by the route of Cabul, Balkh, and Bokhara. It may be remembered that our author had learned from conversation with the Hindú merchants of Ooch, many circumstances corroborative of his belief of the safety of that

frequented route. The preparations being completed, Mr Burnes left Simla on the 2d of January, 1831, in commencement of his journey to Central Asia, as he vaguely and rather pompously designates Western Turkistan. His companion on this occasion was Dr James Gerard, an experienced traveller, who had not long before explored the country near the sources of the Sutlege on the frontiers of Ladakh. In fifteen days the party reached Lahore, where, of course, they were received by the politic Maharaja with a liberal share of junketing and amusement.

But we shall not dwell on this part of the narrative. The court of Runjeet Sing, its splendour and its pleasures, as depicted in the volumes before us, with the touches of superficial perception, do not rise above the reach of vulgar imaginations. Our reader's fancy will easily make the most of gold bedsteads, gilt canopies, tents of scarlet cloth, pavilions of cashmere shawls, dingy soldiers drilled *à la Française*, and Runjeet Sing himself, the great ruler of the Seiks, drinking brandy to excess, and yet unable to quench either his thirst or his loquacity. Bidding adieu to these courtly pleasures and to Lahore, our travellers bade a melancholy farewell also to European costume; and girt themselves for their arduous journey in loose flowing robes, with slippers and umbrageous turbans. From Lahore to the Chenab, and thence to the Jelum or Hydaspes, there is comparatively little cultivation. On the eastern side of the last named river terminates a chain of hills, which extends in a southeasterly direction from lower Cabul, and contains a vast deposit of salt. Our travellers visited the mines which supply northwestern India with salt; and then proceeding some distance up the Jelum, the banks of which was thickly studded with comfortable villages, turned off again to the west through an interesting and tolerably populous country. Half way on this road from the Jelum to the Indus stands the singular monument called the Tope of Manikyala. It is a brick dome, about eighty feet high, and of peculiar shape; and is known to our readers probably from the description of Mr Elphinstone, with whom, however, we cannot agree in supposing it to be of Grecian origin. This tope, when visited by Mr Burnes, had been recently opened by M. Ventura. On removing the bricks at the summit of the building, M. Ventura discovered a shaft or wall, which he cleared out till he reached a stone chamber at the bottom of the building. On opening this he found it to contain a cylindrical iron box, in which again was a box of pewter, and in this another of gold, about three inches long and one and a half in diameter, filled with a semiliquid blackish substance, as mysterious in its look as in its lodgment. Here our author found no less than

seventy copper coins, and elated with his success, heaps prodigal honours on the locality of Menikyala. Hence he observes—

‘ I was much struck with the position of Menikyala, for it stands on a spacious plain, and the “tope” is to be distinguished at a distance of sixteen miles. Various surmises have been thrown out regarding this site, but I do not hesitate to fix upon it as Taxilla, since Arrian expressly tells us, that “that was the most populous city *between* the Indus and Hydaspes,” which is the exact position of Menikyala.’—(I. p. 67.)

Surely this is a singular mode of fixing an exact position. There might be a thousand populous cities *between* the Indus and Hydaspes, any one of which would correspond as exactly with the position mentioned by Arrian. And here we will once for all avow the extreme diffidence with which we receive our author's decisions on the problems of ancient geography. Not that they are not often plausible and even ingenious; but because they rest always on a very slender and frequently on an erroneous formation. At the commencement of this journey, he sought the altars erected by Alexander as monuments of his furthest progress eastward, on the banks of the Sutlege, which he informs us was the Hesudrus of the ancients and is called Shittooder, or hundred waters, by the Hindus; and he declares his belief that those altars, which are said to have been erected on the eastern bank of the Hyphasis or modern Beas, must have stood below the junction of this river with the Sutlege. But what right have we to suppose that the united streams of the Beas and Sutlege did not in ancient as well as in modern times, take the name of the latter, which is the greater river of the two, and the true Sanscrit name of which, Satadrú, was known to Ptolemy who calls it Zadadrus? In short, Mr Burnes presuming that he marched on the footsteps of Alexander, has been naturally led into a train of conjectures, which unless warranted by careful and minute researches, both topographical and philological, merit but little confidence. It may be remarked that “Topes,” or sepulchral monuments like that at Manikyala, are found in the country west of the Indus and north of the Cabul river. The coins found in these structures throw but little light on their age, or on the nation of their founders.

On approaching the Indus the country becomes variegated and rich, preserving many remains of imperial magnificence. That great river was first seen by our travellers from a distance of fifteen miles, and its whole course from the hills to Attak might be traced by a line of dense white vapour which hung over it. The people were now no longer Hindus, but bold visaged and manly Afghans. Our travellers were kindly received by the general commanding the Seik army encamped on the Indus.

Their conversation with him naturally ran on the heroic deeds of Runjeet Sing, and particularly on the boldness with which he had forded the Indus. Their courage was inflamed by the recital, and, says Mr Burnes, 'we soon made up our minds to 'make at least the attempt of fording this great river.' This resolution was executed in the following manner:—

'We mounted one of the chief's elephants, and accompanied by himself and 200 horsemen, passed a few miles down the river to the village of Khyrakhuel, about five miles above Attok. The stream was here divided into three branches, and in the two first gushed with amazing violence. I did not like the appearance of the torrent; and though I said nothing, would have willingly turned back; but how could that be when I had been the foremost to propose it? The chief rallied his escort round him, threw a piece of money into the river, according to custom, and dashed into it. We followed, and the whole of our party reached in safety. While on the island, and preparing to enter the principal branch, a melancholy accident occurred to some stragglers who attempted to follow us. They were seven in number; and instead of crossing at the exact point where we had effected the passage, they passed a few yards lower down, with the water but knee-deep, yet very rapid. The whole seven were unhorsed in a moment, and swept into the stream. The ferrymen ran to their assistance, and extricated them all but one poor fellow and two horses, whom we could see struggle, and at last sink. The others were rescued with great difficulty, and two of them were all but dead. We were shocked at the catastrophe and proposed to return, but the chief would not listen to it. He gave a laugh, and said "what know ye, that these fellows (we thought they had all gone) may be kings in another world; and what is the use of a Seik if he cannot pass the Attok? (Indus)." The principal branch, however, was still in front; and I only agreed to cross, if the horsemen were left behind. "Leave my guard," cried the chief, "impossible!" but we did leave it, and safely passed the ford. The footing was slippery, and the current shot with great rapidity. The colour of the water was blue, and it was exceedingly cold, which makes it trying to both man and beast. The elephants pressed up against the stream and roared as we advanced. The excitement of such an undertaking is great, and would have been exhilarating had not our joy been dimmed by such a calamity. This ford has often been used by the Seiks, but the passage has involved many serious accidents.'—(I., pp. 75-6.)

The feat of fording the Indus above Attok has been more frequently performed, we suspect, and is more common than our author is aware of. The Emperor Baber in nearly all his invasions of Hindostan, forded the Indus at that place. But was it merely for the sake of the exploit that Mr Burnes forded the Indus? was this adventure, involving one case of loss of life and two of suspended animation, undertaken as a pastime? Mr Burnes, carried away, unfortunately, in this part of his narra-

tive by a pleasing anecdote, forgets to inform his readers of the circumstances of his return across the ford, or even that he returned at all. A careless reader might suppose that he had forded the river in prosecution of his journey, but this is irreconcilable with what follows—

‘ We now proceeded to the fortress of Attok, which stands on a black slaty ridge at the verge of the Indus, the “ forbidden river ” of the Hindoos. It was indeed a forbidden one to us, for the garrison had mutinied, ejected their officers, and seized upon the ferry-boats. Their arrears of pay were not forthcoming, and they had taken this means of informing Runjeet of their grievances. It was in vain that we produced the most peremptory orders to receive us inside the walls and show us the curiosities of the place; they replied, that our complaints will now be heard, since the Maharaja will know of their ill treatment towards us. Since they evinced no further contumacy, we halted outside in a dilapidated mosque, and were not molested. It was useless to parley with irritated men, and I thought we were fortunate in prevailing on them, after a detention of two days, to give us a boat, in which we were ferried across the grand boundary of India, on the afternoon of the 17th of March. The water was azure blue, and the current exceeded six miles an hour. We passed in four minutes.’—(I. p. 78-9.)

The simple minded reader, as we have already observed, must feel not a little puzzled by our author's narrative, which represents him first as fording the Indus from east to west, and immediately after lingering two days under the walls of Attok, which is on the eastern bank, till he procures a boat to ferry him across the great barrier of India. We, in the plenitude of our critical authority, may remove positive inconsistencies and rescue ourselves from embarrassment, and our author's narrative from suspicion, by supposing that something has been omitted; but we confess ourselves unable to explain why one who could ford the Indus for his amusement, should say that the river was forbidden to him; or delay his journey for the sake of crossing the boundary of India in a boat. The river Indus at Attok is, according to Mr Elphinstone, too rapid and too deep to be correctly sounded. Mr Burnes on the other hand tells us that it is 270 yards wide and 35 fathoms deep;—an extraordinary depth certainly, for a river flowing above six miles an hour, and which is fordable only five miles higher up. It unquestionably demonstrates the resolution and boldness of Runjeet Sing's character, that he should frequently construct a bridge of boats across a rapid river having so great a depth as 35 fathoms.

The country from the Indus to Cabul, or the valley of the Cabul river, has been already described by more than one accomplished traveller. We shall, therefore, pass over it with hasty strides, in order that we may have more leisure to look round

us in those new regions, with which our author makes us acquainted. The large town of Peshawur, situated in what may be called the Lombardy of Afghanistan, detained the travellers a month. Sultan Mahommed Khan, the ruler of this territory, is described by our author as a polite, well-bred gentleman, too mild for an Eastern despot. He pays tribute to Runjeet Sing, to save his territory from the inroads of the Seiks; and enjoys only the independence of one, as he himself expressed it, who is unable to resist, and willing to compromise. Quitting the delightful plains of Peshawur, our travellers approached the mountain passes. They fortunately ascended the country as spring advanced, so that they every where found the fruit-trees clad in their richest bloom, and the fields in their freshest verdure. But the luxuriant cultivation of the lowlands was soon changed for wild scenes—for rocks and groups, such as fed the fancy of Salvator Rosa. Crossing the Cabul river on a raft, supported by inflated skins, our travellers and their caravan put themselves under the protection of the Momunds, a tribe of mountaineers who, like the Khybarees on the southern side of the river, claim the right of pillaging all caravans which quarrel with their exactions. The march of the caravan, with these rugged companions, through a rugged country, is picturesquely described in the following passage:—

‘ We had now a full insight into our mode of travelling, and the treatment which we were to expect. We never moved but in a body; and when we got to the banks of the river, under a scorching sun, had no means of crossing it till our friends the Momunds could be again appeased. We laid ourselves down in the shade of some rocks which had fallen from precipices which rose in grandeur over us to the height of about 2000 feet, and before us the Cabul river rushed with great rapidity in its course onwards. Its breadth did not exceed 120 yards. Towards the afternoon, our highlanders produced eight or ten skins, and we commenced crossing; but it was night before we had all passed, and we then set fire to the grass of the mountains to illuminate our neighbourhood, and ensure safety to the frail raft. The passage of the river was tedious and difficult; in some places the rapidity of the stream formed into eddies, wheeled us round, and we had the agreeable satisfaction of being told that, if we went some way down, there was a whirlpool, and if once enclosed within its circle, we might revolve in hunger and giddiness for a day. This inconvenience we all escaped, though some of the passengers were carried far down the river, and we ourselves had various revolutions in the smaller eddies. There was no village or people on either side of the river, and we spread our carpets on the ground, and heartily enjoyed a cool night after the day's fatigue. The noise of the stream soon lulled most of us to sleep, and towards midnight nothing was to be heard but the voices of the mountaineers, who had perched themselves on a rock that projected over our camp, and watched till daylight. A truly cut-throat band they appeared, and it was amusing to observe the studied respect

which all of us paid them. Their chief, a ragged ruffian, without a turban, was mounted on a horse; his praises were sung, and presents were given him; but we had no sooner left the country than every one abused those whom we had been caressing. The spirit of the party might be discovered by one old man, who drove his horse into a wheat-field, on the verge of the Momund country, calling out, "Eat away, my good animal, the Momund scoundrels have ate much of my wealth in their time."—(I., pp. 115-6.)

The magnificent prospect which burst on the view, on quitting the mountains at the pass of Duka, compensated the difficulties of the journey. The town of Julalabad could be seen forty miles distant, beyond a plain through which the river wound in a circuitous course. On the left hand, or towards the south, the Sefid Koh, or white mountain, more generally called Rajgul, reared its perpetual snows. On the right rose the still more elevated crest of Kooner or Moörgil, on which the Afghans believe the ark of Noah to have rested after the Deluge. On their way to Julalabad, our travellers crossed the desert plain of Buttecote, which is remarkable (to use our author's expression) 'for the simoom or pestilential wind that prevails here in the hot season, though the mountains on both sides are covered with perpetual snow.' Persons affected by it become immediately senseless, and are resuscitated with great difficulty. It is generally fatal, and induces such rapid putrefaction, that the limbs of those who perish by it soon fall asunder. This strange phenomenon is related as circumstantially by Mohammed Baber as by Mr Burnes, and though both wrote from hearsay, yet their joint evidence is sufficient to cast a great blemish on the reputation of Buttecote. But why should we ascribe these effects to a simoom or hot wind? Those who do not suffer, are not sensible of any change in the atmosphere; those who recover fancy that they felt a cold wind at the moment of their swooning. Thus the proof of a 'simoom' is very weak indeed; and it appears to us more likely that mephitic gases are exhaled from the plain of Buttecote, as is the case in Iceland and elsewhere.

Ascending from Julalabad, our travellers carried with them a perpetual spring; and with everlasting snows at no great distance on both sides, they saw the vines wreathing the bows of the oaks at the height of eighty feet from the ground. But as they came nearer to the snowy barrier on the south, the climate suddenly changed, and 'at Gundamuk,' says Mr Burnes, 'is the boundary of the hot and cold countries. It is said to snow on one side of the river, and to rain at the other.' This strong demarcation of climate is also mentioned by Forster, and indeed by Baber; but it is a local peculiarity which our imperfect acquaint-

ance with the face of the country does not enable us to explain. In this part of their journey our travellers met a horde of wandering Ghiljees (an Afghan tribe) driving their flocks of sheep, consisting of many thousands, towards Hindú Kush, where they spend the summer. 'The Ghiljees,' says Mr Elphinstone, 'are the largest, handsomest, and fairest of the Afghans:' nor does Mr Burnes appear to dissent from this decision. 'The children,' he says, 'are uncommonly healthy and chubby; the people in general vigorous.' Are not the Ghiljees, then, the fair complexioned people described by Benedict Goez, under the name of Caleias, and whom he compares to Flemings? German writers are fond of adverting to the mysterious, blue-eyed inhabitants of Hindú Kush, mentioned by the Portuguese missionary; and flatter themselves that the original stock of their race may still be discovered in the heart of Asia; but we feel satisfied that the Caleias, on whom they found their hopes, are no other than the nomadic Afghans above mentioned.

The city of Cabúl, its mixed population, thronged bazaars, gardens, and delicious climate, have been already well described by Elphinstone and by Forster. Not a few interesting particulars of its vicinity are to be found in Baber's 'Memoirs.' As all the passes over the Paropamisus terminate here, it has been an important place from remote antiquity; and its importance is not likely to decline under the steady and temperate government of Dost Mohammed Khan, from whom our travellers experienced the kindest treatment. They had also the satisfaction of befriending the zealous missionary Mr Wolff, who, having reached Bokhara in the guise of a Jew, thought fit, in his journey southwards, to style himself a Hadji, or Mohammedan, who had made the pilgrimage to Mecca. For this attempt at deception he had been summarily punished, and had been plundered, reviled, and buffeted, till at last he arrived in the neighbourhood of Cabúl, and sought the protection of our travellers. Mr Burnes, during a three weeks' residence in Cabúl, enjoyed the opportunity of conversing with the most intelligent natives, and of acquiring the most authentic information respecting the country and its inhabitants. But his remarks on society and national character are never very piercing or discriminating; and with respect to the more difficult, or rather the more learned, topics of race and language, his ideas are singularly incoherent and immature. Thus, for example, he tells us that the Persians, or Kuzzlebashes, (*i. e.* red-heads,) as they are called, who served as body guards under the Kings of Cabúl, are Turks; and, farther on, he calls the Turks, Tartars, and constantly uses these words as synonymes. The Huzaras, who occupy the hill country west of

Cabúl, and who are Mongols descended, no doubt, from a remnant of Zengis Khan's army, are confounded with the Turks, under the common denomination, Tartar. He likewise informs us that the language of the Afghans is the Persian, and that the poorer class alone speak Pushtoo; leaving the reader doubtful whether Persian be the national language of the upper orders, or only the language of education. He ought rather to have said, that Cabúl is chiefly peopled by Tájiks, who are of Persian origin, and that Pushtoo is the language of the true Afghans. Mr Burnes also favours the opinion that the Afghans are of Jewish descent, (a descent which, thus expressed, they vehemently repudiate,) because they have a tradition that they are 'Children of Israel.' He thinks their tradition credible, because 'some of the tribes of Israel came to the East.' How many tribes of Israel were there? We know of but twelve, and these were certainly in Palestine, at a date posterior to the traditional origin of the Afghans. To us it appears evident, that this tradition, as it is called, of a Jewish origin, is derived altogether from the written histories of the Afghans, which have been purloined, in a great measure, from the Hebrew Scriptures at a comparatively late age. The remarks which our author makes on the Siah-posh Kafirs, or black-coated unbelievers, who inhabit the valleys of the high mountains, which divide the basins of the Cabúl and Badakshan rivers, are, in like manner, infelicitous, as well as scanty. He tells us that he can add nothing to the intelligence respecting them collected by Mr Elphinstone. Yet, imbibing the prejudices of his Mahomedan informants, he calls the Kafirs savages; which is certainly representing them under a new aspect; and this variance is the more remarkable, since Mr Burnes, while at Peshawur, formed an acquaintance with Mollah Nujeeb, a respectable man, who had travelled into the Kafir country at the instigation of Mr Elphinstone, and who gave, on his return, a very interesting and favourable account of these brave and ingenious mountaineers. 'The Kafirs,' says our author, 'live in a most barbarous manner, eating bears and monkeys;'—a kind of food which does not appear to us to afford any incontrovertible implication of barbarism. The mention of monkeys suggests a well-wooded country. We know that the black-coated unbelievers have wine in abundance, which they boil, and always carry a small vessel filled with it, suspended from their necks. The missionary Goetz heard with pleasure of a fair complexioned, wine-drinking race of mountaineers, who were not Mahomedans; and hesitated not to conclude that they were Christians; and he alludes to their name of Siah-posh, when he gravely informs us that they always go to church dressed

in black. The language of these people, of which our author has collected a few words, belongs evidently to the Indian family. They are probably the fountain whence large streams of population have poured on the country below. The local situation of this aboriginal tribe, and the independence which they have so obstinately maintained, tend alike to increase our interest in them, and our wish that their secluded valleys, overhung with vineyards, were explored by some intelligent European traveller.

The preparations for the journey across the mountains to Balkh, were made without difficulty or obstruction. A respectable Afghan merchant, Nazir Doulut, who had himself business at Bokhara, was appointed their conductor. The chief persons at Cabúl, as well as Peshawur, willingly gave our travellers letters of recommendation to their friends in Turkistan. Even cash was procured with facility. The merchants of Shikarpúr, in Upper Sinde, whose commercial activity and connexions extend from India to Astracan, have eight great houses of agency in Cabúl, where they live quite apart from the other Hindús, of whom there are perhaps 300 families. These enterprising and patient men, who risk large capitals for small profit, were glad to accept the bills of a British officer, payable at Lodiana or Delhi; and Mr Burnes, at his own desire, received from them in return bills on Bokhara.

Matters being thus arranged, and various farewell feasts being eaten, our travellers left Cabúl on the 18th of May, with the gratifying experience, that friendly zeal, hospitality, and politeness, are to be found in Afghanistan as well as in the more civilized quarters of the world. Their road led them west by south to the sources of the river of Cabúl, called Sirchushma, or Fountain-head. The rocky bed of a rivulet conducted them to the pass of Oonna, which is guarded by three small forts. Before reaching the pass, which is estimated to have an elevation of 11,000 feet, snow was encountered. It snowed while the party crossed the ridge; and here they found that they had outmarched the advance of spring, for the Huzaras, who occupy this country, were only sowing, whilst the grain was ripe in the valley of Cabúl. The approach to the crest of the Paropamison range is thus described by our author:—

‘ We continued our mountain journey by the base of the lofty and ever snow-clad mountain of Koh-i-Baba, which is a remarkable ridge, having three peaks, that rise to the height of about 18,000 feet. On the evening of the 21st of May, we reached the bottom of the pass of Hajeeguk, half dead with fatigue, and nearly blind from the reflection of the snow. For about ten miles, we had travelled in the bed of a rivulet, that was knee-deep, formed by melting snow, which we crossed more

than twenty times. We then entered the region of the snow, which still lay deep on the ground; by noon, it became so soft, that our horses sunk into it, threw their burdens and riders, and in several places were, with the utmost difficulty, extricated. That part of the ground which was free from snow had become saturated with the melted water, and a quagmire, so that we alternately waded through mud and snow. The heat was oppressive—I imagine from reflection; I had quite lost the use of my eyes, and the skin peeled from my nose, before we reached a little fort under the pass, at which we alighted in the evening with a Huzara family.—(I. p. 176.)

These Huzaras, our author informs us, resemble in physiognomy, Chinese, with square faces and small eyes. ‘They are,’ he says, ‘Tartars by descent, and one of their tribes is now called Tatar Huzaras.’ It would be more correct to say that they are Mongols by descent; they still spoke the Mongolian language in the time of Baber; but, among a rude people, a change of religion (and the Huzaras are now Shiite Mahomedans) is apt to induce a change of language. They are confined to their houses by the snow, as our travellers were assured by their Huzara hostess, six months in the year. Skilled in the maladies of the climate, the worthy matron told our author that his eyes were *burned* with the snow, and recommended the use of antimonial ointment. The interesting narrative thus proceeds:—

‘After a night’s rest, and the friendly advice of the Huzara matron, we commenced the ascent of the pass of Hajeeguk, which was about 1000 feet above us, and 12,400 feet from (above) the sea. We took our departure early in the morning of the 22d of May; the frozen snow bore our horses, and we reached the summit before the sun’s influence had softened it. The thermometer fell four degrees below the freezing point; the cold was very oppressive, though we were clad in skins with the fur inside. I often blessed the good Nawab of Cabúl, who had forced a pelisse of otter skin upon me, that proved most useful. The passage was not achieved without adventure, for there was no road to guide us through the snow; and the surveyor, Mahommed Ali, along with his horse, went rolling down a declivity, one after the other, for about 30 yards. This exhibition in front served to guide the rear to a better path; but it was impossible to resist laughing at the Jack and Jill expedition of the poor surveyor and his horse.’—(I. p. 181.)

The pass of Hajeeguk conducts to that of Kaloo, still 1000 feet higher; whence our author’s narrative drops us in the city of Bameean, with less of local detail than the magnitude of the descent seems to require. The Koh-i-Baba, called by the Turks Shuttur-Gherdan, is the highest mountain between Cabúl and Balkh; and may therefore be considered as the continuation of Hindú Kush by those who suppose that the relative heights of

mountains is the best index of their connexion. We must observe, however, that Mr Burnes does not pretend to exactness in his estimations of heights; and Baber informs us, that sometimes, though very rarely, the snow disappears from the summit of the Koh-i-Baba; which we may therefore conclude to be little elevated above the line of perpetual snow.

Bameean stands in a valley, the sides of which, for a length of eight miles, as well as a detached hill in the middle of it, are scooped out in innumerable excavations, called by the people 'Soomuch,' which, though only narrow caves, are still the dwellings of the greater part of the population. This subterraneous city, called Ghoolghoola, is famous for two colossal figures cut on the face of the hill, one of which is 120, the other 70 feet in height. A tunnel cut in the hill, which is composed of indurated clay, mixed with pebbles, conducts to the summit. The history of these gigantic sculptures, whether they represent kings or deities, is too obscure to merit our attention. The print of them from our author's drawing, which illustrates his work, is better than a dissertation. Of the antiquity of a city called Bameean, there cannot be any doubt; but it is a question whether the ancient Bameean, destroyed by the Mongols, was not situated farther north. Our author conjectures it to be the city which Alexander founded at the base of the Paropamisus before entering Bactria. But surely Bameean is not at the base of the Paropamisus, but on one of its highest valleys; nor is it near the road by which Alexander entered Bactria.

Leaving this interesting, and, we believe, populous place, (it is said to contain 20,000 inhabitants,) dissatisfied that our author has not placed a more complete and finished picture of it before our eyes, we proceed with him to the pass of Akrobat, which separates the territory of Cabul from that of the Uzbek chief of Kunduz. Fifteen miles further, is the fort of Syghan, adorned with orchards of apricot-trees, in a little valley, beyond the limits of which there seems to reign perpetual winter. Beyond this, they came to the pass called, from its difficulty, 'Dundan Shikun,' or 'the tooth-breaker,' which conducted them to a narrow, lengthened dell, in which the rocks on each side rose to the height of 3000 feet. On the 26th of May they crossed the Kara Koottul, or black pass, when they came on the river of Khooloom, which they followed nearly 100 miles, till it quits the mountains; the road lying chiefly in ravines so profound, that only a small arch of the heavens is visible from below. At length, after a journey of twelve days, on the 30th of May, the caravan cleared the hills, and entered the plains of Turkistan, (or Tartary, as our author

has it,) at Khooloom, Tash Koorghan, an open country, sloping down to the Oxus, being expanded before them.

But we cannot leave the mountains without casting on them a parting glance. Our author's route fully confirms the information obtained by Meyendorff. There are seven roads, according to the Emperor Baber, from Cabúl across the mountains to Turkistan. Of these the most direct, and, at the proper season, the easiest, conducts due north from Cabúl towards Hindu Kúsh; the towering snows of which rose about sixty miles eastward of our author's route. The road by Bameean may be travelled at nearly all seasons of the year; the others are closed for four or five months annually. But the difficulties are all concentrated in the passage of the Hindu Kúsh; the country beyond is easy, and we believe well peopled. The silence of Mr Burnes respecting these numerous roads, the towns, climate, and productions of this elevated country, is extremely mortifying. The circuitous route which he followed by Bameean, the average elevation of which, we believe, much exceeds that of the others, was often trodden by Baber. Zengis Khan ascended from Kundúz by the eastern road to Bameean. Ibu Batuta crossed the Hindu Kúsh by the great road of Perwán; and Benedict Goetz trode the same path in the opposite direction.

Below Syghan, the black felt caps of the people, and the high boots worn by both sexes, warned our travellers that they were now among a new race; and the extremely rigid observance of Mahomedan rites which distinguishes the Usbeks, was, to a European, a more serious indication of the change. They entered Khooloom with anxious minds, when an incident occurred which caused them no slight alarm; but, in order to understand the foundation of it, the reader must be acquainted with the fate of Mr. Moorcroft. That distinguished traveller crossed the mountains to Khooloom in 1824: but, before he could obtain permission to leave the territories of Murad Beg, chief of Kundúz, that rapacious ruler had extorted from him property to the amount of 23,000 rupees; and he was finally obliged, in order to save his life and the remainder of his property, to fly to Talighan, and throw himself at the feet of a saint, who exercised a commanding influence over the spirit of Murad Beg. By this means he extricated himself, after fresh losses, and continued his journey to Bokhara, where he was treated with unusual favour. Returning from Bokhara, he died of fever at Andkho, about eighty miles from Balkh. His companions, Guthrie and Trebeck, were cut off by the same malady. The latter gentleman survived Moorcroft about four months, and died at a village near Balkh, where our author visited his grave. In this affair, Murad Beg was in-

fluenced not merely by his habitual rapacity, but also by the vehemence of a Hindú at his court, who declared that the subjugation of Turkistan would inevitably soon follow the admission of the English into the country ;—a declaration countenanced by the quantity of arms, and two small field-pieces which Mr Moorcroft had with him. Thus our travellers had to dread not merely the injustice of Murad Beg, but still more his hostility to Europeans and to the English in particular. What then was their grief and astonishment to find that they had been denounced as Firingees or Europeans ; and to receive, on the 1st of June, a peremptory order to repair to Kundúz. Our author promptly obeyed the summons—insinuated himself into the good graces of the Hindoo officer who conducted him—personated a poor Armenian, in so true a style of Eastern humility, that the grumbling Uzbek dismissed him at once, and Mr Burnes, after a rapid and fatiguing journey, returned in triumph to Khooloom. While at Kundúz, our author conversed with several intelligent Tajik merchants, who carry on trade with the Chinese in Yarkand and Cashgar ; but he does not furnish us with any information respecting the roads from the valley of Badakshan to Eastern or Chinese Turkistan.

The famous city of Balkh is now but a village in the midst of extensive ruins. It has no vestiges of magnificence. Its river, wasted by irrigation, formerly fertilized a large tract of country, but the aqueducts are now choked up or fallen to decay. The journey to the banks of the Oxus exhibited to our travellers all the cheerless monotony of the Turcoman desert. That river, when they reached it, was 800 yards wide and about twenty deep—it flowed at the rate of three miles and a half an hour. The mode of crossing it was singular, and worthy of Turcomans. Horses were yoked to the boat, and, swimming across, drew it after them. The Caravan now proceeded steadily towards Bokhara ; but its speed was limited by the camels' pace, and our travellers suffered some days at Kurshee from an attack of fever. At length, on the morning of the 27th of June, they reached the gates of that Eastern capital. They entered with the Caravan, and occupied a house which had been hired for their reception.

On the evening of their arrival, our author was summoned to the presence of the Koosh Begee, or chief minister. He received Mr Burnes favourably ; but cautioned him against the use of pen and ink. In a second conversation, he expressed his anxiety to increase the communication between Bokhara and Britain ; ' requesting,' says our author, ' that I would myself return

‘as a trading ambassador to Bokhara, and not forget to bring a good pair of spectacles for his use.’

‘The circumference of Bokhara,’ says our author, ‘exceeds eight English miles; its shape is triangular, and it is surrounded by a wall of earth about twenty feet high, which is pierced by twelve gates. According to the custom of the East these are named from the cities and places to which they lead. Few great buildings are to be seen from the exterior, but when the traveller passes its gates he winds his way among lofty and arched bazars of brick, and sees each trade in its separate quarter of the city—here the chintz sellers, there the shoemakers—one arcade filled with silks, another with cloth. Everywhere he meets with ponderous and massy buildings, colleges, mosques, and lofty minarets. About twenty caravanserais contain the merchants of different nations, and about one hundred ponds and fountains, constructed of squared stone, furnish its numerous population with water. The city is intersected by canals shaded by mulberry-trees, which bring water from the river of Samarcand; and there is a belief among the people which deserves to be mentioned, that the loftiest minaret, which is about 150 feet high, rises to the level of that famous capital of Timour. Bokhara is very indifferently supplied with water—the river is about six miles distant, and the canal is only opened once in fifteen days. In summer the inhabitants are sometimes deprived of good water for months, and when we were in Bokhara the canals had been dry for sixty days. The snow had not melted in the highlands of Samarcand, and the scanty supply of the river had been wasted before reaching Bokhara. The distribution of this necessary of life becomes therefore an object of no mean importance, and an officer of Government is specially charged with that duty. After all the water is bad, and said to be the cause of guinea worm, a disease frightfully prevalent in Bokhara, which the natives will tell you originates from the water, and they add that these worms are the same that infested the body of the prophet Job! Bokhara has a population of 150,000 souls, for there is scarcely a garden or burying ground within the city walls. . . . The greatest of the public buildings is a mosque, which occupies a square of 300 feet, and has a dome that rises to about a third of that height. It is covered with enamelled tiles of an azure blue colour, and has a costly appearance. It is a place of some antiquity, since its cupola, which was shaken by an earthquake, was repaired by the renowned Timour. Attached to this mosque is a lofty minaret raised in the 542d year of the Hejira. It is built of bricks, which have been distributed in most ingenious patterns. Criminals are thrown from this tower, and no one but the chief priest may ever ascend it.—(I, pp. 301-3.)

Mr Burnes is, we suspect, extremely sensible of the charms of novelty, and saw Bokhara magnified through the medium of the pleasure it afforded him. According to Meyendorff, that city contains 8000 houses, and about 70,000 inhabitants; and this estimate was confirmed by Moorcroft. Yet our author raises

its population to 150,000; and when telling us that 270,000 persons enjoy the baths annually, hints, we believe, (for we scarcely understand the drift of the passage,) that the population may approach that number. The Russian mission had ample opportunities of becoming acquainted with Bokhara; but admired neither its magnitude nor its magnificence. The streets, according to Eversmann, are so narrow that a loaded camel brushes with his bales the houses on both sides. There are some of them indeed in which there is hardly room for two persons to pass. The ark, or citadel, containing the palace of the king, with the immense artificial mound on which it is erected, is the most remarkable object in Bokhara, though scarcely mentioned by Mr Burnes.

The principles of government in Bokhara, says Meyendorff, are hypocrisy and extortion. Our author saw some delinquents punished, who were caught asleep during prayers, or who smoked on a Friday. It is a mistake to suppose that this puritanical rigour had its origin in the religious zeal of the present Khan's predecessor. It was in full vigour nearly three centuries ago, when Anthony Jenkinson visited Bokhara; and was ascribed by him to the separation of the civil from the religious authority. His remark is sensible; but it is probable that the vicinity of the heterodox Persians maintains the warmth of religious zeal with the fire of religious hatred. It is curious to find Ibn Batuta, in the fourteenth century, describing the piety of the Turks of Khiva in terms which are now strictly applicable to Bokhara. 'I have never seen,' he observes, 'better bred, or more liberal people, than the inhabitants of Khavârasen, or those who are more friendly to strangers. They have a very commendable practice with regard to their worship, which is this: When any one absents himself from his place in the mosque, he is beaten by the priest in the presence of the congregation, and, moreover, fined in five dinars, which go towards repairing the mosque. In every mosque, therefore, a whip is hung up for this purpose.' Speaking of the condition of the country, and of the people, Mr Burnes says, 'When we place the vices of Bokhara in juxtaposition with its laws and justice, we have much to condemn; but the people are happy, the country is flourishing, trade prospers, and property is protected. This is no small praise, under the government of a despot.'—(I. p. 310.) Much cannot be said of the prosperity of the kingdom of Bokhara, while it is bearded by such inferior states as Khiva on the one side, and Kundúz on the other. The happiness of the people is not to be lightly assumed. It is impossible to peruse the pages of Eversmann, without arriving at

the conclusion, that Bokhara is one of the most vicious cities in the world; and such a state of things implies a large proportion of misery.

After remaining nearly a month in Bokhara, our travellers determined on accompanying a caravan, which was about to start for Meshed in Persia. On the 21st of July, they paid their farewell visit to the vizier, who, on every successive interview, rose higher in our author's estimation.

'The Koosh Begee,' he says, 'is a man of sixty; his eyes sparkle, though his beard is silvered by age; his countenance beams with intelligence, but it is marked with cunning, which is said to be the most striking feature in his character. He showed much curiosity regarding our language, and made me write the English numbers from one to a thousand in the Persian character, as well as the common words which express the necessities of life. He spent about an hour in this lesson, and regretted that he had no opportunity of acquiring our language. He then made me write his name in English, and, handing it over to Dr Gerard, requested him to read it. He recurred to the subject of medicine, and was greatly pleased with the lever of an instrument for drawing teeth, which was explained to him. He fixed it on the wood of the door, and wrenched out some pieces of it. He then begged that we would return to Bokhara as "trading ambassadors," to establish a better understanding, and more extended commerce with the country. He now summoned the *Casila-bashee* of the caravan, and a chief of the *Toorkmans*, who was to accompany it as a safeguard against his tribe. He wrote down their names, families, habitations, and, looking to them, said, "I consign these Europeans to you. If any accident befall them, your wives and families are in my power, and I will root them from the face of the earth. Never return to Bokhara but with a letter containing an assurance under their seal that you have served them well."—(I. pp. 325–6.)

Having received the Vizier's blessing and a small present, our travellers left Bokhara the same evening. It is remarkable that they were never admitted to the presence of the King,—an honour which Moorcroft had frequently enjoyed. Mr Burnes seems to suspect that the Vizier had a jealous desire to engross his conversation. But we see no reason to doubt the sincerity of the old minister's declaration, 'that travellers have no business with 'kings.' Moorcroft enjoyed privileges and exemptions in Bokhara; but he was looked upon as 'a trading ambassador,' the forerunner of an advantageous trade with India. Mr Burnes, on the other hand, (who says not a word of Moorcroft's reception in Bokhara,) in proportion as he assumed a guise which ensured his safety, yielded up his importance. Besides, it is evident from the colours in which our author paints his Eastern acquaintances, that his discourse and demeanour were of a kind which called

forth their affability rather than their more earnest qualities ; and perhaps we should err if we believed with him that good-nature is so general in the East, and penetration so rare ; or if we admitted that the rulers of the Afghans are well-bred gentlemen ; or that the Vizier of Bokhara, who is said to have poisoned the legitimate heir to the throne, in order to make way for the present King, is really the kind-hearted creature which he appears to be.

From Bokhara the travellers proceeded south-westward to Karakool, where they were detained a month, by fear of the Turcomans, and the necessity of negotiating their safety with the Khan of Khiva. This delay afforded them an opportunity of acquiring an insight into the character of the Turcoman tribes. They crossed the Oxus, opposite to Charjoo, where the river is a little narrower and deeper than higher up where they had previously crossed it. But Mr Burnes is wrong in supposing that this great river can have a fall of two feet a mile. His estimations of heights rest in general on very slender data. His route across the desert conducted him to the neighbourhood of Merwe, and by Serukhs to Meshed in Persia, and has considerable geographical importance. A Mr Stirling, of the East India Company's service, has crossed the Turcoman desert, farther to the south, from Meshed to Balkh. Our author supplies some amusing particulars of the Turcoman life, their equestrian markets, their feasts, and their forays. But the life of the desert is much the same every where ; and our readers will probably feel grateful to us for passing it over in silence. The caravan arrived at Meshed on the 14th of September. Dr Gerard turned south to return to India by way of Herat and Candahar ; while Mr Burnes proceeded in an opposite direction to the Caspian Sea, whence he afterwards crossed to the Persian Gulf, and so returned to Bombay.

It is needless to enlarge on the importance of the journeys of which we have given a slight outline. Runjeet Sing, the ruler of the Punjab, is above all things desirous of a friendly intercourse with the British nation ; and the well-devised mission which Mr Burnes conducted to his court, riveted the first link of the bond of union with him. He seems willing to promote the navigation of the Indus, and to open it to commerce. And with the assistance of steam-vessels, and a portage from Kurachee, (which appears to us indispensable,) that river might become the channel of an immense trade. The Afghan states, again, are all disposed to court the favour of the Anglo-Indian government. Further on, the King of Bokhara is desirous to have an English 'trading ambassador' at his court. The turbulence of Murad Beg of Kunduz, would probably be subdued, if a mission were

sent by the Indian government to remonstrate with him concerning his past conduct, and to make arrangements for the future. It appears not unlikely then, that at no distant period we shall have political and commercial agents for the Indus and at Cabúl; and that we shall maintain a brisk intercourse with Bokhara. Much valuable information respecting the latter must, ere long, be laid before the public; unless, which scarcely is supposable, Mr Fraser, Resident at Delhi, who, by means of a native agent, got possession of the papers which Moorcroft had with him at his death, should be forgetful alike of what is due to the memory of that lamented traveller, and to himself. Some of Moorcroft's manuscripts were brought to England by Mr Burnes; but these, we believe, relate only to journeys in the countries near the sources of the Beas and Sutlege.

We cannot close this article without mentioning, that the geographical materials collected by Mr Burnes have been turned to the best account by Mr James Arrowsmith, whose map of Central Asia, inserted in his excellent Atlas lately published, is by far the best map of that region which has yet appeared.

ART. IX.—1. *Speech of Henry, Lord Bishop of Exeter, on occasion of a Petition from certain Members of the Senate of Cambridge, presented to the House of Lords on Monday April 21, 1834.* 8vo. London: 1834.

2. *Substance of a Speech delivered in the House of Commons on Wednesday, March 26, 1834, by Sir Robert Harry Inglis, Bart., in reference to a Petition from certain Members of the Senate of the University of Cambridge.* 8vo. London: 1834.

THE opponents and supporters of the recent measure for restoring the English Universities to their proper character of unexclusive schools, may pretend indifferently to the honour of having argued their cases in the worst possible manner; and in the cloud of pamphlets, (we have seen nearly thirty,) and throughout the protracted discussions in Parliament, which this question has drawn forth, the reasons most confidently urged by the former, are precisely those which, as suicidal, they ought especially to have eschewed; and these same reasons, though cautiously avoided, as unanswerable, by the latter, are the very grounds on which the necessity not only of this, but of far more important measures of academical reform, were to be triumphantly established. So curious in fact was the game at cross purposes, that

the official defenders of things as they are in Oxford and Cambridge do, on the principle of their own objection to this partial restoration of the ancient academic order, call out for a sweeping overthrow of the actual administration of these establishments; and we are confident of proving before the conclusion of the present article, that, unless apostates not only from their reasoning on this question, but from their professions of moral and religious duty, we have a right to press into the service, as partisans of a radical reform in Oxford, (besides the Chancellor of that University his Grace of Wellington,) the Bishop of Exeter, and Sir Robert Inglis themselves. From the general tenor of their politics, but in particular from their personal relations to this University, (the one its representative, the other long a member of its collegial interest,) these eminent individuals were the natural, and on the late occasion, the strenuous, champions in Parliament of the party now dominant in Oxford;—indeed so satisfied do they appear with their own achievements in the debate, that they, and they only, have deemed their principal speeches, in opposition to the Dissenters' claim, of sufficient consequence to merit publication in a separate form.

In the article on this subject in our last Number, we were compelled to omit or hurry over many important matters. One portentous error common to both sides we indeed (for the second time) exposed, that the English Universities are the complement or general incorporation of the colleges;—an assumption and admission from which the partisans of exclusion were able legitimately to infer,—that, as the constituent parts were private or exclusive foundations, the constituted whole could not be fairly treated as a national and unexclusive establishment. There was, however, another not less important error on which we could only touch; and in regard to the argument attempted to be drawn from the injustice of interfering with trustees in the faithful exercise of their duty, so confidently advanced by Dr Philpotts and Sir Robert Inglis, we merely stated, in passing, how gladly we joined issue with them on the principle; and now proceed, in supplement of our previous paper, to show, that, when fully and fairly applied, this principle affords a result the very converse of that anticipated either by those who so rashly brought it to bear upon the question, or by those who allowed it to pass without even an attempt at rejoinder. The following is the argument as pointed by the two Oxford advocates:—

The Bishop of Exeter.—‘My Lords, it is, I apprehend, an admitted principle, that where a corporation has received its charter for a specific purpose, the law of England repels, and the legislature of England has hitherto repelled, every attempt to break in upon that corporation, except

on an allegation either that its members *have omitted to perform the duties for which they were incorporated*, or that the purposes for which they were incorporated were originally, or have been declared by subsequent enactments to be illegal, immoral, or superstitious.

‘Such, I will venture to say, is the principle of the law of England in respect to corporations; and even if a lawyer could devise any plea in derogation of it, I am quite sure that there is no Englishman of plain understanding who would not proclaim his assent to the reasonableness of that principle. *Now, is it, can it be alleged, that either of the universities, or that any of the colleges within them, have violated the duties of their corporate character, or that they have abused the powers intrusted to them for the performance of those duties*, or that the purposes and object of their incorporation are illegal, immoral, superstitious, or otherwise condemnable? My Lords, *no man has ventured, nor will any man venture to say any of these things*. On what pretence, then, could Parliament dare—forgive the word, my Lords; when a man feels strongly, he will not scruple to speak strongly: but your Lordships will not, I am sure, think the word needs an apology, for you would not dare to do what is wrong—on what pretence, then, I ask, would Parliament dare to set a precedent, which would destroy every thing like the principle of property as connected with corporations, and *would violate all the sacredness that belongs to oaths—ay, my Lords, the sacredness of oaths?* I say this, because it must not be forgotten, that *the members of the university of Oxford have sworn that they will obey their statutes, and I doubt not they will keep that oath inviolate*. Parliament may have the power to destroy these bodies, but Parliament has not the power—and, if such a thing shall be attempted, Parliament will find that it has not the power—to *make these illustrious bodies faithless to the sacred duties which they have sworn to discharge*. My Lords, the university of Oxford I know well—many of my happiest years have been passed within it—and from that knowledge of it I speak, when I proclaim my firm conviction, that if both houses of Parliament shall pass the bill which has been brought into the other house, and if his Majesty shall, unhappily, be advised, and shall yield to the advice, to give to it the royal assent—you will not at Oxford find a man—certainly very, very few men—who would not submit to be pennyless and homeless, to be outcasts on the world, rather than do that which they now, it seems, are to be required to do—to be parties to the desecration of what they hold to be most sacred, and to the destruction of what they deem to be most valuable in this life, because it is connected with the interests of the life to come.’—(Speech, &c. p. 11, &c.)

Sir Robert Inglis.—‘The honourable and learned member for Dublin contends, that as the legislature interfered once with the universities, it has a right to interfere again; but I put it upon the score of common honesty and honour, whether any gentleman in private life would sanction the principle of taking back a gift because you happened to bestow it? Tell me, if you please, that the gift *was a trust, and that the trust has been abused*, and then I can understand you. *Until it can be proved, however, that the two universities have betrayed their trust*, you cannot in

good faith or common honesty require us to restore the boon which you gave. . . . I do not consider the question to be, whether the University was founded by Catholics or Dissenters. The present possession has lasted 600 years; and unless [which in his speech of the 26th March Sir Robert says, "*is not even alleged*"] *it can be proved that the trust has been abused*, I contend that it ought not to be disturbed. Is the House prepared to take away the rights and privileges of this University *without any proof of delinquency*?—(March 21, 1834, *Mirror of Parliament*, vol. ii. p. 983).

—‘I know how unpopular the practice is in this House of even referring to the oaths which any honourable member has taken; but I will not shrink from that duty, whether the individuals who have taken these oaths be members of the Church of Rome, or members of the Protestant Church of England. Many there are sitting on the opposite side of the House, and who, I almost fear, are prepared to vote for the second reading of this bill, who are *bound in the strongest manner, by solemn oaths, to uphold the two Universities*. I call upon the House, and upon these honourable members, to listen while I venture to read to them the oaths which they took when they were admitted into the universities. I take the oath of matriculation at Cambridge, which the members of the opposite bench have taken. . . . The words of the oath, on proceeding to a degree, go even farther, and bind the party to maintain, not only the honour and dignity of the university—which he might contend he consults by admitting Dissenters—but even *the statutes, and ordinances, and customs*, which he cannot deceive himself in supposing that this bill upholds. The words on this occasion, addressed by the Vice-Chancellor to the party, are—“*Jurabis quod statuta nostra, ordinationes, et consuetudines approbatas observabis*.” I ask the honourable member for Wiltshire, and every other honourable member who has had the advantage of a university education, to consider the *nature of the oath* which they so solemnly took. *If there be faith in man—if there be any use in religious instruction*, I ask honourable members to pause before they vote in favour of the measure now before us. I do assure the noble Lord that *I do not quote these oaths in any other spirit than that in which I would wish him to address me, if he believed that on any occasion I was incurring the risk of violating any such engagement*.’—(June 20, 1834, *Mirror of Parliament*, vol. iii. p. 2354.)

The whole reasoning in these quotations, is drawn from two places; the one, *the rights of public trustees*; the other, *the obligation of the academic oaths*.

I. The reasoning from the former place is as follows:—Trustees created by and for the public, who have continued faithfully to discharge their duty, ought not (what the admission of the dissenters, it is assumed, will actually occasion) to be superseded or compelled to resign;—The governors and instructors of the English Universities are, and are admitted to be, such trustees;—Therefore, &c.

We have already stated that we join issue with our opponents

in the principle of their argument, and our line of reasoning does not require that we should correct the terms in which their major proposition is expressed. We may, however, notice, that, in the first place, it is inapplicable, inasmuch as the assumption through which it is connected with the minor—that the opening of the Universities to the Dissenters would virtually compel the present trustees to resign—will be shown, in treating of the reasoning from the latter place, to be unfounded; and, in the second, that though true, as far as it goes, it requires for absolute truth an extension also to *insufficiency*; seeing, that a public trust (saving always the interest of incumbents and independent of all private rights of property) may justly, without any allegation of dishonesty or negligence in the trustee, be reorganized, or placed under a different management, the moment that the welfare of the public renders such a measure expedient. A trustee, *qua* trustee, has, against his truster, duties but no rights. His only claim of continuance is his superior or equal competency to discharge the office. A University is a trust confided by the state to certain hands for the common interest of the nation; nor has it ever heretofore been denied that a University may, and ought, by the state to be from time to time corrected, reformed, or recast, in conformity to accidental changes of relation, and looking towards an improved accomplishment of its essential ends. Under this extension the Dissenters would be safe. But waving all this, and taking the proposition simply as it stands, it is evident that if it be assumed by our opponents—*That public trustees ought not to be superseded without a proof of negligence or abuse; multo magis*, must it be admitted by them, as implied in their own assumption, and by all as a proposition unconditionally true—*That public trustees, on a proof of negligence or abuse, ought to be superseded*. On the hypothesis therefore of our proving, that the governors of either University have not only neglected or partially abused, but betrayed and systematically frustrated their whole great trust, these doughty champions of the collegial interest must, on their own principle, be, *presto*, metamorphosed into its assailants. Nor is such a proof to seek; it is already on record. To Oxford we limit our consideration, not that an almost equal malversation might not be established against Cambridge, but because we have only, as yet, proved our allegations of illegality and breach of trust, in relation to the former.

The Bishop of Exeter and Sir Robert Inglis, not only assert that no abuse of trust can justly be alleged against the Universities, (meaning of course in reference to Oxford, the Heads of Houses who are by law solely bound and exclusively competent to prevent, and who consequently have alone the power to tole-

rate and perpetuate abuses,) but that no one has ever dared to hazard such an allegation. 'Is it,' (says the former,) 'can it be alleged, that either of the Universities, or that any of the Colleges within them, have violated the duties of their corporate character, or that they have abused the powers intrusted to them for the performance of those duties? My Lords, no man has ventured, nor will any man venture, to say any of these things.' And with equal confidence the latter avers that such abuse 'is not even alleged.' Defiance like this, from such a quarter, was alone wanted to carry to its climax the history of that official treason of which the University of Oxford has been the prey; for not only has the abuse of trust in this venerable school been denounced by us as unparalleled in the annals of any other Christian institution, but our exposure of it has been so complete that those interested in its continuance—those on whom defence was a necessity, moral and religious, have been unable to allege a single word in vindication.*

It is now above three years and a half since we published a principal, and above three years since we subjoined a supplementary, article on the subject.

In these we stated, that though Great Britain, from the constituency of its unreformed Parliament, was by nature the happy paradise of jobs; yet that in that country the lawless usurpation of which the two great national Universities of England had been the victims, (from the magnitude of the public evil, and the singular character of the circumstances under which it was accomplished,) stands preeminent and alone. With more immediate reference to Oxford, we showed that it was at once conspicuous for the extent to which the most important interests of the public had been sacrificed to private ends—for the unholy disregard displayed in its consummation of every moral and religious tie—for the sacred character of the agents through whom the unholy

* In deference to the common sense and common honesty of the collegial interest, we shall not consider two unparalleled pamphlets, published (by one of its Fellows, we presume) under the name of 'A Member of Convocation,' as representing more than the moral eccentricities of an individual. Our exposure is not to be refuted, by regularly quoting, as from us, particular passages we never wrote, and by systematically combating, as our argument, the very converse of every general position we actually maintained.

We are, however, pleased to see that the *Quarterly Review* has been driven to a similar tactic, in attempting to say something in answer to our article on the present subject in its last Number. But we have no room at present to expose its misrepresentations.

treason had been perpetrated—for the systematic perjury it has naturalized in this great seminary of religious education—for the apathy with which the public detriment has been tolerated by the State, the impiety by the Church—and, last not least, for the unacquaintance so universally manifested with so flagrant a corruption.

1. We showed in the first place, *that a great breach of trust had been committed*: that there were two systems of education to be distinguished in the English Universities; a *legal* non-existent *in fact*, and an *actual* non-existent *in law*; and that in Oxford no two systems could be imagined more universally and diametrically opposed—in *ends*—in *conditions*—in *means*.

In the Legal system, the *end*, for the sake of which the University is privileged by the nation, and that consequently imperatively prescribed by the statutes, is to afford public education in the faculties of Theology, Law, Medicine, and Arts, and to certify—by the testimony of a degree—that this education had in one or other of these faculties been effectually received. In the Illegal, degrees are still ostensibly accorded in all the faculties; but they are now empty, or rather delusive, distinctions; for the only education at present requisite for all degrees, is the private tuition afforded by the colleges in the elementary department of the lowest faculty alone. Of ten degrees still granted in Oxford, all are given without the statutory conditions; and nine are, except for the privileges not withdrawn from them, utterly worthless.

In the Legal system, it is, of course, involved as *conditions*, that the candidate for a degree shall have spent a sufficient time in the University, and this in attendance on the public courses of that faculty in which he purposes to graduate. In the Illegal, when the statutory education in the higher faculties, and the higher department of the lowest, was no longer afforded, these relative conditions, were, though indispensable by statute, replaced, in practice, by empty standing.

The Legal system, as its necessary *mean*, employs in every faculty a cooperative body of select professors, publicly teaching in conformity to statutory regulation. The Illegal, (in which the mutilated remnant of professional instruction is little more than a nominal appendage,) abandons the petty fragment of private education it precariously affords, as a perquisite, to the incapacity of an individual, Fellow by chance, and Tutor by usurpation.

England is thus the only Christian country where the Parson, if he reach the University at all, receives only the same minimum of theological tuition as the Squire;—the only civilized country where the degree, which confers on the Jurist a strict monopoly

of practice, is conferred without either instruction or examination ;—the only country in the world where the Physician is turned loose upon society with extraordinary privileges, but without professional education, or even the slightest guarantee for his skill.

2. We showed, in the second place, *by whom* the breach of trust had been committed. The perfidious trustees were the heads of the private corporations or colleges in connexion with the University. The colleges, though endowments limited to the members, are wholly extraneous to the corporation of the University. Their fellows, who often obtain the situation for any other qualification than literary merit, far less their capacity for instruction, are unknown even by name in the academical charters and statutes ; and it is only at a recent date, and for private ends, that, by a royal ordinance, the heads of these private corporations were unconstitutionally elevated into the incapable and faithless rulers of the public corporation, to which *qua* college heads they were, and are, wholly foreign. The Caroline statute, procured by the influence of Laud, bestowed on the heads of houses, 1st, the guardianship of the statutes ; and, 2d, with the duty of watching over the improvement of the University, the initiative of every new law ;—the legislative power remaining always with Convocation, *i. e.* the assembly of all the full graduates in connexion with the University. The academic Legislature, however, declare, that as the Heads and Chancellor are emancipated from the penalties of ordinary transgressors, ‘ so on them there is laid a weightier obligation of con-
science ;’ and ‘ seeing that to their fidelity is intrusted the keep-
ing and guardianship of the statutes, if (may it never happen !)
through their negligence or inactivity, they suffer any statutes
whatever to fall into desuetude, and to be, as it were, silently
abrogated, IN THAT EVENT WE DECREE THEM GUILTY OF VIO-
LATED TRUST AND PERJURY.’

3. In the third place, we exposed the interested *motives* and the paltry *means* which determined, and the *circumstances* which rendered possible, the universal frustration of the constitutive statutes, and consequent suspension of the University ; for a University only exists as a privileged instrument of public education.

4. In the fourth place, we proved *that the collegial heads themselves are fully conscious, that the change from the statutory to the illegal system is at once greatly for their private advantage, and greatly for the disadvantage of the University and nation.* For rather than allow its merits to be canvassed by venturing to ask for the actual system a legal sanction, even from a

friendly house of Convocation, these betrayers of their public trust have gone on from generation to generation voluntarily perjuring themselves, and denying the privileges of the University to all who would not be constrained to follow their flagitious example.

Such was the burden of the accusation. The accused were the collegial interest and its heads—the reverend governors of the University—a class of churchmen who now resist the natural right of the Dissenters to education in the national seminaries, on the plea, that Oxford is, in their hands, less a school of learning than of pious orthodoxy, and who heretofore pugnaciously alive on every trivial disparagement of their literary estimation, were now called forth by honour and by sacred duty to vindicate even their moral and religious respectability. In such circumstances, where silence was tantamount to confession, confession to disgrace, what does such unwonted, such unnatural torpidity proclaim?

‘ — *Pudet hæc opprobria nobis*

Et dici potuisse, et non potuisse refelli.’

This alone can explain or excuse their quiescence. Yet listen to the advocates of these self-confessing culprits. ‘ My Lords, ‘ no man has ventured, nor will any man venture to say, either ‘ that they have omitted to perform the duties for which they ‘ were incorporated, or that they have abused the powers ‘ intrusted to them for the performance of those duties.’ ‘ Nemo, ‘ Hercule, nemo!’

‘ For who dare deem that Lais is unchaste?’

But in thus ignoring (in ignorance we are bound to believe) before the two Houses of Parliament not only the delinquency, but its exposure, the advocates of the collegial interest did not, we must admit, transcend the general unacquaintance of the Legislature with all that appertained to the constitution and history—the rights and interests of the Universities. Not a single voice was raised in either House to signalize the misstatement and to retort the argument. Indeed the most elementary ignorance of academical relations was manifested in the bill, and pervaded the whole course of the subsequent debates. The bill was preposterous, (we use the word in its proper signification,) and confounded what ought to have been not only distinguished, but contrasted. The Dissenters could only claim admission into the Universities as national schools; but as national schools they had been suspended, and an intrusive private tuition allowed to usurp the place of the public education organized and privileged by law. But instead of first simply demanding *what could not possibly have been refused*, the re-

restoration of the Universities to their public and statutory existence, and with which restoration the universal admissibility of the lieges would have followed almost as a corollary ; the Bill and its supporters first recognised the conversion of the national Universities into a complement of private corporations, and then of course were fairly defeated in their summary attempt to deal with these private and sectarian colleges as with cosmopolite and Christian schools. It may, indeed it must, before long become a question how far the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge should remain exclusive foundations. This question is, however, one of complicated difficulties from the confliction, in every form and degree, of public expediency and private rights ;—difficulties which can hardly admit of an equitable solution by any general measure, but would require a special adjustment and compromise in the case of almost every separate corporation. In some colleges the fellowships could, without injustice, be at once thrown open and unconditionally presented as the rewards of academical distinction ; in others this could not be effected perhaps at all, or not without an adequate compensation. But the University and its education are not in the very least dependent on the colleges ; and, in so far as these may be desirous of constituting a part of the general academical system, they are completely under the control of the University and State. The colleges, as strictly limited to the members of their own foundations, are, indeed, governed by their private statutes and emancipated from the visitation of the University ; but as licensed houses of superintendence and tuition for the academical youth in general, they can either by the University and nation be deprived of their license altogether, or this conceded to them under any conditions that the public corporation or state may find it expedient for the general advantage to impose. In so far as colleges have latterly been opened to independent members they are tantamount to Halls, and Halls were always subject to the regulations of the university. In our last article we were wrong in not taking this distinction ; and in admitting that, as the colleges could not be compelled to receive any independent members at all, they could not be prevented from making a selection if they did. But the University has a right to say, the houses we privilege to receive students we authorize every student to enter ; the colleges must therefore admit all willing to conform to their economy, or none. And considering them as incorporations, if their fellowships were thrown open as prizes of literary merit, they would of course contribute powerfully to the prosperity of the University ; but if, as at present, they continued only to crowd the hive with drones, it would still be the fault of the University if they were suffered any longer to operate as a direct impediment to its utility

by usurping, for their fellows, functions they are rarely competent to perform.

But to return to our argument: To implicate questions of so clear and simple a solution as the right of Dissenters to admission into the national Universities, and the proper mode of rendering that right available, with the difficult and ravelled problems touching the various collegiate foundations of Oxford and Cambridge is, to say the least of it, in every point of view highly inexpedient. It is often easy to drive a wedge where it is impossible to pass a needle. The great measure of a restoration of the *University*, in Oxford and Cambridge, to legal existence and unexclusive nationality could not be resisted; while the comparatively petty measure of opening, *brevi manu*, the English *Colleges* to the Dissenters was successfully opposed. A restoration of the University is, in fact, the only mode through which the Dissenters ought to condescend to accept admission—into Oxford at least. They were plainly told by a member of that University, an active supporter of their rights in Parliament, (Mr Vernon Smith,) that a hunted cur, with a kettle at his tail, was but a type of the manner in which a Dissenter would be baited in an Oxford College under the spirit of the present system. Let that system be changed. Let the tutorial instruction be elevated, the professorial reestablished and improved. Let the youth of the University no longer imbibe only the small prejudices of small men. Let them be again presented with a high standard of erudition and ability. Let the public schools once more collect them in numerous classes to hear the words of wisdom and liberality, and to merge in a generous, sustained, and universal emulation, the paltry passions and contemptible distinctions which the isolation of the College coteries now breeds and fosters. Then will a Dissenter be as sure of civility and respect in Oxford, as in Leyden, Göttingen, Edinburgh, or even Cambridge. But in point of fact, if that be worthy the attempt, the surest way of conquering an entrance into the Colleges is to make the University accessible, and not through them. Let the University again be patent to every sect, and the Halls in the course of restoration; and, like a sulky Boniface, with the fear of a rival hostelry before his eyes, every head of every College will, cap in hand, be fain to waylay the Dissenters at its gate, with bows and smiles, and a ‘Walk in, gentlemen!—‘Pray, walk in!’ Decided symptoms, indeed, of this spasmodic complaisance have already been manifested.

It would be a sign of marvellous simplicity to believe, that the opposition of the Collegial interest to the admission of Dissenters is principally, if at all, determined by religious differences and

religious motives. If this admission were for the temporal advantage of the present usurpers of the University, we should hear no hypocritical clamour about their spiritual obligations. Their conscience is merely a stalking-horse, moved by their interest, and to conceal it. We make no allegations which we cannot prove. They protest, with tragic emphasis, against the admission of Dissenters; because, they say, they are bound by their academic oaths and statutes to exclude them. We are soon to show, that these statutes can be modified or rescinded by the state, and consequently the oath relieved. Their clamour is, therefore, idle. But we shall admit their hypothesis, and prove their hypocrisy notwithstanding. Suppose a legislature to impose two obligations; one comparatively strong, one comparatively weak. If, in these circumstances, a man can habitually violate the former, how shall he be designated should he vociferate against the constitutional repeal of the latter as an outrage on his conscience? But this is not so strong as the case under consideration. The academic legislature of Oxford imposes two such obligations. The stronger, that, to observance of its statutes, is established on a solemn *oath*, which is allowed only to be deliberately taken by members after attaining the age of sixteen. The weaker, that, to a belief in the thirty-nine articles, is established only on *subscription*; and so slight is the obligation held to be by the very authority imposing it, that this subscription is lightly required (not merely of young men of sixteen, as marvellously stated by the Bishop of Exeter and all others in Parliament, but) of children entering the University, at the tender age of *twelve*. Now, with what face can the very men who have done two things—in the first place systematically outraged the stronger and more sacred obligation of the academic oath; and, in the second, done all in their power to attenuate to zero the weaker and less sacred obligation of the academic subscription—with what face can they, when it is proposed by the state, to repeal this subscription, gravely call out against that measure as ‘a persecution’—as a compelling them ‘to be parties to the desecration of what they hold to be most sacred, and to the destruction of what they deem to be most valuable in this life, because it is connected with the interests of the life to come?’—(*Bishop of Exeter’s Speech*, pp. 9, 10, 13.)—Have they not done the former? Has the collegial interest not frustrated every fundamental statute of the University—every statute opposed to its own usurpation of every necessary academic function? Have its Heads not themselves ‘desecrated’ and compelled all others ‘to be parties to the desecration of what they hold [or ought to hold] to be most sacred, and to the destruction of what they deem [or ought to

‘deem] most valuable in this life, because it is connected with the ‘interests of the life to come,’—*their solemn oaths?* They have equally done the latter. As we formerly observed,—and that previous to the agitation of the present question of the Dissenters’ claim—the Heads have violated not only their moral and religious obligations to the University and the country, but in a particular manner their duty to the Church of England. By law, Oxford is not now unconditionally an establishment for the benefit of the English nation; it has been for centuries an establishment only for the benefit of those in community with the English Church. But the heads well knew that the man will *subscribe* thirty-nine articles which he cannot believe, who *swears* to do and to have done a hundred articles which he cannot, or does not, perform. In this respect, private usurpation was for once more (perversely) liberal than public law. Under the illegal system, Oxford has virtually ceased to be the seminary of a particular sect; its governors impartially excluding all religionists or none. Nor is this all. The natural tendency of the academical ordeal was to sear the conscience of the patient to every pious scruple; and the example of ‘the accursed thing’ committed and enforced by ‘the priests in the high places,’ extended its pernicious influence from the Universities, throughout the land. England became the country in Europe proverbial for a disregard of oaths; and the English Church, in particular, was abandoned, as a peculiar prey, to the cupidity of men allured by its endowments, and educated to a contempt of all religious tests.

We are thus convinced that the collegial interest in Oxford have scruples, few and lightly overcome, to the admission of Dissenters, viewed as a measure *per se*. The consequences of that measure alone affright them. In the first place, the Heads could not expect to find in the religionists of other sects, patients equally submissive in swallowing their catholicon of false swearing as members of the church in which they themselves stand high in station and authority; and any controversy on this point would inevitably determine a public enquiry into their stewardship, which they are fully conscious it could not endure. Farewell then to the suspension of the University, and the usurpation of tuition by the college fellows. In the second place, an increased resort to the University would necessarily occasion an increase in the number of privileged houses; and consequently either divide the unconstitutional authority of the heads, or (what is more probable) accelerate its end. The collegial interest, from sordid motives, is thus naturally opposed to the admission of the Dissenters; but if that admission cannot be avoided, the same sordid motives will influence their

conduct under that alternative. Be sure, there will be no strike, for conscience sake, of the fellow-tutors, and the college Heads, as threatened by the Bishop of Exeter and Sir Robert Inglis. The interlopers will be found to stick to their job and wages till turned out to make room for the regular workmen they have illegally expelled. In fact, the Heads have already left their two champions in the lurch. We showed in our last Number how admission into an English University did not constitutionally depend on admission into a college; and thus obviated all rational objection to the Dissenters' claim. But as the restoration of the University and Halls was of more immediate danger to their interest than the admission of Dissenters to the Colleges (the latter being mainly opposed only as a mean towards the former); and as the possibility of absolute exclusion, under circumstances, could no longer be expected; the Heads, throwing to the winds every dread vaticination of their parliamentary organs, prudently determined to choose of two evils the least, and had actually agreed to propose in Convocation a repeal of the academic test. But lest it might ever possibly be imagined that this change of measures was determined by any new light thrown upon their duty, it curiously happened that hardly had the project of repeal been by them resolved on, than the reforming Whigs were dismissed, and the Tory conservatives recalled to power. Forthwith their resolution was rescinded!

But to return:—Will Dr Philpotts and Sir Robert Inglis *conscientiously* deny that a public trust was confided to the Oxford Heads, and that this trust has been by them betrayed? If they cannot, they must either desert their principles, or join with us in calling for a deprivation of these unfaithful stewards.

II. The reasoning from the second place is to the following purport:—All members of the English Universities are bound by the most solemn oaths to maintain and observe the academical statutes;—These statutes prohibit the admission of Dissenters;—Therefore, in the first place, the passing of the Dissenters' Bill in Parliament, by causing a confiction between the law of the state and the law of the University, would constrain the administrators and teachers of Oxford and Cambridge, either to violate their spiritual obligations, or to sacrifice their temporal interests; while, in the second, members of either House of Parliament who are, or have been, members of either University, would, by supporting or not opposing the claim of the Dissenters, incur the guilt of perjury.

This reasoning, though allowed to pass in Parliament, has every vice of which reasoning is capable. It is, in the first place, harmless to those against whom it is directed; and, in the

second, fatal, not only to the special case in question, but to the general cause of those by whom it is employed. We shall consider it in this twofold relation :—1. As an argument against the Dissenters. 2. As an argument on the part of the Collegial interest.

1. The validity of this argument supposes the truth of one or other of two assumptions, both of which are utterly, and even notoriously, false. It supposes either that the sovereign legislature has not the right of making and unmaking the statutes of the national schools, or that a competent authority having once imposed an oath to the observance of certain laws, the same authority cannot afterwards relieve from that obligation, when it abrogates the very laws to which that oath is relative. Of these assumptions the latter is sufficiently refuted by the very terms of its statement, and the former requires only a removal of the grossest ignorance to make its absurdity equally palpable.

It will not be contended that the King, Lords, and Commons, cannot do that to which the King singly is competent. If, therefore, it can be shown that the Crown, alone, has the right either of sole or of paramount legislation in the English Universities, it will not be maintained that this right is null, when exercised by the Crown, plus the two Houses of Parliament. Again; it will not be pretended that Universities have in themselves any native right of legislation, or that they can exercise such right otherwise than as a power delegated to them for public purposes by the supreme authority in the state. But if the supreme authority can delegate it can consequently perform a function; and, therefore, all academical legislation, however absolutely devolved, is of its very nature subordinate to, and controllable by, the authority on which it is dependent for existence. But, in regard to the English Universities, the case is far weaker; there has, in fact, to them been either no delegation at all, or this delegation has been only partial and precarious.

In regard to Cambridge—and to the oaths taken in that University in observance of its statutes, Sir Robert Inglis confines himself—there can be no doubt or difficulty whatever. The Crown has there never delegated, except in mere matters of detail, the power of legislation to any academical body. The whole organic laws of that University flow immediately from the King; and the King may at any moment withdraw all or any of the statutes, and relieve from all or any of the oaths, which it has pleased him to impose. The Royal Statutes minutely determine the academic constitution, the organization of teachers, the mode and the conditions of instruction and exercise; while there is only permitted to the Chancellor and a majority of the Heads of

Houses the interpretation of what in these statutes may be found doubtful or ambiguous (*Stat. Eliz.* cap. 50); and to the Chancellor and *whole* University the privilege of ratifying new laws conducive to the welfare of the institution, but this only in so far as these *Graces* do not derogate from, or prejudice, the statutes established by the Crown (*Stat. Eliz.* cap. 42). Not that the actual state of that University is legal, or the oaths taken by all for observance of the statutes are not there, as in Oxford, broken by all, for the private advantage of the academical rulers. But, speaking of Cambridge, as existing not in *reality* but in *law*; in that seminary, the Crown has only to remove the impediment which it originally placed to the admission of Dissenters; and the University will be at once restored to its natural state of a national, a European school. It may, however, be noticed, as characteristic of the opposition now made to the Dissenters, that the very men who, in Cambridge, coolly take and deliberately *violate* every solemn oath to the observance of the *established* statutes, when contrary to their petty interests, do, when these petty interests persuade, vociferate before God and man, that they are to be robbed either of their salvation or subsistence; because, forsooth, perjury would be imposed on them by the non-enforcement of a non-existent law! Strange, that the throats which thus pleasantly can bolt a camel, should be so painfully constricted at the prospective phantom of a gnat!

In Oxford, although the Crown has permitted to Convocation a greater measure of legislative power than in Cambridge to the Senate; it has done this only in conjunction with, and in subordination, to itself. The King has here always continued to exert the power of original legislation; and that of controlling the acts of the academical body to which it has pleased him to depute the partial and subordinate exercise of this power. The deplorable ordinance by which the ancient and natural constitution of the University was subverted, and its efficiency thereafter gradually annihilated—(we mean the Caroline statute, which conferred on the Heads of Houses the guardianship of the old and the initiative of new laws—*i. e.*, abandoned the welfare of the national school to the perfidy of a private body incompetent to its maintenance, and directly interested in its ruin)—is an example of a royal statute, which, we trust, will, before long, by another royal statute, be repealed. The history of the University does not afford a single instance of the subordinate legislature (the House of Convocation) venturing to reject a statute prescribed by the paramount lawgiver (the King); while all enactments of any general importance, as, for example, the ratification of the code of statutes, were not only rendered valid by the royal confirma-

tion, but these, though formally originating in the University, were usually, in fact, enjoined to the academical legislature by the Sovereign. But not only does the academical legislature of Oxford enjoy no rights available against the state ; in point of fact, the body to which alone the legislative power was originally intrusted, does not now exist ; the delegation is consequently at an end. The country, the King, and the University confided the right of subordinate legislation in the national school of Oxford to a body of men notoriously qualified to this important function by a certain known and statutory course of public instruction, exercise, and examination. That necessary, that privileged course of education is no longer given ; with the qualifying condition, the qualified body is virtually at an end ; and, with the actual suspension of the University education, the right of University legislation ought likewise to be suspended. The pretended rights of that perjured interest which now usurps the place of the University, and of the instruments through whom it ostensibly carries on the acts of what in law and reason, no longer exists, are treated with too much deference, when treated with derision.

Thus to the Crown alone, *ex abundantia*, to the Crown and the two Houses of Parliament in conjunction, does the supreme right belong of repealing, as of ratifying, the statutes of either University. What then becomes of the argument, that the repeal of the academic tests by King, Lords, and Commons, as it could not alter the academic statutes to which the members of the two Universities are sworn, would consequently reduce the academical authorities to the alternative of perjury or resignation ?

2. But as the principle, (which no moral intelligence can dispute,) that the state should by no act occasion, countenance, or permit the crime of perjury among its subjects, is found wholly irrelevant, as applied by the advocates of the interloping interest in the Universities against the Dissenters ; let us try how the same principle will work, when retorted against the very party in whose hands it has proved so ineffectual a weapon.

In the first place, it will be admitted, that it is the common duty of every member of the national legislature to do all that in him lies to obviate the causes, and to quell the perpetration of so grievous a sin in any class or department of the community ; and that the obligation of this duty rises, in proportion as the atrocity of the crime, and its contagious virulence are enhanced by the social rank and sacred character of the perjurers. But when a violation,—the most aggravated of the religious bond itself—is committed in the act of sacrificing the greatest of all public trusts on the altar of a private interest, the sufferance of

the perjury and malversation by the national legislature for one unnecessary moment after its exposure, becomes a reproach to every representative of the country who hesitates to raise his voice against the abomination.

Of all nations in the world, past or present, Pagan or Christian, the English is the one infamous for a contempt of religious obligations; and if on any national wickedness the wrath of God is to be visited, we may soon have cause to lament with Jeremiah, that 'because of swearing the land mourneth.' Confining ourselves to episcopal authorities—Bishop Sanderson (in his *Prelections on the Obligations of an Oath*, delivered in the University of Oxford nearly two centuries ago) warns his countrymen, that 'as the harvest of universal perjury is already white 'and ready for the sickle, so perfidious and profane a people 'ought to dread an utter extirpation at the hands of the divine 'justice;' and mainly attributes the grievous calamities of his generation to the endemic crimes of useless swearing and hypocritical perjury. Bishop Berkeley, in his *Essay towards preventing the Ruin of Great Britain*, near a century thereafter, enumerates, among the principal causes of our decline, false swearing—'a national guilt which we possess in a very eminent degree; 'there being no nation under the sun, where solemn perjury is so 'common;—in so much that men now-a-days break their fast 'and a customhouse oath with the same peace of mind.' He then calls on the legislature to adopt means towards its prevention; 'for whatever measures are taken, so long as we lie 'under such a load of guilt as national perjury and national 'bribery, it is impossible we can prosper.'

But if the perjury of England stand preeminent in the world, the perjury of the English Universities, and of Oxford in particular, stands preeminent in England.

In Oxford, not only is the nation defrauded of nearly all the benefits, for the sake of which this the most important of all national corporations was specially organized and exclusively privileged; but the moral and religious wellbeing of the people sustains an injury, for which the sorry instruction still attempted in the place affords but a slender compensation. The exclusive privileges which Oxford and Cambridge still retain, render them the necessary or the favoured portals through which, in England, the church and the professions must be entered; and thus the English Universities continue by these privileges to be thronged, when the conditions on which they were conceded are no longer fulfilled. Compared with Oxford as it is, there is not a University in Europe, where the circle of academical instruction attempted is so small; and where the little taught is (in general) taught by

so inadequate a teacher. But if the youth of England can, in Oxford, learn less of speculative knowledge than in any other Christian university, they have, however, here a school of practical morality and religion, such as no Christian university out of England is competent to supply. Oxford is now a national school of perjury. The intrant is made to swear that he will do what he subsequently finds he is not allowed to perform. The candidate for a degree swears that he has done what he has been unable to attempt; and perjures himself by accepting from a perjured Congregation an illegal dispensation of performances indispensable by law. The professor swears to lecture as the statutes prescribe, and he does not. The reverend Heads of Houses, the academical executive, swear to see that the laws remain inviolate, and the laws are violated under their sanction; they swear to be vigilant for the improvement of the University, and in their hands the University is extinguished; they swear to prevent all false oaths, and for their own ends they deliberately incur the guilt of perjury themselves, and anxiously perpetuate the universal perjury of all under their control. The academic youth have thus the benefit of early practice and of high example. They here behold at what account religious obligations are held by the very guardians of the sanctuary; and how lightly their spiritual guides sacrifice to temporal advantage their own eternal interests, and those of all confided to their care. Is it marvellous that England is a by-word among the nations, when the fountains of English morality and religion are thus poisoned at their source? How long is this to be endured?

But, in the second place, it is not only the common duty of every national representative to see that no perjury be tolerated in any quarter, and least of all, in the very well-springs of public religion and morality, the privileged national schools; it is, in a still higher degree, the especial duty of those members of the Legislature, who are also members of either University, to take care that every thing be done by Parliament towards upholding the statutes of these establishments, which they themselves have solemnly sworn to observe. On this ground, Sir Robert Inglis called, in the most emphatic language, on those members of the House of Commons who had taken the academic oaths, to oppose, on the alternative of perjury, the passing of the Dissenters' Bill; and this on the hypothesis, that by no act of the national Legislature could a University statute be repealed, and those relieved of their obligation who had sworn to its observance. We have already shown, that such an hypothesis is null; and shall not attribute to Sir Robert the absurdity of holding, that an oath to obey a code of laws precludes the

swearer from ever cooperating towards its improvement, by the modification or repeal of inexpedient enactments. But if ineffectual against others, is Sir Robert's argument inconclusive against himself? He certainly challenges the retort. 'I know,' he says, 'how unpopular the practice is in this House of ever referring to the oaths which every honourable member has taken, but I will not shrink from that duty;' and after adjuring them by their religious obligations, he assures his opponents 'that I do not quote these oaths in any other spirit than that in which I would wish them to address me, if they believed that on any occasion I was incurring the risk of violating any such engagement.' We shall put him to the test.

Sir Robert has solemnly made oath in Oxford, once at matriculation, and thrice at least at the various steps of graduation, '*ad observandum omnia statuta, privilegia, consuetudines et libertates hujus Universitatis*;' and this oath he himself explains as obligating, not merely to a passive compliance with the statutory enactments, but to an active maintenance of their authority. 'It binds,' he says, 'the party to maintain, not only the honour and dignity of the University, but even the statutes and ordinances.'

Now, Sir Robert is far more than a man of sense and honour; yet as a mere man of sense and honour, and referring him for proof to our two articles on the English Universities,* we know and assert that he cannot, and will not deny, 1. That Oxford *de facto*, and Oxford *de jure*, are fundamentally different—nay, diametrically opposite. 2. That all members of the University are sworn to the observance of the statutes thus violated and reversed. 3. That those proceeding to a degree without fulfilling all indispensable conditions, are declared perjured by statute, and no graduate now fulfils even the most important of these. 4. That the heads of houses are appointed to watch over the faithful observance of the statutes, and 'decreed guilty of violated trust and perjury, if by their negligence or sloth any statute whatever be allowed to fall into desuetude,' and through them every fundamental statute is suspended. 5. That the heads of houses possess the initiative of every legislative enactment, and have yet neither brought, nor allowed to be brought, into convocation, any measure tending to put an end to this state of illegality and universal perjury. These facts (of which we have fully explained the how and why) Sir Robert Inglis will not, we are assured, *as an honourable, not to say religious, man*, deny; for dis-

* In Nos. CVI. and CVIII.

prove them we know he cannot. We call on him, therefore, to fulfil his professions—‘to uphold the Universities, and maintain ‘their statutes, as bound in the strongest manner by solemn ‘oaths.’ ‘We ask’ (his own words) ‘the honourable member ‘to consider the nature of the oath which he so solemnly took. ‘If there be faith in man—if there be any use in religious ‘instruction,’ any confidence in religious profession, we conjure the representative of Oxford University to lend the valuable aid of his character and talents in restoring that venerable seminary to a state of law and usefulness—to raise it at least from religious opprobrium to religious respectability.

In like manner, and on the same hypothesis—if the Bishop of Exeter would not prove a traitor to his sacred character—if he would ‘keep inviolate his academic oath,’ and not ‘become a ‘party to the desecration of what he holds to be most sacred, ‘and to the destruction of what he deems to be most valuable in ‘this life, because it is connected with the interests of the life to ‘come,’ he will actively cooperate to the same hallowed end.

But there is another and a more important ally who is bound by the most transcendent duty to lend his aid to the cause—we mean the Chancellor of the University of Oxford, the Duke of Wellington. On his installation in that distinguished office, he made public and solemn oath to ‘*defend and to keep entire (tueri et ‘conservare) all and each of the statutes, liberties, customs, rights, ‘and privileges of that University without partiality, well, and ‘faithfully, to the best of his ability, and in so far as they should ‘be brought to his knowledge.*’ The Chancellor is the supreme magistrate of the public corporation of the *University*; not of the private corporations of the colleges. His oath binds him to maintain the legal integrity of the University, and University alone; he is clothed with power to prevent the breach or frustration of any of its statutes; which, if he knowingly permit, he is proclaimed by academic law ‘a perjured violator of his trust,’ and the pedestal of his dignity is converted into the pillory of his shame. But we have better hopes of the Duke of Wellington. He is not the man to compromise the interests of his glory to the paltry ends of any; nor will he allow himself, we are assured, to be played as their puppet—their *ame damnée*—by such a body as the Oxford Heads. His speeches on the Dissenters’ Admission Bill show him to have been grossly misled in regard to the nature of the academic oath; but his error was then excusable. It is, however, his duty not to remain obstinate in ignorance. This excuse may have been competent to former Chancellors; it is not to the present; and let him study the subject for himself, or let him obtain the opinion of any respectable lawyer, and, sure we are,

the present Chancellor of the University of Oxford will not be on the list of its perjured betrayers.

But, we have heard it said, that, admitting the truth of our allegations, it is for the interest of religion to cloak the offences of its ministers, and the terms, 'perjured violators of their trust,' &c., though appropriate to the offence, and not unsuitable to ordinary offenders, are, at the best, harsh and unseemly when applied to a class of dignified divines. To this, we answer:—

In the first place, these, the severest epithets we use, are those of the statutes themselves, which confer on the heads of houses a public authority to abuse; and are by them prospectively affixed to the very lowest degree of that abuse, of which we have been obliged to characterise the very highest. The statutes apply them to the only breach of trust which the legislature contemplated as possible, the less careful enforcement of some unessential enactment; we, to the deliberate and interested frustration of every fundamental law. In fact, if the thing is to be said at all, unless

'Oaths are but words, and words but wind,'

it can be said in no other, in no milder terms.

In the second place, it is blasphemous to hold that religion is to be promoted by veiling the vices of its ministers; and foolish not to see that these vices are directly fostered by concealment and toleration.

In the third place, so far is the sacred profession of the offenders from claiming for them a more lenient handling of their offence, it imperiously calls down upon their heads only a severer castigation. The holier the character of the criminal, the more heinous the aggravation of the crime. The lesion of moral and religious principle in the delinquent himself, and the baneful influence of his example on society, are in the present instance carried to their climax by the very circumstance that the 'perjured violators of their trust' had clothed themselves with the character of religious teachers; and in virtue of that character alone were enabled to manifest to the world a detestable proof of how diametrically opposite might be the practice and the precept of a priesthood. It is not that one man forswears himself in a smock frock, another in a cassock and lawn sleeves—it is not that an illiterate layman commits in ignorance a single act, and a graduated churchman perpetrates half a lifetime of perjury, with full consciousness of the transgression and its atrocity—it is not that the former gains a dinner and contempt, by cheating government of a few pounds, the latter wealth and consideration by violating his public trust, and defrauding the church, the professions, the country, of their education—it is not that the

one offender may grace the pillory, the other the pulpit and the House of Peers;—these are not surely circumstances that can reverse the real magnitude of the two crimes, either in the estimation of God, or in the eyes of reasonable men. Why, then, repress the moral indignation that such delinquency arouses? Why stifle the expression in which that indignation clothes itself? But though there be no call for such restraint we have imposed it. We have spoken plainly, as in duty bound, but without exaggeration as without reserve.

‘ Dicenda pictis res phaleris sine,
Et absque palpo. Discite strenuum
Audire Verum. Me sciente
Fabula non peragetur ulla.

‘ Non est meum descendere ad oscula
Impura Famæ et fingere bractæas;
Larvisque luctari superbis,
Aut nimias acuisse laudeis.’

Nor do we hazard our imputations, if unfounded, with impunity. We do not venture an attack, either agreeable in itself, or where defeat would be only fatal to the defender. We deeply feel that the accusations of a betrayal of trust, self-seeking, and perjury, to whomsoever applied, are of the most odious complexion; and that the accuser, if he fail in establishing his proof, receives, and ought to receive, from public indignation, an almost equal measure of disgrace with that reserved for the accused, if unable to repel the charge. But when this charge is preferred against a body of men, the presumption of whose integrity is founded on their sacred character as clergymen, on their hallowed obligations as the guides, patterns, instructors of youth, and on their elevated station as administrators of the once most venerable school of religion, literature and science in the world; what must be our conviction of its importance, of its truth and evidence, when we have not been deterred from the painful duty of such an accusation, by the dread of so tremendous a recoil!

And in reference to the actual Heads, it is now nearly four years since we first exposed the fact and the illegality of the present suspension of the University, with the treason and perjury through which that suspension was effected, and is maintained. In our exposition we were, however, anxious to spare, as far as possible, the living guardians of the University and its laws, and to attribute rather to an extreme, an incredible, ignorance of their duty, what would otherwise resolve into a conscious outrage of the most sacred obligations. But since that period

the benefit of this excuse has been withdrawn. The Heads cannot invalidate the truth of our statements or the necessity of our inferences ; they have, therefore, in continuing knowingly, and without necessity, to hold on their former lawless course, overtly renounced the plea of *ignorance* and *bona fides*, and thus authorized every executioner of public justice to stamp the mark, wherewith the laws, by which they are constituted and under which they act, decree them to be branded.

ART. X.—*Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons, on Steam Navigation to India ; with the Minutes of Evidence, Appendix, and Index.* 1834.

THREE routes have been proposed for communicating with India by means of steam-packets : the first, by the cape of Good Hope ; the second, by the Mediterranean, Egypt, and the Red Sea ; the third, by the Mediterranean, Syria, the river Euphrates, and the Persian Gulf.

These three routes have each their advantages and disadvantages, physical, political, and commercial. To examine these was the main purpose of the enquiry before us ; and to the extent of this purpose, the information obtained is as complete and comprehensive, as, in the present state of experience, it well can be. There is a fourth branch of the enquiry—the mechanical—the means, in respect of vessels and engines, by which the object in view is to be accomplished. On this branch, we wish that the enquiry had been carried further ; that is to say, (for the enquiry is, as far as the questions go, sufficiently comprehensive,) that a greater number of practical witnesses had been examined, to some points on which there is a remarkable diversity of opinion. There is, finally, a fifth branch,—the financial—what the establishment is to cost, and who is to pay for it ; on which there is also a great diversity of opinion, ranging between an immense dead charge on the one hand, and a most captivating profit on the other.

The route by the cape of Good Hope has been the subject of one experiment,—the voyage of the *Enterprise* in 1825.

The course of the *Enterprise* was within sight of cape Finisterre, between the Canary islands, inside the Cape de Verde islands, and about a hundred miles from the Cape Verde ; eastward, to the island of St Thomas, in the bight of Benin ; directly southward, to latitude seventeen degrees thirty minutes south, longitude, seven degrees, forty-five minutes east ; thence to the cape

of Good Hope; thence to the eastward of Madagascar; then northward, to near the Seychelles; eastward, to the north of Pona Moluba; then to the Andaman islands and Diamond harbour.

The time of the voyage was, in all, 113 days;* the average voyage of a sailing vessel is 120 to 130 days to Calcutta.

The *Betsey* from Bourdeaux, which sailed at the same time, accomplished the voyage in three days less than the *Enterprise*; and other sailing vessels have, on other occasions, done it in much less time. The East India Company's ship, *Marquis of Wellington*, Captain Alfred Chapman, to Calcutta, passed the Lizard Point on the 10th of June, and saw Point Palmyras on the 30th of August, 1829, being eighty-one days from point to point.

This was in a more favourable season than that in which the voyage was made by the *Enterprise*, and is the most expeditious voyage on record. But we are inclined to think that a sailing vessel, running with the trade winds and the monsoons, must always outrun a steam-vessel in the entire passage; the unavoidable relays and the possible accidents of the latter being considered.

The *Enterprise* had no relay of coals but at the cape. Captain Johnston, her commander, thought the voyage might be accomplished by steam on an average of eighty-days, with numerous depôts of coals in different directions, so that they should be available in all circumstances of wind; that if a steam-vessel could not conveniently approach one, she might bear up for another.

The most sanguine advocates for this line of steam-navigation, do not anticipate the probability of accomplishing the object in less than seventy days; but, be the time what it may, still it seems highly probable that half the distance can be done in half the time.

* 'The *Enterprise* left the land on the 16th of August, 1825, reached Calcutta on the 7th December, 1825, that was 113 days (of which she was 103 actually under weigh) from the land to Diamond harbour: she used both sail and steam. The greatest run by sail in twenty-four hours, was 211 miles; the least, 39: the greatest by steam, assisted by sail, 225 miles; the least, 80: the greatest heat in the engine room during the voyage, was 105 degrees; the air, at the same time, being 84 degrees and a half: the total distance was 13,700 miles; and the consumption 580 chaldrons of coals, being nine chaldrons per day for sixty-four days, the rest being under sail: the engines were 120 horse power; the speed of the engines, in calm weather, was eight knots an hour, the log giving nine from the wash of the paddles.'—*Minutes of Evidence*, page 1.

The most direct run which a steamer could possibly make to Bombay, would be 10,700 miles : the actual run of a sailing vessel is seldom less than 14,000, and is sometimes very nearly 17,000 miles. But some deviations there must be ; and, if we reduce the distance for a steamer to 12,000 miles, we presume it will be as much as we can reasonably do in the present state of our experience.

A nearly direct course from England to the cape of Good Hope is through the Canary Islands, and by the islands of Ascension and St Helena ; but St Helena lies in the direct line of the south-east trade wind, and is therefore only taken by homeward bound vessels. Outward bound vessels usually stand away towards South America, and cross the line between twenty and twenty-four degrees west longitude ; but the best course for a steamer would be under the coast of Africa, where she would have the advantage of calms, and land and sea breezes. There are, however, many experienced men, who think that the south-east trade wind would not present a formidable obstacle to a powerful steamer, and would take the direct line, by St Helena, for the outward voyage.

Against the monsoons, (the S. W. at any rate,) we think it impossible that steam-vessels could make the Cape passage at all. If they could stem them, which we doubt, the wear and tear, and the intervals between the relays would be too great. It has been proposed to have sailing vessels fitted with small steam-engines, for the purpose, especially, of working across the calms and variable winds of the Line. There are many objections to this mode of fitting small engines in large vessels. They would occupy some and disarrange much more of valuable space. They would be altogether inefficient, excepting in calms. The slightest press of air, on a ship with all sails spread, at once outstrips the speed of such engines, and a very slight adverse breeze renders them powerless. The same object would be much better attained, by having a few steam tug vessels of great power stationed between the tropics to tow ships across the calms.

With respect to the expense of this route, it must obviously require great power and ample tonnage. The greater portion of the tonnage must be occupied by the machinery and fuel. Add to these the provisions, water, and stores for the crew, and little will be left for passengers, nothing for cargo. We have here at once the elements of a great charge, and a small return. The route of the Cape is clearly the route for sailing vessels with large cargoes of merchandise, but for letters and passengers, which can be conveyed over 200 or 300 miles of land, without any difficulty, or without any inconvenience but the change of conveyance, or

rather with the agreeable diversity, in a sea voyage, of a land excursion, through beautiful and interesting scenes, there seems no earthly reason why steam-packets, which, on the average of the year, would run about equal sea distances within the day in either case, should be employed to carry them 12,000 instead of 6,000 miles, unless there be in the shorter distance serious physical, political, or financial impediments, which more than counterbalance the economy of space and time.

It is unnecessary to say much more on the subject of the Cape passage. Physically, as well as commercially, we think all the advantages of that route are in favour of sailing vessels; politically there are no obstacles to encounter; the ocean is our own highway, and we have no one's leave to ask, and no one to conciliate in the route. We may deposit our coals at the Cape de Verde islands, at St Thomas's, at the Cape, and at Johanna, or the Mauritius, with little fear of annoyance of any kind. But there is the undiminished distance, or only in so far diminished as steamers would not beat to windward, or go out of their way to avoid the calms of the line; and as we cannot in steam-vessels carry cargoes round the Cape, as we can carry nothing but letters and passengers, it seems so infinitely probable, that if we have only half the distance to run, we may do it in half the time, that we may reasonably postpone the further consideration of the Cape passage till we have satisfied ourselves in respect of the other two routes, by each of which the distance from London to India and back again, is less than the distance by the Cape from London to India alone.

We shall now turn to the line of the Mediterranean and the Red Sea.

A Government steam-packet leaves Falmouth for Malta on the third or fourth day of every month, and makes an average passage of eighteen days, the distance being 2200 miles. The Admiralty will, early in the present year, despatch a monthly branch-packet from Malta to Alexandria, 860 miles, which will make the passage in a week; therefore a month will reach Egypt; but three weeks, or even less, might do it, with more powerful vessels than the Mediterranean packets. The distance would be diminished by crossing France to Marseilles, but without a steam-packet from Marseilles to Alexandria, there would be no saving in time; a journey through France, or through France and Italy, is open to the traveller towards India by the route of the Red Sea. Three days will cross the Isthmus, three weeks more, with proper vessels and proper arrangements, will be sufficient for the 3000 miles of sea from Suez to Bombay, during that portion of the year in which the navigation of the Red Sea is practicable.

Letters having reached Alexandria, will of course proceed with all possible speed to Suez. Passengers who are in haste must keep pace with them; but those who have leisure may await the next packet, and pass the interval on the Nile and in Upper Egypt. It may be presumed, that few travellers, who could spare time, would pass through Egypt without visiting Thebes.

This route has been the subject of five experiments by the *Hugh Lindsay* steam-vessel, all in the most favourable season, about the middle of the north-east monsoon. There has been no experiment made in the south-west monsoon. The general tenor of the evidence seems to bear out the opinion of Captain Wilson, the commander of the *Hugh Lindsay*, that it would be impossible during that monsoon, at least during July, August, and September; that is to say, that it is not absolutely physically impossible for a very powerful steam-vessel to do it, but that the time occupied, and the wear and tear would be so great, as to amount to a moral impossibility.

There is no physical difficulty for steam-vessels on this route during one-half of the year, and none in the line from England to India during the whole year round; but from India to England, the Red Sea voyage appears, as has been said, to be all but impossible, during the prevalence of the south-west monsoon.

The Red Sea lies between the 12th and 30th degrees of north latitude. It is a long and comparatively narrow sea, being 1200 miles in length, and not much more than 200 in its greatest breadth, generally much less. Its main line is from N. N. W. to S. S. E., and its mid channel is so even and clear, that notwithstanding its length and narrowness, a straight line between its extreme points, Suez and Babel-Mandel, does not touch the land on either side, and scarcely even an island, rock, or shoal of any kind.

From Babel-Mandel to Bombay, the course through the gulf of Aden and the Arabian Sea is east by north, forming nearly a right angle with the course down the Red Sea. Along this line, between Babel-Mandel and Bombay, the north-east and south-west monsoons blow, not in the exact direction their names imply, but nearly east and west.

The mid channel of the Red Sea is clear, but its sides abound with coral reefs. For sailing vessels, it is one of the most dangerous navigations in the world; but steam-vessels can keep the mid channel, and make the passage with little danger. During the height of the south-west monsoon in the Indian ocean, a strong north-west wind blows through almost the whole extent of the Red Sea. The wind changes its line with the change of line of the coasts, and is a fair wind all the way to India, and a foul

wind all the way from it. At this time, and at no other in the year, the Arab vessels leave the Red Sea ports for India. In the height of the north-east monsoon, there is a strong southerly wind in the entrance of the Red Sea, and southerly breezes prevail more or less in the whole line from Babel-Mandel to Suez. The Arab vessels return to the Red Sea in the north-east monsoon only, and those bound to its higher ports, at this particular period of it. They are timid and cautious navigators, creeping along between the coral reefs and the shore, and anchoring under the first headland on the suspicion of a gale.

Before steam-navigation was thought of, the state of the Red Sea navigation was well described by Sir Harford Jones :—‘ There are six months in the year that you cannot get into the Red Sea, and six that you cannot get out of it.’ There were exceptions, however ; now and then a sailing vessel did go in or out in the adverse season ; the sea was not absolutely hermetically sealed ; but Sir Harford correctly described its general character.

The Roman commerce with India on this line was regulated by a very accurate observation of the seasons. Pliny’s description of it is compendious and clear, and shows that the Roman vessels took the same course with the Arab vessels of the present day ; and that ‘ quingenties sestertium,’ about L.400,000 Sterling was annually transmitted to India, for which merchandise was returned producing a hundred-fold.*

The principal Red Sea ports accessible from Egypt are Suez and Cosseir. The first is in the upper extremity of the sea, and is seventy miles from Cairo. The second is between 200 and 300 miles lower down, and is 120 miles from Gennah on the Nile.

The port of Berenice, which is about 500 miles south of Suez, and between 200 and 300 miles south of Cosseir, was chiefly used by the Romans as avoiding the great difficulties of the upper navigation ; and it is worth while to consider whether this port might not be reestablished for the same reasons.

The almost constant north-west winds that blow down the sea of Suez must always be an obstacle to any extensive commerce in that part of the Red Sea, even if other circumstances were favourable to it. From this very cause the ancient canal which connected the Red Sea with the Pelusiatic branch of the Nile, could not have been very serviceable for commerce. The Romans chose the most natural positions for commerce with India, when they chose the ascent of the Nile and the transit to Berenice in preference to the nearer and more obvious route to Arsinoë (Suez.)

* Hist. Nat. t. vi. c. 20.

The steady north-west wind enabled them to sail against the stream of the Nile, and they rowed down with the current against the wind, whilst they would have vainly endeavoured to surmount the parallel distance on the Red Sea. They had a long desert route, about 280 miles, a journey of twelve nights; but in this they seem to have found little inconvenience. They had a port much better than any in the upper part of the sea; and, above all, they found the advantage of not having to return against the steady adverse winds of the sea above Berenice.

From Alexandria we proceed to Cairo, and from Cairo to Suez or Cosseir. There are several routes from Alexandria to Cairo;—by land, by the mouth of the Nile and the open sea, and by the canal of Alexandria.

The land route from Alexandria to Cairo is generally by Damanour, Rhamahneah, and along the river to Cairo; but that which the Indian army returned by, across the country from Damanour to Terreah, is considerably shorter, and fully as practicable: the distance is 140 miles (measured.)

The route from Cairo by the Nile to Rosetta, and by the open sea to Alexandria, is that which has been taken by the majority of travellers in Egypt. There is great delay in this route, unless every thing is pre-arranged. Boats are not always procurable at a moment's notice. The river and the sea require different vessels, and the bar of Rosetta can be passed with safety only in moderate weather, and with men well accustomed to the passage. The length of the route can scarcely be less than 250 miles. Many travellers have been a long time in performing this double voyage, by detention at Cairo and Rosetta, especially the latter, for want of vessels. Four days from Cairo to Rosetta, and one day of twelve hours from Rosetta to Alexandria, is about the time usually employed in the passage. Steam would, of course, greatly abridge it.

The canal of Alexandria, which has been cleared out by the present ruler of Egypt, branches off from the Nile at some distance below Cairo; but it is only navigable during about three months of the high water of the Nile.

From Cairo to Suez are seventy miles of desert, usually traversed on camels; but there are other modes of conveyance to be obtained, namely, dromedaries, donkeys, and more rarely horses; and there will be still other modes if ever Mehemet Ali, or his successor, should complete a railroad, which has been projected on this line. We do not indeed anticipate that it will ever be done; Mehemet Ali is too good a calculator to make it without a tolerable foreknowledge of how it will pay. If there be a great commerce between India and the Mediterranean; if Mehemet

Ali's railroad bring that commerce through Egypt ; if sailing vessels can carry large cargoes up the sea of Suez, which the north-west wind blows directly down nearly eleven months of the year ; if, being there, they will have cargoes to carry back ; if the proprietors of these cargoes will be willing to pay Mehemet Ali a remunerating toll for his railroad ; and if Mehemet Ali can very clearly foresee that all these *ifs* will become realities, then Mehemet Ali will make his railroad : but if he can foresee no better result from it than that of carrying coals for the India steam-vessels, which is the principal use to which we have yet heard it destined, we think the sagacious old gentleman will very soon discover that he would be more profitably employed in "carrying coals to Newcastle," than in making a railroad to steam them over the desert.

For the present, however, *en attendant* the railroad, we must be content to cross the desert to Suez much after the same fashion in which it was crossed in the days of Cheops.

Whilst the French were in Egypt, they surveyed the old canal from Suez to the Nile. They thought it would be better, in consequence of the great shallowness of the Mediterranean north of Suez, to reconstruct this canal from Suez to the Nile, to deepen the bed of the river, and to reconstruct the canals of Cairo and Alexandria. They estimated the expense at L.1,200,000 for all the operations which they considered necessary to complete the communications from Suez to the Mediterranean ; of which about L.700,000 was for the canal from Suez to the Nile. A great portion of the bed of the old canal is still in existence,—especially a deep hollow, with occasional pools of water, called the Basin of the Bitter Lakes. The communication was from Suez to the Pelusiatic branch of the Nile, which went into the Mediterranean by Pelusium, now called Tineh ; that channel is dried up, and the canal of course could not be carried to the same point without opening the Pelusiatic branch of the Nile ; it goes in an angle from Suez to where the Pelusiatic branch crossed from near Cairo to Pelusium. The distance from Suez to the branch which is now dried up is about sixty miles, being not quite so far as Cairo, which is seventy miles. The direct distance from Suez to the Mediterranean is less than 100 miles.

' The direct distance from the north extremity of the Arabic gulf to the nearest point of the Mediterranean is about seventy-five English miles ; and to the site of the ancient Bubastis, on the Pelusiatic branch of the Nile, almost precisely the same. The length of a canal from sea to sea, following the most suitable ground, would be ninety-three miles ; and that of the ancient canal from the Arabic gulf to the Nile was about ninety-two. Some learned moderns, perplexed by the vague and contradictory statements of the Greek and Roman writers respecting this

canal, have called in question its existence altogether, except partially as an aqueduct for irrigation. The French survey, however, has not only put to rest these doubts, but ascertained the precise line which it followed. Of ninety miles of inland water communication of which it consisted, it appears that sixty-five were cut by human labour, and of these sixty-five about one-half yet exists in a state less or more perfect. In many parts it is still so entire that its dimensions can be measured with tolerable accuracy, and little more than cleaning out would be required to render it again navigable.

The Isthmus of Suez consists, on the north, of a low barren plain, slightly broken by hillocks of drift sand and pools of salt water. It rises gradually as we proceed southward till it terminates in mountainous land on the east and west sides of that arm of the Red Sea, called the Gulf of Suez. But between these ridges of high land, a trough or hollow extends northward from Suez, which is evidently a continuation of the cavity occupied by the waters of the gulf. Its direction may be distinctly traced by a series of lagoons or pools, reaching from the lake Menzaleh to the Red Sea, the southmost of which are called the Bitter Lakes. The bottom of this trough is every where many feet below the high water level of the gulf, except for about three miles at its southern extremity; and even here the soil is so low, that it would be submerged were the waters of the Red Sea to rise three or four feet above their usual elevation.

From a point in this principal valley, about the middle of the Isthmus, another long valley branches off to the west, and extends to the low grounds which skirt the Nile. The western part is called Wadi (the Arabic word for valley) Tomyat, and the eastern part Wadi Sabahgar. The ancient canal ran through this valley, the bottom of which is likewise many feet below the high water level of the Gulf.

By a series of levels carefully taken, the surface of the Arabic Gulf at Suez, at high water, was found to be 9,907 metres, (thirty feet six inches French) or thirty-two feet six inches English measure, above that of the Mediterranean at Tyneh in low water. The mean rise of the tide in the Red Sea at Suez was found to be about five feet six inches French, and that of the Mediterranean about a foot. It is evident, therefore, that were a channel cut to the depth of three or four feet through the sandy isthmus which divides the Gulf from the Bitter Lakes, the waters of the Red Sea would flow northward into the basin of these lakes, and then pass on to the Delta and to the Lake Menzaleh, which communicates with the Mediterranean. They would encounter no obstacles in their course, except from certain dikes run across the Wadi to shut out the annual inundation of the Nile. In extraordinary floods, however, the Nile surmounts these barriers. In 1800, it submerged the long valley to the depth of twenty-five feet, in some places, and penetrated to the Serapeum. A rise of the ground here, most probably artificial, stopped its progress, and but for this obstruction its waters would have filled the basin of the Bitter Lakes, and reached to within a few miles of the Red Sea. It may be safely stated, therefore, that there is not a spot in the world where a water communication of equal extent could be made with the same facility, and where human skill would produce so great a change with so

small an effort.'—(Maclaren's *account of the ancient canal from the Nile to the Red Sea*. Ap. to Report, No. vi., p. 28.)

It seems, indeed, most probable that the waters of the Arabian Gulf were at some very remote period connected with those of the Mediterranean, but that this must have been at a time when what is now the Egyptian Delta was itself a gulf of the sea—a time we conceive anterior, not only to the existence of civil society, but even to that of the human race; though Herodotus assures us that Thebes was an imperial city when Egypt was a swamp.*

The expense of this route is very great: expensive as long sea voyages by steam are at the best, this route is particularly costly, from the difficulty of transporting coals to the Red Sea, and of finding suitable depots for them. The coals of the *Hugh Lindsay*, which is a vessel of 160 horse power, have cost, on each of her voyages, L.5,000. This expense admits of diminution by systematic arrangements. We shall return to this branch of the subject when we have examined the third proposed route.

The imports and exports between India and the Red Sea are—

Imports from the Red Sea,	L.217,451
Exports,	287,752

A very insignificant matter in the magnitude of modern commerce; and we do not see how steam navigation is to increase it. The resources of Egypt are developed and drained to the utmost; and the coasts of the Red Sea, with some few exceptions in Abyssinia, are little else but sand and rock. Mr Waghorn indeed talks of taking from the Americans their snug trade in Mocha coffee. We suspect there is little to take; and that little, as a national object, of little value. We should be glad, as a matter of personal taste, to have Mocha coffee accessible: we believe that it has never been imported but by the East India Company, and that not a berry now finds its way to England. Colonial coffee undersells it too greatly. It will not pay; and those who would pay for it have no faith in the sellers. We do not look to any commercial advantage from the steam navigation of the Red Sea.

The European community in India are naturally desirous of establishing a more expeditious means of communication with their friends in Europe than is offered by the trading vessels

round the Cape. The mercantile community attaches some importance to an early knowledge of the state of the markets. The current of opinion among them as to the proper means of effecting their object, has run all but unanimously in favour of steam navigation through the Red Sea and Mediterranean. Subscriptions amounting to about L.30,000 were raised for the promotion of this object, at the three Presidencies and throughout the provinces. This sum included some liberal subscriptions from natives of India, princes and others, who could not by possibility feel any interest in the matter. At each of the Presidencies was a managing committee. The Bengal Government encouraged and supported the undertaking.

It was intended, in the first instance, that the communication should be from Suez to Bombay, and that the subscribers should receive from the Bombay Government the loan of the *Hugh Lindsay* steam-vessel; which happens to be the only steam-vessel in the possession of the India governments which they can bid to go any where and return, with a certainty that it can accomplish its errand. The Government was to find the vessel and establishment, and the committee was to find the fuel. But the Bombay committee being well aware that the fuel for two voyages of the *Hugh Lindsay* would consume more than the whole of their portion of the fund, insisted on having a little boat of their own, that would cost little money and consume little fuel. The Bengal committee took offence at this proceeding of the Bombay committee, and determined to act independently of them, and send a steam-vessel from Calcutta to Suez. The Bengal Government consented to defray the hire, repairs, and establishment of the *Forbes*; a much-bepuffed steam-vessel belonging to some private individuals in Calcutta. This vessel, of 400 tons' measurement and 120 horse power, was to become at once the great Hickathrift of the India seas—to do not only all that the coolest heads had doubted of, or pronounced impossible, but much more than had before been dreamed of. In short, she was to go from Calcutta to Suez against the south-west monsoon—she was to start on the first of last May (a date subsequently altered to the fifteenth of April) and reach Suez in a month—that is to say, she was to go in the worst season 5000 miles in the same time which in the best season it had always taken a better vessel to go 3000—she was to carry fuel for 1600 miles (Point de Galle to Socotra) almost in the teeth of the monsoon; and as it was certainly possible that she might burn out all the coals she could safely carry before reaching Socotra, she was to take in tow a collier, from which the coals were to be transhipped by a mechanical contrivance without impeding the way of the vessel!

Any thing wilder than this could not well be imagined; yet a great clamour was raised on this side of the water, that nothing had been done to bring on the mail, which was to be brought, by this hopeful opportunity, to Egypt. 'The Forbes,' said Mr Waghorn, in his examination of the 7th July, 'is now in Egypt:' and when the committee asked him on what ground he said so, he replied, 'because she was to leave on the 15th of April.'

Mr Peacock had said, in his examination of the 9th June,* 'I should think nothing will come of this project; I doubt if she will ever reach Suez at all.' Certainly she never did. She met with an accident long before she reached Point de Galle, and put back to refit. What the accident was we do not precisely know; but we believe she burst her boiler, and broke her paddle-wheels, through the unforeseen phenomenon of the strength of the monsoon, though she encountered it only in its infancy! Nevertheless, it seems to have been agreed on all hands in Calcutta, that the monsoon had nothing to do with the matter; that there had been in the boiler a flaw, which had been overlooked when the boiler was under repair; and it was determined to send her against the monsoon again on the 15th of August. The intention, not the result, is all that is yet known of this second attempt; and perhaps the patrons of the undertaking in England believe she is now in Egypt.

With the exception of Mr Waghorn, all the nautical men examined by the committee consider the attempt intended to be made by the Forbes as extremely hazardous, or altogether impossible. Mr Waghorn had an ally in Major C. F. Head, who was absolutely chivalrous against the monsoon; he literally blew it out of the water; but as he acknowledged that he had no experience of it himself, and could not adduce in evidence an instance of any vessel which had made a passage to the Red Sea against it in July, August, or September, we must, with all deference to Major Head's testimony in favour of its gentleness and forbearance, consider it proved that the monsoon does not roar exactly like Bottom's Nightingale.

We may now, without much risk of presumption, venture to infer, that if steam navigation is ever to be effectually established between England and India, it will not be by sending a steamer of 120 horse power, with a collier in tow, against the south-west monsoon.

The Forbes having been interrupted in her progress by the accident, whatever it was, that befell her, the Bombay Govern-

ment was requested to send the Hugh Lindsay with the despatches; but Captain Wilson being of opinion, that to make the attempt would be to risk the loss of the vessel, and the lives of all on board, he was asked if he would venture to go to the Persian Gulf: he answered in the affirmative, and to the Persian Gulf he went accordingly, thus demonstrating the truth of the opinion which had been previously expressed by the committee, that this navigation is available for steam-vessels all the year round.

We now pass to the consideration of the third proposed route, by the Persian Gulf and the Euphrates.

A line, drawn on a Mercator's chart of the world, from London to Bombay, runs a little south of Constantinople, a little north of Aleppo and Bagdad, and just south of Shiraz, and north of Ormus.

This line indicates the shortest practicable route to India, which does not materially deviate from it; and which, crossing the continent of Europe to Constantinople, and proceeding by Aleppo, the Syrian Desert, and the Persian Gulf, gives, of actual travelling, somewhat less than 5000 miles.

The river Euphrates coincides with part of this line. It gives, by its windings, about 300 miles to the travelled distance, more than the route of the Syrian Desert.

If, instead of proceeding to Aleppo across the continent of Europe and by Constantinople, we make a voyage up the Mediterranean to one of the Syrian ports nearest Aleppo—Scanderoon, or Latichea—we shall add 800 miles to the travelled distance from London to Bombay. The Mediterranean and the Euphrates together therefore give 1100 miles more than the direct route from London to Bombay* by Constantinople and the Syrian Desert; but the length of the route will still be 200 miles less than that of the Red Sea.

Now, with respect to the navigation of the Euphrates, the physical question is, whether the Euphrates is navigable for such steam-vessels as will afford comfortable accommodation to passengers?

The political questions are, whether, if it be so, the occupants of its banks are likely to oppose serious obstacles to the progress of the steam-vessels? and whether we are likely, by navigating the Euphrates, to show Russia the readiest way to India?

The commercial question is, whether any new sources of com-

* In reckoning from London, we include the land distance from London to Falmouth; and reckon the sea distance in all cases from Falmouth.

merce will be opened, or old ones extended, by the introduction of steam navigation on this river?

The committee have evidently taken great pains to investigate all these questions. It is not too much to say that they had before them almost all the information which books and local experience could supply; and they have further collected some very valuable collateral information to illustrate this branch of the enquiry. The evidence of Mr Ogden, the American consul at Liverpool, shows what has been done on rivers where difficulties, as formidable as any that have even been surmised of the Euphrates, have been surmounted by steam-vessels. The following questions and answers are strikingly in point:

5. 'In navigating the Ohio and other rapid and shallow rivers in America, what are the difficulties to be surmounted? The navigation of the western waters of the United States is attended with many difficulties. Besides the general current, averaging about three miles the hour, there are rapids where, in some instances, it runs seven or eight. There are many sand bars and shoals, where boats frequently ground, and are detained until the next rise of water, sometimes three and four months. In the upper waters the floating ice in the spring of the year is frequently destructive; but the danger most to be apprehended is from the snags, which are trees, that from the falling in of the banks are carried down the river until they lodge with their tops resting on the mud or sand, their ends floating at the surface, and sometimes concealed so as to baffle the utmost precaution in avoiding them. In 1831, 32, and 33, sixty-six boats went out of service. Of these fifteen were abandoned as unfit for further use, seven were lost by ice, fifteen were burned, five destroyed by being struck by other boats, and twenty-four snagged.

6. 'Are there not some rapids on the Ohio which render its navigation peculiarly difficult?—There are rapids on the Ohio caused by bars, or, as they are there termed, chains of rock, extending across the river, which, when the water is low, impede, and sometimes stop, the navigation. Boats are constructed of an easy draught of water, twelve or fifteen inches, and when there is that depth on the bars they pass. The Ohio is more easily, and, of course, more frequently affected by rains than the Mississippi. The interruption to navigation is therefore of short duration.

7. 'How are they got over?—Artificial dams have in some instances been constructed, to throw a greater body of water into a single channel; but I am not aware of its having been found of much practical utility. Government has expended large sums of money in removing snags and rafts in the Mississippi, Red River, &c., and great advantages have been derived therefrom.'—*Appendix*, No. xv., p. 46.

It has been said that the river Euphrates cannot be navigated, because, in the upper part of the river, in the low season, the stream passes through ledges of rock, in which the channel is too narrow for boats; and because, in the lower part of the river, in

the high season, the river spreads for miles over marshes, across which the channel is undiscoverable. It has been said too, that it ought not to be navigated, because it would be showing Russia the road to India. These objections, of which the second turns on the supposition of the river being navigable, and the first on that of its being unnavigable, might very well be urged by different persons; but that both should be urged by the same persons seems not a little singular. So it is, however; and we are told in the same breath that the thing is impossible, and that it ought not to be done. If it be impossible, it cannot be done; and instead of showing Russia a road, we shall dissipate one source of alarm by showing that the Euphrates is no thoroughfare.

We shall enquire what the navigation of the Euphrates has been, what it now is, and what it probably may be by analogy with other rivers.

Herodotus mentions the freight of the boats that carried the produce of Armenia to Babylon to be 5000 talents in weight; which would be about 128 tons, the freight of the largest Thames barges. These were boats only for the voyage to Babylon, and were there broken up. They were either coracles on a large scale, or rafts surrounded by, and floated on inflated skins. When they brought a cargo to Babylon, the wood of which they were composed was sold, and the skins were carried back by land on asses, which had been brought down in the boats for that purpose. He speaks of the vessels as being very numerous, but of its being impossible to return by any mode of navigation, on account of the strength of the stream.

Pliny describes the course and navigation of the Euphrates to Babylon, but speaks vaguely of its further course.

The ancients do not seem to have known very well what became of the Euphrates below Babylon. Pliny says it is drawn off into marshes: ‘*Dexteriori autem alveo, Babylonem quondam Chaldeæ caput, petit, Mediamque permeans, item quam Otrin vocant, distrahitur in paludes.*’ V. 20. And Pomponius Mela says it shrinks by degrees into a rivulet, and does not reach the sea: ‘*Inde ad meridiem avertitur, et primum Syros, tunc Arabes ingressus, non perdurat in pelagus, verum ingens modo et navigabilis, inde tenuis rivus, despectus emoritur, et nusquam manifesto exitu effluit, ut alii amnes, sed deficit.*’ Herodotus, indeed, says it is great, deep, and swift, and runs into the Persian Gulf; and Strabo says it is navigated upwards from the Persian Gulf to Babylon; which we have no doubt it has been from the day that Babylon was founded to the present hour. But there are some at this day, ‘*optimi quidem, sed nec satis eruditi et paulo iracundiore viri; ætate jam proveciores, quam ut pravi quid-*

‘quam dedoceantur vel recti quidquam addiscant;’*—there are some at this day who believe that the Euphrates is lost in marshes, and is not navigable through them; though all who have resided in the country depose to the fact of the actual and uninterrupted navigation. When the abscess over Zadig’s eye broke, in opposition to the judgment of the doctor, the doctor wrote a treatise to prove that the abscess ought not to have broken. The Euphrates is as perverse as Zadig’s abscess, and we must leave the demonstration of its unnavigability to repose with the equally cogent demonstrations of the permeability of the Polar Sea, and the impossibility of the Niger finding a passage through the mountains that separate it from the Bight of Benin.

The Emperor Trajan descended the Euphrates to Babylon, with a fleet built in the mountains of Nisibis. Freret, and after him Gibbon, say, that Trajan descended the Tigris; but a little attention to the text of Dio, perplexed and imperfect as it is, will show that they are in error; and that Trajan descended the Euphrates.

After the description of the first part of his voyage, we find him at Babylon making arrangements for dragging his vessels over land to the Tigris. Having done this, he went down the Tigris to the Persian Gulf.

The Emperor Julian, in the same manner, descended the Euphrates, with a powerful fleet to Babylon, and the Tigris to the Persian Gulf; having not, however, like Trajan, taken his vessels to pieces, and dragged them over land, but cleared out the ancient canal of Naharmala to float them to the Tigris.

It will be observed that both these expeditions were commenced on the rising water in March or April,—*aquis adolescentibus*. The rocky channels, above Anatho, were then buried under at least twelve feet of water; and the stream would be every where as wide as the Thames at Lambeth, and in many places six or seven times that breadth. Julian’s eleven hundred vessels made narrow the most wide river Euphrates: *classis latissimum flumen Euphraten artabat*.†

The fortified town of Anatho, on an island of the Euphrates, was silently surrounded by Julian’s fleet, in the obscurity of a cloudy night. And the first notice which the inhabitants received of their danger, was by one coming forth in the early morning to draw water, who suddenly perceiving the enemy, raised a dismal shout, which called the defenders to the walls.‡ The citizens

* Porson, in a note on Euripides.

† Ammianus Marcellinus, l. xxiii. c. 3.

‡ Exin dierum quatuor, itinere levi peracto vespérâ incedente cum ex-

of Anatho were easily persuaded to surrender at discretion ; and as easy as Julian found the conquest of Anatho, would any powerful armament, floating down the Euphrates, now find the conquest of the whole line of the river, from mount Taurus to the Persian Gulf. And, whenever such an event shall occur, it will be received with the *ululabilis clamor* of many, who will have shut their eyes to the contingency, as resolutely as the watchmen of Anatho.

We have said enough to show what the navigation of the Euphrates was in ancient times, from Herodotus to Julian, a period of 800 years. We shall pass on to the sixteenth century, at which time the river was much used by travellers from Europe to India.

In the end of 1574, Rauwolf went down the Euphrates from Bir to Babylon. He left Bir with three vessels, which occasionally suffered inconvenience from the shoals ; their navigators appearing not to be well acquainted with the river. The Arabs, who sometimes showed a disposition to plunder, were easily scared by a few rifle shots.

Gasparo Balbi descended from Bir to Felugia, on the Euphrates, and on the Tigris from Bagdat to Bussora, from December, 1579, to March, 1580, without any serious impediment.

John Newberrie embarked at Bir in October, 1581, and reached Felugia in fifteen days, without recording any difficulties in his progress.

In the summer of 1583, Ralf Fitch, a London merchant, performed the same voyage ; as also did John Eldred.

Sir Anthony Shirley descended in the autumn of 1599 ; and John Cartwright also performed the voyage about the same period.

In the sixteenth century, therefore, the Euphrates was much used as a high road to India, and was navigable, in every season, from Bir to Babylon.

From that time to the present, the Euphrates has fallen progressively into disuse ; not because of any physical changes, which make it less navigable now than it then was, for it has been

peditiæ mille impositis navibus, Lucilianus, comes imperio principis mittitur Anathon munimentum expugnaturus ; quod ut pleraque alia circumluitur fluentis Euphratis. Et navibus ut præceptum est, per opportune dispersis, obsidebatur insula, nebulosa nocte obumbrante impetum clandestinum. Sed postquam advenit lux certa, aequatum quidam egressus, visis subito hostibus, ululabili clamore sublato, excitos tumultuosius vocibus, propugnatores armavit.—AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, l. xxiv. c. 1.

navigated, at long intervals, by very modern travellers;* but because, in addition to the diminution of natural wealth, inseparable from a government of the very worst description of fleecing pro-consuls, such as the Turkish Pachas, the change of the line of commerce, and in recent years especially, the general decay of Oriental manufactures consequent on the improvements in machinery, and the lowering of wages in Europe, have combined to impoverish all classes of the people, to diminish and almost to destroy the internal traffic, and to increase the proportion of predatory vagabonds to that of the fixed dwellers, who find their interest in respecting property.

On the recent and present state of the Euphrates, a number of witnesses† were examined by the Committee, including several of the East India Company's residents at Bagdat and Bussorah, who

* For example, Lieut. S. Hunter, 1792 :—‘ I continued my journey across the desert, travelling chiefly in a south-easterly direction, for eleven hours every day, at the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles an hour, till the 22d instant (February), when I arrived at Gibbah, a large village, built on an island in the Euphrates.

‘ At this place, I found that the principal inhabitant was a respectable old Shaik named Mahomed Ill Ibrahim, upon whom I waited, and who gave me a most polite reception, expressed a very high opinion of the English, and offered me every assistance in his power.

‘ As I conceived that much time might be saved by getting a boat at this place, and proceeding to Bussorah by water, I applied to the above named Shaik to assist me in procuring one, which he very readily did, and on the morning of the 23d of February I continued my journey towards Bussorah on the Euphrates.

‘ My idea respecting the time saved in consequence of going by water, was in the event fully verified; as I reached Bussorah on the 4th of March at noon, whereas, had I proceeded by land, I would, at the rate I usually travelled, have been at least six days longer in accomplishing my journey.’

† We have not space for details, but we shall insert one passage, observing that many others confirm it, and none contradict it; which, we think, settles the difficulty of the marshes of Lemlum :—‘ 1698. During ‘ the day time do you think these marshes would offer any opposition ‘ to steam navigation?’ ‘ None at all, except from the difficulty of ‘ keeping the channel; on the contrary, the stream would be less powerful.’ 1699. ‘ Would the passage of a steam-boat be impeded on that ‘ occasion by the reeds?’ ‘ In the channel of the river there are no ‘ reeds.’ 1700. ‘ It is sufficiently wide, is it?’ ‘ Oh yes, it is never ‘ less than fifty yards in this marsh, and during the day time, I apprehend you would have no difficulty in keeping the channel.’—*Evidence of G. Colquhoun, Esq.*

could speak from personal experience as to the navigation of the lower part of the Euphrates; several travellers through the countries on its banks; and Captain Chesney, who, in 1830, carefully examined, in the low-water season, 900 miles of the river from El Kaim Tower to Bussorah, and whose minute and comprehensive report on the subject forms a very valuable document in the Appendix to their Report. The result is, we think, correctly embodied in the Committee's eighth resolution:—‘It is the opinion of this Committee, that the extension of the line of the Persian Gulf, by steam navigation on the river Euphrates, has not been brought to the test of experiment; but it appears from the evidence before the Committee, that from the Persian Gulf to the town of Bir, which is nearer to the Mediterranean port of Scanderoon than Suez is to Alexandria, there would be no physical obstacles to the steam navigation of that river, during at least eight months of the year,—November, December, January, and February, being not absolutely excepted, but reserved for the results of further experience.’

We think we may now venture to infer that the Euphrates is a navigable river; and that if there be any difficulties in the navigation, they exist only in a portion of the upper part of the river,* during a portion of the low-water season, which is in the middle of the winter.

The difficulties of navigating the Euphrates in the low season, admitting them to the most unfavourable extent, are, nevertheless, not so insuperable as those of the navigation from India to Suez in the south-west monsoon. Of the two lines for the whole year round, that of the Euphrates is physically the most available, because the Persian Gulf is always so. But it seems at any rate clearly proved, that the Euphrates has no difficulties in the summer, and the Red Sea none in the winter; and that so far as physical facilities are concerned, the use of the two lines, each in its respective season, would ensure a regular and expeditious communication with India throughout the year.

In navigating the Euphrates, we should have five different parties to keep in good humour—Turkey; Russia, who is viceroy over her; Mehemet Ali, who is the Sultan's servant and his own master; the fixed Arab tribes; and the wandering Arab tribes. We have noticed all these incidentally; we will now briefly speak of them collectively.

* By the upper part of the river we mean, for the purposes of the present enquiry, the part between Bir and Babylon; by the lower part, the part between Babylon and the Persian Gulf.

Russia has, if not the actual possession, at least the virtual command of the Armenian part of the Euphrates; and consequently the command of ample forests from which rafts could be constructed unlimitedly, to float armaments down both the Euphrates and Tigris, in the season of the floods. Russia, thus provided, hovers over the lower Euphrates like an eagle, and may pounce on her prey whenever she will. She may float down the river and construct a dock-yard at Bussorah. Why give her such a hint? has been asked. We give her no hint. We tell her no more than she knows. It does not suit her to do it now; but it is in her power. The question was asked (Q. 65.), 'Would there not be more danger to be apprehended from the Russians from their making use of the Oxus and Caspian, than by making use of Bussorah, where they would be met by the nation which happens to have the preeminence?' And the answer was, we think, correct. 'The preeminence at sea is not a talisman; it is to be kept up by constant watchfulness, and the exertion of adequate force.' The part of the Euphrates in the vicinity of Bir belongs to Mehemet Ali. He will not oppose us; but his support will not be very cordial, for he will be much better pleased that we should take the line of the Red Sea. Egypt is all his own; Babylonia is not, and never may be. With respect to Turkey, the Sultan has given his firman for the navigation of the Euphrates. This gives some right, though it carries little authority in those countries at present. The chiefs of the fixed Arab tribes may be dealt with, and would accord their protection for a moderate stipend. The wandering Arabs are gangs of thieves; averse to bloodshed; more like pickpockets than banditti. The fixed tribes can coerce them to a great extent. Swivel guns and Congreve rockets would also have great weight with them. We do not apprehend much from them; but they must be acknowledged to be a serious nuisance under the present disorganized governments.

Lord Dundonald says, he would as soon think of bribing all the thieves in England as the Arabs to be honest. We think Lord Dundonald generalizes a little too largely about semi-civilized men. He does not speak from experience of the Arabs specially.

The exports and imports between India and the Persian Gulf are—

Imports from the Gulf,	.	.	L.435,996
Exports,	.	.	628,357

This is a more valuable commerce than that of the Red Sea, and is capable of great extension. The resources of the countries

on the Euphrates are by no means fully developed in the present state of misgovernment and disorganization. Steam navigation can only contribute indirectly to the extension of commerce, by introducing settled habits through the medium of giving the governments and people an interest in preserving the peace of the river.

‘ 1655. What would be the effect upon commerce if there were to be a communication opened with the Euphrates to India? It is difficult to answer that question as to how it would bear upon commerce, except by civilizing the inhabitants and increasing their wants. There is a want of population there now; the Turkish government is radically bad; they prohibit the exportation of grain, with a view to prevent famine. They have an idea, that if grain is permitted to be exported, it would become scarce; and there is no driving that idea out of a Turk’s head. The consequence of that is, that they do not raise more grain than is sufficient for their own consumption, in a country perhaps the first in the world for raising grain of all kinds.

‘ 1656. Then you think there are limits to the extension of commerce from that route, arising from the nature of the government, do you?—Yes, principally. I see no limit to the commerce of that country, but a bad Government. It is hardly possible to convey any idea of the soil of that country. For instance, I used to cut eight crops of clover in a year.’—(*Evidence of G. Colquhoun, Esq.*)

‘ 1579. With regard to the ancient channels of commerce through the Persian Gulf, I visited the Island of Ormus, now a barren rock, opposite the port of Gambroom, and also the Island of Kenn, which is opposite the ancient port of Seraf, another of the routes by which caravans travelled through Persia; but it appeared to me, that, apart from the supply of Persia itself by the caravans which now proceed via Bushire, the Euphrates must afford facilities for water communication, which would, in a great degree, provide for the supply of the markets of Western Asia. Seraf and Ormus were, at former periods, places of considerable resort; but the remains of ancient works near the mouth of the Euphrates, the ruins of canals and towns, would indicate, it may be concluded, that the countries adjacent must have been populous, and the river the medium of a very extensive commerce, which circumstances might again revive. A great deal of colonial produce, such as coffee, silk, &c., finds its way by this route into Western Asia; there are many articles that would be available for such a commerce, and which, though not required in Europe, would exchange on the route for other articles that would be marketable.

‘ 1580. To what do you ascribe the diminution of that commerce? It was diminished, first, by the competition of the trade round the Cape of Good Hope; that was the earliest check given to the great caravan communications, and which led to the withdrawing from the inhabitants of those countries their customary resources of employment, from the towns the profits of the transit trade, from the migratory Arabs the employment of their camels and carriage animals. To this their poverty

and unsettled condition may be ascribed. Notwithstanding the insecurity of the communication by those routes, still there has always been a considerable trade in pearls, Persian tobacco, coffee, cloths, grain, and dates. Their dates are in constant demand. Grain and dates are produced in great abundance on the banks of the Euphrates below Bassora. Horses are exported to India.

‘1581. As the commerce of the Persian Gulf is flourishing, will not that of itself be sufficient to excite the commerce of the interior? It must contribute to it; but the establishment of a secure communication would doubtless enlarge it much, by giving confidence to those who are engaged in it.

‘1582. Do you think a steam navigation on the Euphrates would be useful in extending commerce? I believe there are many articles of great value and small bulk that might be conveyed by such vessels,—pearls, jewels, silks, shawls, &c., might perhaps be so carried. The conveyance of such commodities, as grain, coffee, wool, or tobacco, must depend on the vessels of the country.’—(*Evidence of Lieut.-Col. COLBROOKE.*)

From this outline, it will be apparent that there was sufficient ground for the conclusion at which the committee arrived, ‘That
 ‘there appear to be difficulties on the line of the Euphrates,
 ‘from the present state of the countries on that river, and particularly from the wandering Arab tribes; but that those difficulties do not appear to be by any means such as cannot be
 ‘surmounted, especially by negotiations with the Porte, Mehemet Ali, and the chiefs of the principal fixed tribes; and that
 ‘this route, besides having the prospect of being less expensive, presents so many other advantages, physical, commercial, and
 ‘political, that it is eminently desirable that it should be brought
 ‘to the test of a decisive experiment:’ and for their recommendation, which was adopted without opposition by the House of Commons, that £20,000 should be applied to the purpose.

In pursuance of this resolution, two iron steam-vessels will be sent in pieces to one of the ports of Syria, and transported through Aleppo to Bir, to be there put together, and launched on the Euphrates. The expedition was expected, and intended to descend the river on the rising waters; but there has been some delay in the preparation of the boats, and the design will scarcely be accomplished at the specified time. This is a serious evil, and frustrates, in a great measure, the views on which the conductor of the expedition, Captain Chesney, undertook, on his own responsibility, and in opposition to the opinion of some who had gone along with him on all other points, (but of course with the approbation of the proper authorities,) to transport the vessels, with their machinery, boilers, and stores—some two or three hundred tons—from the coast of Syria to the upper

part of the Euphrates; in preference to the more easy and natural, though more circuitous route, of sending them round the Cape of Good Hope to Bussorah. In exploring a river, it is assuredly more advisable to begin by ascending than descending it. In the ascent, if a vessel runs on a shoal, the current helps her to back off; if she encounters a rapid, she cannot be involved in it beyond her power to surmount it: if she meets with hostility, she drops back with rapidity upon known ground. In the experimental descent of a river, all these things are reversed. The current forces and fixes her on a shoal; the rapid, if beyond her power, whirls her along inextricably; and from an enemy she can scarcely find security in turning back; she can only hold right onward. It is true the Euphrates is not in the condition of an absolutely unexplored river; and there is not perhaps a river in the old world on which, from recorded testimony, we should anticipate much greater physical security, in floating down on the rising waters; but the descent proves nothing but the facility of floating down; the test of the ascent remains, after all the trouble, inconvenience, and risk, of the land transit and the descent. On the other hand is the saving of time, if the vessels can be launched at Bir, on the rising waters of the spring of 1835; and we believe it is intended that the descent shall have the character of a mission to propitiate the Arabs, and arrange the depôts of fuel. Still, all this might have been done without taking the vessels themselves down the river in the first instance. We must think that, to begin in the manner proposed, is to increase very greatly the difficulty and risk: at the same time, it cannot be denied, that if the experiment so commenced should be attended with perfect success, it will be a great triumph of art and enterprise.

Of the various sea routes towards Europe which are open from Bombay, that of the Persian Gulf being the only one which presents no serious physical difficulties at any period of the year to sailing-vessels, and none whatever to steam-vessels, if the sole object in view were the transmission of Letters, the most natural and obvious method is to send them by steam-boats to Bussorah, and by couriers to Bagdad, Aleppo, Constantinople, and Venice or Vienna. In this way despatches might be conveyed with nearly absolute certainty from Bombay to London in six weeks: 1600 miles of sea would be performed in a week or ten days, and 3400 miles of land would scarcely occupy five weeks. Forced expresses can perform more than 100 miles in the day throughout the entire distance. Of course there must be proper arrangements, due reliefs, and, above all, liberal payment; but no liberality in this way would amount to much, in comparison with the expense of steam-vessels

for similar distances any where, and in the Red Sea especially. But ladies and gentlemen will not, and cannot, ride with forced Arabs and Tartars over the deserts. Therefore, if passengers are to be conveyed in company with the mails, it must be by steam-vessels alone; and for these the obvious continuation of the line from the Persian Gulf is by ascending the river Euphrates into Syria, and crossing to the Mediterranean.

Whatever may be the result of this experiment, in as far as regards the Euphrates, we still think the Persian gulf is the natural line for expeditious communication, and the only line which is available all the year;—whether the letters be sent on by the river or the desert; by Constantinople or by the Mediterranean. The expense will be much less, and the same steam-vessels which carry the mails, can watch the proceedings of the piratical tribes in the gulf, which is the principal duty of the Indian navy.

The nearest point of the Euphrates to the Mediterranean is at the town of Bir, which is 120 miles, by a mountainous route, from the port of Scanderoon. But the nearest route from Bir to Scanderoon is through the city of Aleppo, which adds about eighty miles to the coast journey. The village of Beles, on the Euphrates, nearly 100 miles below Bir, is somewhat nearer than Bir to Aleppo; and would therefore be the proper limit of the ascent of the river, if the route be taken through Aleppo to the Mediterranean. The Welda Arabs (one of the wildest and most ferocious tribes) were said to render the road from Beles to Aleppo impracticable; it is now however understood that Ibrahim Pacha has subdued this tribe, and made the road secure from Beles to Aleppo: but whether Beles or Bir be the final river station, it seems clear, that under present circumstances, the first point in the land journey must be Aleppo.

From Aleppo to the Mediterranean three routes present themselves;—to Scanderoon, already mentioned, to Latichea, and to Antioch.

Scanderoon is the best port; but the climate is insalubrious, or as some express it, and perhaps correctly, pestiferous. The cause of its insalubrity is, that two streams of water, which, with a little assistance from the hand of art, might, through many ages, have ministered to human comfort, have been allowed to diffuse themselves over low ground, and create a pestilential swamp. A very little expense would get rid of the swamp and ensure the comfort and health of the town. Ibrahim Pacha is very willing to get rid of the swamp, and to effect this great improvement by every means in his power, with the single exception of paying for it. Like his father, Mehemet Ali, he is a great improver; but he likes to effect his improvements after his father's fashion,

by the agency of men who can work without tools, food, or pay.* But the supply of such instruments being more deficient in Syria than in Egypt, where 'the slave race of men has worked, for 'idol or for tyrant,' from time immemorial, the draining of the marshes of Scanderoon does not seem to promise either completeness or durability.

Another route through Syria has been talked of, which possesses some recommendations. This is from the Mediterranean port of Beirout to either Anna or Hit on the Euphrates. The principal difficulties of the low water navigation would be avoided by this line. The most direct line, and through the best country from Beirout, is through Balbeck and Palmyra to Anna. The next is through Damascus to Hit. An indirect, but not very devious line to either Anna or Hit, would include all the three points of Balbec, Damascus and Palmyra. The indulgence of liberal curiosity in passing through scenes consecrated by so many classical recollections would not be the only advantage of this devia-

* 'The canal of Mahmood was commenced in 1819, by the advice, it is said, of Mr Briggs; and Mohammed Ali, with his accustomed activity, immediately proceeded to Alexandria to superintend in person the execution of his design. . . . Having appointed Ismaël Pasha director of the works, with two beys and four kiasheffs under his orders, the viceroy returned to Cairo. The sheiks of the provinces of Gharbieh, Sharkieh, Mensourah, Kelyoubieh, Ghizeh, Menauf, and Bahyreh, were commanded to furnish each a given number of fellahs, amounting in all to three hundred and thirteen thousand, including women and children. This promiscuous multitude, collected in haste, were marched towards the ground, where they encamped, under the command of the Sheikhs, along the intended line of canal. The government, however, intent on carrying its designs into execution, but indifferent respecting the injury and misery inflicted thereby upon the people, had neglected to provide implements or store of provisions for the workmen. Nevertheless, they were compelled to labour incessantly, from the break of day until night, soldiers being stationed along the line of works, who allowed of no pause or relaxation: The men, destitute of the necessary tools, scratched up with their hands the soft mud, which was removed by women and children in baskets, and placed in heaps on the right and left. Having in many places to excavate considerably below the level of the sea, and no pumps being provided to keep the ground dry, they were compelled to work knee-deep in water; and thus, from the severity of the labour, to which they were unaccustomed, united with ill treatment, and want of food and pure water, twenty-three thousand persons perished in ten months, and were buried in the émbankments like dead dogs.'—ST JOHN'S *Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 348.

tion. It indicates, we believe, the sites of the fountains by which the camels—the ships of the desert—steer their course. Damascus being the residence of the British Consul-General, offers the best means of arranging the security of the route both with the Turkish government and the Arab chiefs. In the vicinity of Beirout, coal has been discovered; and at Hit are the great fountains of bitumen which supplied the cement with which Babylon was built, and which it is believed would, if mixed with wood, furnish excellent fuel for furnaces.

Having now examined the three proposed routes, physically, politically, and commercially, we proceed to the mechanical branch of the question;—the means by which the object is in any case to be accomplished; what should be the size and power of the vessels to be employed.

Steam navigation round the Cape, would of course be to Calcutta; it could not be worth while to employ it to Bombay. On the other hand, it can never be worth while to go to or from Calcutta round Ceylon, and through the Persian Gulf. Therefore, the route of the Euphrates can only lead to Bombay. It is a question whether the route of the Red Sea should be extended to Calcutta or confined to Bombay. We are inclined to think, that when once a vessel has run to the south of Ceylon, she had better round the Cape than bear up for the Red Sea. The difference in direct distance is materially changed. The steam navigation of the Red Sea will save half the distance to Bombay, but only a third of the distance to Calcutta, and expense and difficulty increase with the diminution of the saving of distance.

The Earl of Dundonald would have a vessel of 1400 tons capacity and 200 horse power for the route of the Cape. Captain Wilson would have a vessel of 270 tons *measurement** and 100 horse power for the route of the Red Sea. These are extreme opinions. Few require so large a vessel as the Earl of Dundonald or would be content with so small a one as Captain Wilson.† But before we proceed with this part of the subject, we must disembarass ourselves of technicalities; and endeavour to present intelligible ideas in the place of the vague terms of measurement and horse power.

The measurement of vessels, in England, is taken from the

* *Measurement* and *capacity* are very different things. We shall speak of them presently.

† Captain Wilson rather puts up with his small vessel for the sake of economy, than advocates it as the best possible.

length and breadth alone, without taking the depth into account. Almost every where else throughout the world the three elements are taken. It is obvious that the English method must be very defective, and lead to great discrepancies between the nominal and real capacity of vessels. The capacity of merchant sailing vessels is usually more, the capacity of steam vessels is as usually less than the nominal measurement. Some would have the tonnage measured by the displacement—the quantity of water which a vessel displaces on a given draught; but the difference in the weight of the materials would still give different results in the indication of capacity. It is foreign to our present purpose to enter into the question of the best mode of so taking the measurement as to indicate the capacity: we shall content ourselves with saying, that when we speak of tonnage, we mean the actual capacity, and not the technical measurement.

Horse power is another vague and indeterminate expression. Its measure is not every where the same. The measure of a single horse power is the number of pounds weight raised a foot in a minute; but the number of pounds varies at different times and places from 27,000 to 40,000 lbs. Instead of this vague term, or rather in conjunction with it, for it is difficult and not altogether desirable to abrogate a term which has obtained such general use, and which furnishes a ready and compendious, though not minutely accurate standard of comparison,—it is desirable, even in ordinary parlance, to specify the diameter of the cylinder and the length of the stroke.

The pressure on the boiler, and the speed of the piston, (which depends not only on the strength of the steam, but on the mode of working it—expansively or otherwise,) being added to these elements, the effective force of the engine may be calculated with precision. The evidence of Mr Ogden is valuable on this head; but, before we cite it, we shall, for the sake of those who may not be familiar with steam machinery, give an unscientific sketch of the operative power of steam in the steam engine.

Steam is generated in a boiler which has two openings, one on the top with a movable lid or valve,* which fits close upon the opening; another a tube with a movable shutter or valve, through which the steam passes into another vessel (the cylinder).

The atmosphere presses on the movable lid with a force equal

* There are usually two of these valves, but the two do the duty of one, and we speak of one for the sake of simplicity. For the same reason we leave out of view the steam chest of the marine boiler.

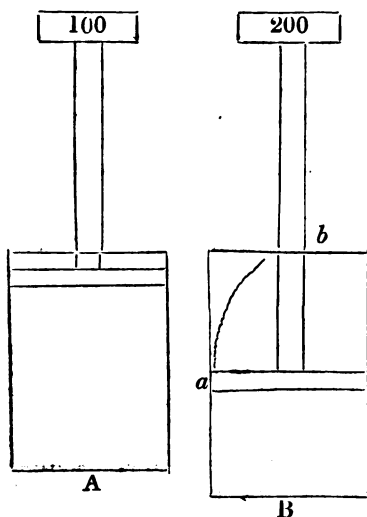
to fifteen pounds on the circular inch: Water boiling at 212 degrees creates steam of which the expansive force under the lid is equal to that of the atmosphere, or fifteen lbs. on the circular inch. The moment the steam is created in sufficient quantity for its expansive force to be compressed by the sides and top, it either passes off through the side tube as fast as it is created, or finds itself an additional escape by lifting the lid. If at this time a weight of four pounds to the circular inch be placed upon the lid, the steam will not lift the lid till its expansive force is greater by four pounds than the pressure of the atmosphere. The steam passing through the tube will have a force of nineteen pounds, and the water will boil at a temperature of 225 degrees. The steam passing into the cylinder through apertures alternately closed and opened above and below, enters above or below an air-tight piston; which by its elasticity it drives up and down alternately into a vacuum, successively reproduced above and below, by the condensation of the steam through the agency of a jet of cold water. Now if the vacuum were absolutely perfect, and there were no friction in the machinery, the elastic and effective force would be the same. But the vacuum is not absolutely perfect, and there is much friction; therefore the effective force falls short of the elastic force by several pounds. Thus if the elastic force be nineteen, the effective force will be ten or twelve, perhaps thirteen in very perfect machinery.

If the steam flow into the cylinder uninterruptedly till the piston is driven to the top or bottom, this is called *working full stroke*; if the admission of the steam be stopped when the piston has reached the middle of the cylinder, this is called *shutting off at the half stroke*; the steam which has filled one half of the cylinder expands and completes the stroke by its expansive action, this is called *working expansively*. This process and the advantages of it are well explained in the evidence of Mr Ogden.

• The stroke of the piston, in some of the fastest boats, is as much as 10 or 11 feet, and the connecting rods 13 to 16 feet long; the engine is worked at a much quicker rate than in this country, the piston passing through the space of 500 feet in a minute, at which speed the whole machinery is found to work more smoothly than at a slower. Suppose the boilers of an engine of sufficient size to give a regular supply of steam of five pounds to the inch to two cylinders filling them at each stroke; suppose the effect of this engine in numbers to be 100, in theory it is evident, and practice fully proves, that the heat required to produce a certain quantity of steam of five pounds to the inch will give precisely half that quantity of ten pounds. Now, let us suppose the boilers of sufficient strength to carry ten pounds, and instead of filling the

cylinder at each stroke, that the steam is cut off at one half, the expansive power of the steam will be added to the force of the engine, or that something more than 175 will be the result.

' Suppose steam of five pounds to the inch applied in the cylinder A would raise the weight 100, 10 feet, half the quantity of ten pounds to the inch applied in cylinder B would raise the weight 200, 5 feet, producing exactly the same effect ; but the power in A has ceased to operate, and must be got rid of, while that in B, if suffered to expand to the full capacity of the cylinder, will still be able to sustain 100 ; for the steam, occupying double the space, will exert half the pressure, —that is, it will be five pounds to the inch, having decreased in its force according to the parabola *a b*. Used in a double engine, the full power of the steam will always be in action in one cylinder, while the expansive force is operating in the other.'—(*Appendix*, p. 48.)



Large vessels have this recommendation for long voyages, that double power propels more than double the bulk ; and there is of course greater proportional stowage for fuel, and greater space for general accommodation.

Great power has this recommendation, that, though it consumes more fuel in equal times, it consumes less in equal distances against head winds. With small power contending against adverse winds the machinery must be strained to the utmost to make headway ; and we believe that there is great wear and tear in the Mediterranean packets, and that this is one of the causes of it. Under ordinary circumstances moderate power does well ; but even thus the greater power produces better results with greater facility. But under extraordinary circumstances great power does equally and easily what limited power does either not at all, or at best indifferently, with ruinous over-exertion. It is, in short, the difference between a man and a boy rowing against a powerful current.

Among the most strenuous advocates for limited power is Sir Pulteney Malcolm. His opinion is undoubtedly entitled to great respect. He originated the establishment of the Mediterranean

packets, and has had much experience of their operation. He would give 100 horse power to a steamer of 450 tons. We believe all Glasgow and Liverpool would be unanimous in giving at least 180 horse power to the same tonnage. He explains indeed that he would not employ such low power without Mr Morgan's patent paddles. He says,

‘A vessel of 450 tons, with two fifty-horse power engines, will give you, besides her coal, sufficient room for the passengers and her engines, and every thing which is necessary. I consider the great point is to have as small an engine as will answer the purpose. I think, if in the same vessel I were to put two sixty-horse power engines, I may gain a little more speed in bad weather, but I should encumber the vessel, and incur a greater expense’—

‘I have said that I consider two fifty-horse power sufficient. I should state that there have been great improvements lately which have increased the speed of steamers, particularly Morgan's paddles, which render two fifty-horse nearly equal to two sixty-horse power. It may, however, be said that they are more difficult to be repaired than the common paddles; perhaps it is so, but if there are counterparts of the pieces on board, there can be no difficulty; and I consider the great advantage to be derived from their use as more than a compensation.’—Q. 1806 and 1810.

Of all inventions for superseding the common paddle, Mr Morgan's is the only one that has answered well in practice. We believe it has answered well. It is in high estimation at the Admiralty; but the owners of private steam-vessels, and engineers, generally give the preference to the common wheel. Captain Wilson, of the *Hugh Lindsay*, and Mr Ogden, make some observations on this head, which seem to us conclusive. We must, at any rate, see them rebutted by very decisive experience before we would recommend patent paddles for the service of the Indian ocean.

‘It is incumbent to show the considerations which have brought the writer to the conclusion that the old paddle-wheels, of arms or radii connected by circles, and with boards secured to the former by hook-bolts, are, and will remain, the best adapted to long sea voyages, or at least to our Red Sea voyage. Any other mode must bring with it greater complication; and complicated parts requiring screws to adjust, shift, or secure them, have this disadvantage, that if made of iron, the exposure to salt water would speedily rust them, causing great difficulty and delay in the operation of shifting, adjusting, or replacing any damaged part; while, if constructed of metal that would not rust, from that very circumstance they would the more readily shake loose, and eight-and-forty hours' steaming against heavy weather, would generally be found sufficient to set them rattling, so great is, and must be, under any mode of construction, the constant straining and heavy beating on the paddles, while dragging a vessel against bad weather. Another disadvantage would

be, that with complicated paddles liable to be shaken out of order by long exposure to heavy weather, they might happen to be deranged in some of the many situations in the Red Sea, where, to have a stop in the engines, would expose the vessel to most imminent danger, and where, in a heavy sea, people could not possibly go into the paddle-boxes to put them to rights. Here is the superiority of the old wheels; whatever their defects, they will stand a continued exposure to weather, which it is impossible those of a more complicated construction could do; and one case only of their carrying a vessel through, under circumstances where a stop would be irretrievable, is sufficient to outweigh all other doubtful advantages.—(CAPT. WILSON'S *Observations, Appendix*, p. 109.)

‘Much has been said of the loss of power from the angle of incidence at which the floats strike the water when permanently fixed as radii from the centre of the wheel, and many contrivances have been resorted to, to obviate the difficulty.

‘This question early attracted my attention, and the result of much investigation and experience is the conviction, that fixed floats are the best that can be used. By a very nice calculation I once made, I was satisfied that the loss of power in a sixteen feet wheel did not exceed six per cent; and I have not seen, in the hundred plans that have been suggested, one, the inconvenience of which, as well as the want of safety, would not double that.’—(MR OGDEN'S *Evidence, Appendix*, p. 49.)

The objection to increase the pressure, that it increases the danger of explosion,—which is one great objection to the use of high pressure engines,—has been met by the observation that the greater number of accidents which have happened in America, have been with low pressure engines. This observation is plausible; but it is incorrect in two main points. First, the number of low pressure engines (so called) is greater than the number of high pressure engines; and therefore not the actual, but the proportional, number should be brought into view. Secondly, an American low pressure engine (so called) is very commonly of low pressure only by courtesy. Properly, every thing above an atmosphere is high pressure. With a load on the safety valve of more than 15 lbs. to the circular inch, which makes the elastic force 30 lbs., the boiler is a high pressure boiler. But in America, all condensing engines are called low pressure, whatever be the weight on the safety valve.*

* What is considered high-pressure steam in America?—The term, ‘high-pressure,’ is used to indicate that engine which is worked against the atmosphere, or without condensation; all condensing engines are called low-pressure.

What pressure are boilers called ‘low-pressure’ worked to?—I have known steam used as high as twenty pounds to the inch, cut off at half stroke, and condensed so perfectly as to produce a vacuum of twenty-eight inches in the barometer.—(MR OGDEN'S *Evidence, Ap.* p. 47.)

The high pressure engine, properly so called, is a machine much lighter and cheaper than the low. It may be made, we think, as safe as the low, if worked by discreet hands; and the saving of space, weight, and money, concur to recommend it; but it is not so efficient as the low; it is not to be relied on under all circumstances: there is greater difficulty in getting up the steam, because the fire must be more intense, and there is greater difficulty in obtaining that intensity, especially in bad weather at sea. A condensing engine will always work at low pressure; but a non-condensing engine will work at high pressure alone. In short, experience seems to have decided in favour of condensing engines.

We conclude in favour of vessels of good capacity (500 or 600 tons), great proportionate power (200 horse power at least), and condensing engines with copper boilers, and of the most perfect possible workmanship.

Next comes the financial part of the question,—what the thing is to cost, and who is to pay for it. Between doing the work efficiently and not doing it at all, there is no advisable medium. Now, to do it efficiently, will certainly cost L.25,000* per annum for every vessel employed on the line of the Red Sea. Supposing, what we conceive impossible, the southwest monsoon to be successfully contended with, and a line of packets, as regular as those of the Mediterranean, to be established on the Indian side of the Isthmus of Suez, this, if a monthly communication, could not be kept up by less than six steam-vessels, if indeed that number would suffice. A quarterly communication could not be carried on by less than two, nor a two monthly communication by less than three, nor a monthly communication by less than six. Therefore, taking each vessel and its two voyages at only L.25,000 per annum, a quarterly communication would cost L.50,000 per annum, a two monthly communication L.75,000 per annum,

* Such a vessel as we have above supposed would scarcely be delivered at Bombay for less than L.30,000. Now, to state the whole as an annual charge;

A rate calculated to create and perpetuate the property, and to cover capital sunk, interest, insurance, repairs, and renewals, stated by one witness at $83\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., by others at 25 per cent., take the lowest

Establishment and provisions, ...	L.7,500
Coals for two voyages, (the cost of those of the <i>Hugh Lindsay</i>),	4,000
Agencies and expenses of many kinds, cannot be less than	10,000
	2,700

L.25,000

a monthly communication L.150,000 per annum, for the Indian side of the Isthmus. If, as was proposed before the Malta steam-packets existed, steam-vessels were sent to Alexandria for the special service of India, the charge would be not doubled certainly, (for the Mediterranean is less costly than the Red Sea,) but at least half as much more. But if the Mediterranean packets be established for Mediterranean purposes, that half of the way is provided for without additional charge. But the costliness of the India half remains. We have seen what it is likely to be ; let us see who is likely to pay for it. If all the letters that pass between England and India were to pass by this line, they must bear a very high rate of postage to pay one-half of the charge ; and if they bear a very high rate of postage, we may be sure that only two classes of letters will come by this line, those of very great importance, and those of no importance whatever. The latter may seem to promise an abundant harvest from any numerous community ; but they will be limited by the necessity of the case, which will confine this sort of amusement to those who can afford to pay for it. For the ordinary concerns of ordinary men the saving of a month or two, on the one hand, would scarcely weigh against the saving of a rupee or two on the other. We will show, however, what the sanguine in these matters expect from letters ; and it will be seen how small a portion of the charge they will, even on the most sanguine calculation, defray ;—especially when it is remembered that the Mediterranean packets will not bring them for nothing, and will probably require one-half of the whole receipt.

Major Head* may speak for all the advocates of the measure who are sanguine in their expectations of large returns in postage.

* The data on which I form my returns are, first, the Parliamentary Report that single and double letters passing annually from England to Calcutta, average 176,678 ; between Madras and England, 92,134 ; between Bombay and England, 63,400, making a total of 294,207. These, of course, are merely taking what would come before the public ; but at the Bombay meeting it is supposed that 500,000 letters pass annually between England and India, therefore I have taken half that number ; and it was also remarked that they must all find their way into that channel, which of course they must do if it is established. Suppose there are 250,000 single letters passing annually at 2s. 6d. each, which is about one-third, or one-fourth of what they offer to pay in India, that would amount to L.31,250 annually. I have taken the

double letters, law papers, periodicals, &c., for the three Presidencies, at L.10,000. There are 250 corps in India, and as many regimental messes, and about 150 agency houses, and public offices. I believe there are considerably more, but I have not had an opportunity of ascertaining the exact number. I suppose those establishments, independent of private individuals, will each take an English daily newspaper when they can get one at a moderate rate, and by a regular monthly conveyance. The mess I was in took two daily newspapers, besides two weekly newspapers. Now, we will suppose 150,000 newspapers are annually sent to India, and there is a postage of 6d. put upon each, it will amount to L.3750. Then, suppose there is an average of five passengers in each voyage at L.50 each, which will amount to L.6000 more, this will make a receipt of L.51,100. Ceylon is not included in this estimate, and by putting that down at the moderate rate of L.4000, we raise the amount to L.55,000, and upwards. I have just seen a statement, which will give the Committee an idea of the newspapers in circulation in the Indian provinces. The India Gazette has a circulation of 373 daily, 195 weekly, making a total of 568; and the Bengal Hurkaru circulates 726 daily, 228 weekly, making a total of 954. Then I suppose there will be also a considerable profit in the communication with Egypt, where there are a number of European mercantile houses; and all the French, German, Italian, and other European letters, must pass through this channel of communication. They will go to Malta, and there be taken up by the mail.'

There is a good deal of supposition here, and some vagueness. The rate 'they offer to pay in India:—who are *'they?'* How many of the 'they' are included in the senders and receivers of the supposed 500,000 letters? How many of the 500,000 may be fairly supposed to be received by private soldiers, who pay nothing for them; and by poor persons, who, if they did not correspond as cheaply as they do round the Cape, would not correspond at all? It is an ancient Hindoo prejudice to prefer the longer way without a toll, to the shorter way with one; and with all our superiority to Hindoo prejudices, we would not assert that the Europeans in India are uninfected by this. But it is a part of the plan to make the higher rate uniform on all letters, come by what route they may; so that the cheap correspondence by the Cape will be cut off, and the expected public benefit will be no benefit to the poor, but the contrary. First to prove that the people want a thing, and then to take measures for forcing it upon them, is not exactly a new practice, but it cannot be commended in the present instance.

We do not believe that newspapers, at the rate of 500 a-day, doubled in price by postage, will be sent to India by any conveyance for a century to come.

We now come to passengers. Major Head, we see, allows five to a voyage, at L.50 each. This expectation may be rea-

lized, even twice over, and it will still go but a small way towards reimbursing the cost.

In short, it appears to us that all these expectations of profit are chimerical. The establishment will be always in the condition of Falstaff—its waste will be great, and its means slender. If an expeditious mail be essential to the good government of India, in a degree commensurate with the charge, let the Government establish it, with their eyes open to the charge. If it can be shown to conduce to the benefit of the Ryots of India, the cultivators of the land, whose labours produce the territorial revenue—then the territorial revenue of India may be justly charged with it; but assuredly not otherwise. If it can be shown to strengthen the British hold on India, to promote the integrity of the British Empire, considered as a British interest peculiarly—then the nation at large may be fairly called on to bear its share of the charge. If it promote the interest of the commercial community especially—then the commercial community should bear an especial share of the burden. If it promote the pleasure and the comfort of communicating with distant friends among the European residents of India and their connexions—then that pleasure and that comfort should be paid for by those who enjoy them. We take it, when all these matters are weighed, and duly apportioned, it will not appear that the territorial revenue of India ought to bear the whole, or the largest part, of the burden.

It has been said that it is essential to the good government of India, to the economical government of India, to the safety, indeed, of that country, and the retaining of it in the King's dominion, that every man there should feel that he was immediately under the eye, and within the reach of the Government at home;—that nothing can be done well unless we so conduct the correspondence with India, as to render it possible that the man who commits a wrong shall be punished for that wrong within a short time from its commission. It is not sufficient that he should know he is ultimately responsible; he must be made to feel that he is responsible within no distant period; and that steam navigation, more than any thing else, will conduce to this end.

It seems to us, however, that the home authorities cannot possibly, in the great majority of cases of delinquency in India, be any thing more than a court of ultimate appeal. With some exceptions, the local governments decide; the home authorities confirm or reverse. The government of India is carried on in writing, and the whole of the business that comes before the

Government passes, in the form in which it is recorded, under the revision of the home authorities.

In every complicated case, months of enquiry and deliberation are consumed, and must be consumed both in India and in England. In no case that affects individual character, in no case that involves important public interests, would a judgment be passed without possession of the whole of the records; and therefore, not letters only, but the whole of the India records also, which are very bulky matters, must come by the same conveyance; and the records must keep pace in their dates, with the dates of the letters, or the letters will bring but half tales, on which no measures can be founded. Supposing no time to be unnecessarily lost in either case, the difference of a few weeks in transmission and reply can make but little substantial difference in the effect of the ultimate decision. It is important that the decision should be just; that it should be firmly enforced, and rigidly adhered to. Deficiency in these particulars would be ill compensated by mechanical expedition in a portion of the middle stage of the proceedings. *Ut sit lenta, tamen certè magna ira deorum*, is the ground to be relied on for making responsibility real.

No doubt there are emergencies where prompt communication is of the highest importance; but the packet may sail on the first of the month, and the emergency may arise on the second. Emergencies must be provided for independently.

The plague must not be forgotten in the comparison of the routes to India. It is not a small advantage of the Cape route, that it is free from this scourge. Egypt, and the cities of the Euphrates, are alike liable to it. The Egyptian plague might be avoided if there were a good harbour in the Mediterranean north of Suez, and the land transit were not to Cairo and Alexandria, but to lake Menzaleh. This was considered impracticable by the British agents in Egypt, in reply to some questions asked in 1829; but some of the witnesses before the Committee speak more encouragingly to the point.

The plague cannot be avoided on the route of the Euphrates; but it is less formidable on this line than on the route through Egypt.

Summarily, and in conclusion,—reversing the order of our enquiry, and beginning our summary with the financial branch of the question,—we recommend, to borrow the words of a writer in a Calcutta paper, a very careful consideration of ‘the means of converting steam into rupees,’ before we recommend the ‘conversion of rupees into steam.’ This point being dis-

posed of, and the choice of the three routes being next to be made, we certainly give the preference to that of the Persian Gulf; as being the easiest, the most certain throughout the year, the most in the line of all our Asiatic interests, and the most economical. And we would have, for the Persian Gulf, steam-vessels of great power, and of the very best description, of 500 or 600 tons measurement, and not less than 200 horse power, built in England; experience having demonstrated that vessels built in India, with engines sent from England, would be twice as costly and half as efficient. We would send them out under steam to Bombay, having deposited coals at the Cape de Verde Islands, at St Thomas's, and St Helena, at the Cape, at Johanna, and at the Mauritius. If one or two experiments should be conclusive against steaming round the Cape, we would work out all following vessels under sail, but we would always build them in England. These vessels would go in one run from Bombay to Bussorah, and from Bussorah to Bombay; and we are satisfied that such vessels would, through the whole year round, run the 1600 miles each way, in a week or ten days. We would provide for contingencies, by having an intermediate depot of coals at Muscat or Bassadore; but we should not contemplate the necessity of often using it.

If it should be determined to adopt the route of the Red Sea, either for the whole year, if practicable, or for that part of the year during which there is no doubt of the practicability, we would do this also with vessels of great power, capable of running the voyage in two stages; but we would not send coals to Suez at all, seeing that they must be sent either by sailing vessels beating up against the wind, in the worst part of the Red Sea, or carried by barges from Alexandria to Cairo, and by camels from Cairo to Suez, involving in either case an enormous charge. We would not send coals to Suez at all, except a small quantity to provide for contingencies, but not to be used unless the contingencies arose. We would have depots at Socotra or Aden, (Socotra, if possible,) and again, either at the Arabian port of Camoran, or the Abyssinian port of Massooah: both are islands, and therefore out of the reach of molestation. From either of those ports such a steamer as we propose would carry coals sufficient to take her to Suez and back, and the chief difficulty and expense of providing fuel would be got rid of.

We do not speak now of the south-west monsoon: We are not adventurous enough to recommend the experiment in that season.

We would try the experiment of the line of the Persian Gulf and the Euphrates throughout the year. At all events, 'the phy-

‘ sical difficulties on the line of the Red Sea appearing to be confined to the months of June, July, August, and September, and those of the river Euphrates to the months of November, December, January, and February, the effective trial of both lines would open a certain communication with the Mediterranean in every month of the year, changing the line of the steam vessels on both sides, according to the seasons.’—(Resolution 10 of the Committee’s Report.)

We would use the Llangennech coals, which appear to carry greater power in the same bulk than any other kind of coals; and which are exported very economically direct from South Wales to India.

But both for the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea we should look only to Bombay. There would be no saving of time sufficient to counterbalance the great additional expense and difficulty of running a steamer, on either of those lines, to Calcutta. When a steamer from Calcutta is at Point de Galle, she may as well run on round the cape of Good Hope, and get into the line of the south-east trade-wind. It is not worth while, for so small a consideration as 3000 or 4000 miles, to run to the northward again, and encounter all the risks and inconveniences of the Red Sea and the plague. If we are to carry on steam communication with Calcutta, we should do so by the cape of Good Hope: at least from Calcutta, though not from Bombay, we would give this line a fair trial. We would reject the idea of steam navigation to Calcutta altogether; but if it were determined to have it in some way, we would try it by the Cape. Whatever line we adopt, we would build the vessels in England, and work them out to India; because by so doing we should get better vessels for half the cost. The cost of an Indian-built steamer, as it appears in the Evidence, is enough to alarm the most resolute advocates for Indian steam-navigation. We would build the vessels for the Red Sea or the Persian Gulf in England, and work them out to Bombay; and if the object of steam navigation to Calcutta be kept in view, we would work them out by steam; and thus make them, though destined for other lines, conducive to a series of experiments of steam navigation round the Cape. For Bombay, we should not think of this route; for Calcutta, we should prefer it to the Red Sea; though we repeat, that in consideration of the great increase of expense, and the diminished saving of distance, we should reject the idea of steam communication with Calcutta altogether.

ART. XI—1. *On Church Property.* 8vo. London: 1834.

2. *Speech of H. G. Ward, Esq. M. P., on moving certain Resolutions respecting the Irish Church in the House of Commons, on Tuesday, May 27, 1834.* 8vo. London: 1834.

3. *Mirror of Parliament for 1834.*

4. *Animadversions on the Conflicting Interests of the Churches in Ireland as a chief cause of her disturbed state, with the recommendation of a remedy.* By an Irish Landowner. 8vo. London: 1834.

5. *An Essay, Religious and Political, on Ecclesiastical Finance, as regards the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland; interspersed with other Matter not irrelevant to the Subject.* By the Rev. DAVID O. CROLY, Parish Priest of Ovens and Aglis. Second Edition. 12mo. Cork: 1834.

AMONG the important subjects which will probably engage the attention of the Legislature in the ensuing Session, is that question which was the ostensible cause of the secession of four members of the Grey Administration—the question of the appropriation of Church property to secular purposes; and the possible application of the principle to the present state of the Established Church in Ireland. While an enquiry is pending into such circumstances as will illustrate the condition of that Church, we may befittingly investigate the general principles by which, in dealing with those circumstances, the Legislature should be guided; and ere any part of this extensive question is again contested in the Parliamentary arena, we will endeavour to narrow the ground of debate, and review a few of the popular arguments which the most distinguished disputants deemed it not inexpedient to employ. It would be a waste of time to advert to arguments used by any but the leaders of the opposing party; and if we advert to these, it is because such men, by their talents and authority, have invested weak *dicta* with fictitious strength—and because, though *they* may disdain to reproduce such arguments, they will assuredly be used and appealed to by a numerous host of subordinate admirers.

In examining some of these arguments, we have been struck less by their ingenuity than by their weakness; and can scarcely believe that the lurking fallacy should really have escaped the acknowledged acuteness of the very able men who have condescended to employ them. We find arguments eloquently urged, with an apparent unconsciousness, not only that they are unsound, but that, if valid, they would be available, with destructive power,

against other propositions of the orator who used them. Take, for example, the reply of Sir Robert Peel to Mr Spring Rice, on the 2d of June. ‘The right honourable gentleman,’ says Sir Robert Peel, ‘tells us, that if there be an excess of Church property to so great an extent as to endanger the existence of that property, then the Legislature not only has a right, but is bound to interfere for the purpose of protecting that property. Now, this is one of the most dangerous doctrines that can be promulgated, not only in reference to the property of the Church, but in regard to all property, ecclesiastical, corporate, or individual. If an excess of property is supposed to endanger property, then you are to curtail a part in order to secure the remainder. What safety can there be for any property, if a Government establishes such a principle with reference to an hypothetical case? If this principle be applicable to the property of the Church, why is it not equally applicable to the property of individuals? Why may you not equally justify the confiscation of private property in certain cases, on the ground or on the pretence that it is excessive, and that the security of property is endangered by that excess?’

Yet Sir Robert Peel propounded a doctrine equally dangerous, to which these objections are equally applicable. We are told by him, in the very same speech, that the time was come when we must consider ‘whether we could not facilitate the propagation of divine truth, and extend the means of divine worship, by a *different distribution of the funds of the Established Church*.’ This, too, was no hasty admission; for he deliberately repeated, on the 23d of June, ‘If you show me any mode by which men, really friendly to the Church, and actuated by *bona fide* intentions, of contributing to its stability, propose, *by a different distribution of Church revenues*, to advance the interests of the Established Church, and to extend its influence, I say now, as I said then, I am ready to consider that question.’*

Sir Robert Peel has thus given his powerful sanction to the principle of redistribution; and we now ask him, in his own words, and with as much reason as he addressed that question to Mr Spring Rice, ‘If this principle be applicable to the property of the Church, why is it not equally applicable to the property of individuals?’ Why may you not equally justify a different distribution of private property in certain cases, on the ground or on the pretence of contributing to its stability?—Why? The answer is plain, and equally applicable to our question as to that

* Sir R. Peel’s recent letter to the electors of Tamworth, after accepting the Premiership, contains expressions to the same effect.

of Sir Robert Peel :—Because the property of the Church and the property of individuals are essentially different ; because the one is corporate, the other private ; because the one is only a life-interest, which the incumbent has no power to bequeath, the other may be the subject of bequest ; because the one is held subject to the condition of performing public duties, while to the enjoyment of the other no such conditions are annexed.

‘ I cannot,’ says Mr Hallam, in his *Constitutional History*, ‘ until some broad principle is made more obvious to me than it ever has yet been, do such violence to all common notions on the subject, as to attach an equal inviolability to private and corporate property. The law of hereditary succession, as ancient and universal as that of property itself—the law of testamentary disposition, the complement of the former, so long established in most countries as to seem a natural right, have invested the individual possessor of the soil with such fictitious immortality, such anticipated enjoyment, as it were, of futurity, that his perpetual ownership could not be limited to the term of his own existence, without what he would justly feel as a real deprivation of property. Nor are the expectations of children, or other probable heirs, less real possessions, which it is a hardship, if not an actual injury, to defeat. Yet even this hereditary claim is set aside by the laws of forfeiture, which have almost every where prevailed ; but in estates held, as we call it, in mortmain, there is no intercommunity, no natural privity of interest between the present possessor and those who may succeed him ; and as the former cannot have any pretext for complaint, if, his own rights being preserved, the legislature should alter the course of transmission after his decease, so neither is any hardship sustained by others, unless their succession has been already designated, or rendered probable. Corporate property, therefore, appears to stand on a very different footing from that of private individuals ; and while all infringements of the established privileges of the latter are to be sedulously avoided, and held justifiable only by the strongest motives of public expediency, I cannot but admit the full right of the legislature to new-mould and regulate the former in all that does not involve existing interests, upon far slighter reasons of convenience.’

Such a distinction must be recognised by Sir Robert Peel. He must admit the right of the legislature to new-mould ecclesiastical property, ‘ upon far slighter reasons of convenience’ than would justify an interference with private property ; else, why is he willing to consider the question of a different distribution ?

From this dilemma, Sir Robert Peel, and Lord Stanley, and the other advocates of redistribution, cannot escape :—either there is an essential difference between ecclesiastical and private property, or, in sanctioning a different distribution of the former, they are admitting a doctrine of the most dangerous kind. If there is an essential difference, then all those cogent arguments which consist in representing the appropriation of church property as a precedent dangerous to private property, must fall to the ground. If there is not an essential difference, and the appropriation of the one is a precedent fraught with danger to the other, we maintain that the principle of redistribution is fraught with danger quite as great. The most excitable alarmist cannot predicate worse of the principle of appropriation, than that it would sanction general confiscation ; and surely a redistribution of lay property would not deserve a milder name.

We cordially concur with those Tory orators and writers who tell us, that the great question of interference with church property must be contested *in limine*, on the ground of redistribution. Here, and here only, can the champions of inviolability take their stand. At this point only can they defend any thing which can be called ‘a principle.’ If they desert this bulwark, the question will cease to be one of *principle*, and be thenceforth only a question of *degree*. They must deny all right of interference, and boldly occupy a position, which, severing them from the alliance of the Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford, Lord Henley, Lord Stanley, and Sir Robert Peel, will place these latter in the ranks of the spoliators. They must condemn, as confiscatory, Lord Henley’s and Dr Burton’s plans for the augmentation of small livings. They must maintain the immortality of every glaring anomaly, of every revolting inequality, which, pampering on the one hand the great clerical sinecurist, dispensing on the other a scanty pittance to the hard-working curate, has long excited the disapprobation and sorrow of the best friends of the English Church.

Will the champions of the inviolability of church property take their stand on ground like this? Or will they quit a position which they must be conscious is not tenable, and seriously ask themselves, in the language of Bacon, ‘Why the Civil State should be purged, and restored by good and wholesome laws made every third or fourth year in Parliament assembled, devising remedies as fast as time breedeth mischief, and contrariwise, the Ecclesiastical State should still continue upon the dregs of time, and receive no alteration?’

It would be a waste of time to contend with those who still

claim for the Church a right of exemption from all interference ; and to discuss a principle which its ablest champions have concurred in giving up. ‘ The true question,’ said Bishop Watson, in a charge to his clergy, in speaking of the original appropriation of church property, is, ‘ whether the uses to which it ‘ is appropriated are such as an enlightened government can ‘ approve of ; for we by no means contend that every appropriation once made, whether beneficial to the community or ‘ not, must be perpetuated.’

This is the most comprehensive statement of the important question which the legislature will be called upon to consider. But we are content to receive it as exhibited in another and a narrower form ; because by so doing, we give to our opponents the benefit of having it stated by the most distinguished arguer on their side. ‘ The question,’ said Sir Robert Peel, ‘ is simply ‘ this,—Has Parliament the right—not the abstract legal right— ‘ for who can doubt its right in that sense ? But has Parliament ‘ the moral and equitable right to appropriate church property ‘ to secular purposes ?’

Before we attempt to solve this question, let us clear the ground as well as we are able—let us seek to ascertain the meaning of the terms to be employed, and the nature of that which is to be the subject of discussion. We must ask two preliminary questions—‘ What is the Church ? and what is church property ?’ Never were there terms which stood more in need of explanation, and on which ambiguity and misconstruction have been more mercilessly inflicted. ‘ The Church’ has many acceptations, and sophistry has loved to juggle and transpose them. It means sometimes a form of doctrine, sometimes the clergy, sometimes endowments, sometimes the place of worship, sometimes an ecclesiastical corporation ; and sometimes is truly understood in that comprehensive sense which is set forth in the 19th Article of the Church of England : ‘ The visible ‘ church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in the ‘ which the pure word of God is preached, and the sacraments ‘ duly administered, according to Christ’s ordinance, in all those ‘ things that of necessity are requisite to the same.’ In this, its true sense, the term ‘ Church,’ includes the laity as well as the clergy ; and it is plain that in this sense it cannot be a corporate body. But neither is it a corporate body, if it is understood to comprise only the clergy. The clergy, collectively, are not a corporation, any more than the laity are a corporation. If they are distinct, so are the laity— if they are privileged, so are the nobility ; but they have, like them, no collective corporate existence.

But the Church or Clergy, though not a corporation, comprises within its body many corporations; and hence perhaps the common error. Every dean and chapter is a corporation aggregate—every bishop or parson is a corporation sole—yet each of these is as distinct from any other as are the corporations of Liverpool and London. There is similarity, but no connexion beyond that common bond of discipline, in matters of administration, which produces no community of endowment. It is notorious that practically there is no community of endowment—that the revenues of the bishoprics of London and Durham are as distinct and independent as the fortunes of any two temporal peers—that the stipend of the incumbent of parish A has no more necessary connexion with that of parish B than have the respective rentals of any two neighbouring country squires. This must be notorious; yet people speak of Church property as if these independent endowments all formed a part of one great connected whole, or were all taken from one common fund. It is not so. There is no common fund that can be called Church property. The only species of property which could ever have been so considered was *Tithe*—that property of which so large a portion is now vested in lay hands—and the only time when it could be so considered was antecedent to that period in the thirteenth century when, in compliance with a Decretal of Pope Innocent III., it was forbidden that tithes should be paid otherwise than to the church of the parish to which they belonged. Previously there was (as we are told by Blackstone, who refers to the authority of Selden's learned work on Tithes) 'No appropriation of ecclesiastical dues to any particular church; but every man was at liberty to contribute his tithes to whatever priest or church he pleased, provided only that he did it to some; or if he made no special appointment or appropriation thereof they were paid into the hands of the Bishop, whose duty it was to distribute them among the clergy, and for other pious purposes, according to his own discretion.' Tithes were then Church property; they were a common fund for religious uses; and the Church collectively might have been said to be robbed by the alienation to secular purposes of any portion of that fund. But this state of things has as utterly ceased as has the original fourfold distribution of tithes—one part to the Bishop, another to the incumbent, a third to the repairs and expenses of the Church, and a fourth to the poor—or that subsequent threefold distribution between the poor, the fabric, and the incumbent, by which it was succeeded when the Bishops had become endowed from other sources. All this has ceased; and unless we revert to times anterior to the threefold distribution, we can have no pretence for regarding tithes as the property

of the Church collectively, and as forming part of a common fund.

With still less reason can we regard as part of a common fund that other portion of ecclesiastical property which was derived from individuals by endowment or purchase ; and comprised under the general term of *alienations in mortmain*. The application of such alienations was not general, but particular. They were endowments, not of the Church generally, but of a particular benefice or religious house. They were transactions between an individual and an ecclesiastical corporation for the especial benefit of the corporation endowed ; and commonly in consideration of masses to be performed for the soul of the donor. Moreover, they were transactions which the Legislature, justly dreading the encroachment of ecclesiastical rapacity, long and perseveringly endeavoured to control, in a manner unparalleled by any interference with similar transactions between private individuals. While by common law any man might dispose of his lands to any other private person, a license from the Crown was (as acknowledged by the constitutions of Clarendon) held necessary to legalize an alienation in mortmain. Clerical ingenuity evaded this obligation, and the ingenuity of the Legislature was repeatedly taxed to control the evasion. Long was the struggle maintained, and the successive statutes in mortmain* bear witness both to the dexterous encroachments of the clergy, and the determination of the Legislature to control, if possible, the conveyance of lands to religious houses, or any ecclesiastical corporation, or their dedication to pious uses.

It appears, then, that neither tithe, nor other ecclesiastical endowments, can now be considered as a common fund, and that the Church in its collective capacity possesses no property at all.

The term ' Church property,' unless we use it as we do lay or private property, solely to denote its general nature, is not applicable otherwise than to the temporalities of a single benefice. In every parish there is a fund set apart for religious uses, and held in trust for the parishioners, of which a small part is committed to the care of the churchwardens, and a greater part to the incumbent, to be applied to his maintenance, under the condition of performing certain duties in return. But, as it is well expressed in the pamphlet on *Church Property*, ' though the Church in every parish has a common fund, there

* See the statute *de religiosis*, 7 Edw. I. ; the statute of Westminster, 13 Edw. I. ; 18 and 34 Edw. I. ; 15 Rich. II. ; and 23 Henry VIII.

‘ is no community between the property of one parish and the property of another. Every parish, in respect to its common property, is as distinct and separate from every other parish as the corporation of London is from the corporation of Bristol. There is a community of faith and discipline, but no community of temporal goods, in the Church of England. Every parson administers the funds of his own parish. There is no aggregation of these separate funds into a common stock; no division of spoil among churchmen of different parishes. Every clergyman collects the church revenue of his own parish, and expends what he has thus received.’ If, as is truly said, there is no community between the property of one parish and the property of another, whatever inviolability each integral part can claim as Church property, it must possess in its independent capacity. It can derive no aid from other portions of property with which it holds no community. To say that Church property is inviolable, and yet that the property of a Bishopric, or a Rectory, or of a Dean and Chapter, may be taken away and given to some other ecclesiastical benefice, seems an absurdity and a contradiction. Redistribution consists of two distinct acts—the taking from one and the giving to another. The violation of the right of property is involved in the former, and it cannot be altered by the character of the latter. It is idle to plead, that, after the property has been taken away, it is applied in such a manner as its late possessors would approve. This cannot give the right to take it. It would be held a very weak excuse for one who had stolen an intended gift that he had since bestowed it as its owner had designed. There is one species of ecclesiastical property which when in the hands of private individuals is essentially private property, and is entitled to all the protection that private property can claim: We mean *advowsons*. Now, with these redistribution might interfere not less than appropriation to secular purposes. Full compensation to proprietors of advowsons (as in the case of land purchased for a public work) must enter into every equitable scheme of Church Reform affecting the temporalities of the Church; and any different distribution that should impair the value of such advowsons, without granting compensation, would be spoliation of the grossest kind. If Church property is intangible, and is at the same time not a single property, one and indivisible, but a collection of distinct, independent, integral properties comprised in that general term, then each of those integral properties must likewise be intangible. The property of each separate benefice must therefore be intangible; and if so, then to redistribute is to spoliage.

‘ But,’ says a mighty phalanx of Conservative authorities,—‘ to

‘redistribute is *not* to spoilate. We should never countenance ‘spoliation—and we are favourable to a different distribution of the ‘funds of the Established Church.’ If this be so, then is not the property of each separate benefice tangible? Is not Church property tangible? If it is tangible may not the State take it? When taken, will it not become the property of the State? And being its property, may it not be applied as the Legislature shall think fit?

This leads us immediately to the question propounded by Sir Robert Peel: ‘Has Parliament the moral and equitable right to ‘appropriate Church property to secular purposes?’ It is admitted by the only opponents with whom it is not futile to contend, that Parliament has the right to appropriate Church property to clerical purposes. By what rules of morality and equity are secular purposes interdicted? Let us ask on what moral and equitable grounds appropriation to clerical purposes is justifiable; and let us see if on the same grounds, appropriation to secular purposes may not be justified. We find the grounds of the former appropriation laid down in the words of the right honourable baronet. They are ‘to advance the interests of the ‘Established Church,’ and ‘to extend its influence,’ ‘to facilitate ‘the propagation of divine truth, and extend the means of divine ‘worship.’—‘I am ready,’ he says, ‘to promote, by every means ‘in my power, the maintenance and extension of the Protestant ‘religion in Ireland: and if you show me any mode by which ‘men, really friendly to the Church, and actuated by *bona fide* intentions of contributing to its stability, propose by a different ‘distribution of Church revenue to advance the interests of the ‘Established Church, and to extend its influence, I am ready to ‘consider that question.’

We cordially accept the promise contained in the first clause of this sentence: ‘I am ready to promote, by every means in ‘my power, the maintenance and extension of the Protestant ‘religion in Ireland.’ But why is this qualified by subsequent restriction to a ‘different distribution? Let us suppose that men, really friendly to the Church, and actuated by *bona fide* intentions of contributing to its stability, should propose to advance its interests, and extend its influence, by withdrawing a superfluous portion of its revenues: Why, we ask, shall we not be ready to consider that question also? Suppose, to use the language attributed to Mr Spring Rice—‘there be an excess of ‘Church property to so great an extent as to endanger the existence of that property,’ and it be proposed to cut off the dangerous excess, and apply it to other purposes—shall we not be ready to consider that question? Suppose there should be rea-

son to apprehend that the existence of *rich* sinecure endowments engenders towards the Established Church hatred and jealousy from without, and produces laxity and supineness within, and that it is perhaps attributable to these causes, that while the population of Ireland has increased, a proportionate increase has not appeared among the members of the Established Church; and that it may therefore be desirable that such sinecures be abated, and all cause of scandal and jealousy be removed;—shall we not be ready to consider this question? We ask the friend of redistribution by what impediment is he barred from considering whether it may not be advisable to apply not only *his* panacea, with a view to cure the present maladies of the Church, but even to apply remedies still more searching with the same laudable intention? The object and intention remaining the same, it is surely absurd to embarrass and restrict our consideration of the means. The only reason for so doing would be the proved illegality of certain means, which it was proposed to employ. But this objection is not applicable to the question of appropriating church property to secular purposes. There is no illegality which can operate as a bar to its being considered. It is admitted that the Legislature has an abstract legal right to appropriate Church property to secular purposes—that which is denied, is only its ‘moral and equitable’ right to do so. What is this moral and equitable right? and wherein does it differ from the legal right? It differs in this—it is not circumscribed by written statutes—it exists in spirit and not in letter—it admits a latitude of interpretation of which the legal right is not susceptible—it presents no definite bar on which a jurist can decide—it appeals to the common sense and good feeling of the community at large, and not to the technical decisions of lawyers. ‘Moral and ‘equitable right’ demands, that the Legislature shall not injure the Church which they have engaged to uphold—and that they shall do whatever is meet for the maintenance of its spiritual interests. It appeals generally to their moral sense; and, to that sense, and to the unfettered exercise of our reasoning faculties, aided by enquiry, it leaves the decision of those important questions—what is injurious—and what is beneficial to the *spiritual* interests of the Established Church. We say the *spiritual* interests of the Church. These must be the *ultimate* object of whatever care the Legislature bestows. The temporal interests may be the more immediate and visible object; but its care of these must always have a tacit reference to the other. The temporalities are the means, and not the end—the scaffolding, and not the building. We presume it will scarcely be denied by any asserter of the inviolability of Church property, that the temporalities of

the Church are subservient to its spiritual interests—that from such subservience they derive the sacredness ascribed to them—that if it be supposed that the Legislature can touch them, it must be with due regard to the primary importance of those spiritual interests; and that if the spiritual and temporal interests could by possibility clash, the temporal should be disregarded and the spiritual preferred. This we presume would be granted even by an Ultra-Tory.* But, in order to guard against whatever might prove inconvenient in this admission, the sticklers for inviolability assume as an axiom that the temporal and spiritual interests never do or can clash,—that they are inseparably connected, so that to uphold the one, is to uphold the other,—so that to invade the temporalities, is virtually to invade religion, by impairing the spiritual well-being of the Church. Now these assertions which are so confidently assumed as the groundwork of argument, not only fall short of an undeniable axiom, but are at least propositions of questionable validity; and, in our opinion, utterly disproved by the history of Christianity. If our limits would permit us to pursue this argument, history would enable us to show that the temporal wealth and power of a Church are found to bear almost invariably a direct proportion to its spiritual weakness. But we do not require this proof at present—we require only that it shall not be assumed as an axiom that temporal and spiritual interests are inseparably connected—but that the possibility of the one being diminished without corresponding injury to the other, may be placed among those questions which they are ready to consider. Grant this, and the process is easy by which we arrive at the desired conclusion. If the temporal and spiritual interests of the Church do not necessarily advance *pari passu*, the one may possibly outstep the other. If the temporalities can outstep the exigencies of the spiritual interests, we must admit the possibility of an excess. If there be an excess, such excess may be hurtful. If it be hurtful, the Legislature which is bound to protect and promote the spiritual interests of the Established Church is bound to remove it, unless prevented by the interposition of legal right. But the

* The Bishop of Exeter in his letter of the 18th of December, to the Archdeacon of Exeter, expresses his ‘earnest hope and fervent prayer, (a prayer in which all my clergy will cordially join,) that whatever measures be introduced affecting the establishment of the Church, whether in England or in Ireland, they may be such as shall tend most effectually to promote what you justly call ‘the sacred object for which the Church ‘is established, the spiritual instruction of all classes of the people.’

Legislature is not fettered by legal right ; it is guided only by that rule of moral and equitable right, which enjoins generally the adoption of such measures as are most conducive to the good of the Church. Therefore, this objection vanishing, we conclude that the Legislature is bound to remove any excess in the temporalities of the Church which can be clearly shown to be hurtful.

In this proposition, that the Legislature has power to cut off absolutely and unconditionally any excess in the temporalities of the Church, the appropriation of such excess to any purpose, whether secular or ecclesiastical, is necessarily included. Such excess, when absolutely and unconditionally severed from the Church, becomes absolutely and unconditionally the property of the State, and may consequently be applied to such purposes as the Legislature may direct. With respect to the best application of any surplus sum, there would probably at all times, and among any set of statesmen, be manifold differences of opinion,—and the opponents of appropriation have harmlessly indulged in very needless self-gratulation, on the supposed detection of such differences among the members of the late Government. There may be a diversity of opinion arising very naturally from the latitude which the question admits ; but none could reasonably arise from a consideration of the source from which the surplus in question was derived. There is error in retaining a recollection of the source, and recognising in the surplus a separate existence which it has in fact no longer. It is thenceforward part of the public revenue ; and is merged in the common stock from whence are defrayed the expenses of the State. To invest it with a fictitious character of distinctness is only to encourage idle fallacies. Some persons advocate a sort of semi-religious appropriation, as if they could not divest themselves of the notion of something sacred in the severed property,—and say, as if this was an unanswerable appeal, ‘ Surely you would not turn ‘ against the Church the very property which once belonged to ‘ it.’ No—nor would we turn *against* the Church any other funds which the State may have at its disposal. It is the bounden duty of the State to administer *all* its revenues in such a manner as shall be most conducive to the public good,—*good* in its highest sense, political, moral, and religious. It is childish to assert that a particular portion of those revenues ought to be employed more laudably than any other portion. Let the best use be made of all. The State expends according to the exigencies of different branches of the public service ; and not according to preconceived notions of the species of employment to which certain portions of its income ought to be devoted. If the service of religion at any

time demands an outlay of public money, we trust that such outlay will never be withheld—for *assuredly no other service ought to be preferred* ; but whether the money should come out of the proceeds of ordinary taxation, or from alienated property once ecclesiastical, would, as an abstract question, be perfectly immaterial.

We are not insensible to objections founded on the supposed inexpediency of admitting the alienation of Church property, and thereby affording the sanction of precedent to any act of spoliation that might be perpetrated hereafter by a rapacious and dishonest Parliament. It is a question of the deepest importance, but it is distinct from that which we have been discussing ; and is not to be confounded with a consideration of the origin and nature of ecclesiastical property. If there is no other bar to the alienation of Church property than distrust of the future intentions of the Legislature, and the fear of sanctioning rapacity, let this objection be fairly stated, and let its weight be fearlessly examined. If the alleged danger is real ; and if the Legislature can, by recording its opinions, give permanent protection, and establish any effectual obstacle to the equally powerful will of some subsequent Legislature, it would be well that it should interpose. It may then declare on grounds of expediency, and for the sake of example, that property which has been ecclesiastical shall be appropriated only to purposes of a religious nature ; but it cannot alter the character of that property, nor set up the plea of indefeasible right ; nor can it, by vote or resolution, establish a rule which succeeding Parliaments shall be bound to follow. Moreover, let it be observed, that it is only by *abuse* of precedent that a great and beneficial measure can be so wrested as to afford any sanction to an unjust and destructive one—that the possible perversion of good measures and sound principles is no valid objection to the adoption and admission of them—and that we cannot hope to defend Church property by resting its defence on false grounds, and by denying a principle, when we can only deprecate the possible danger of the application. It would be thought monstrous in a court of law to disallow a man's claim to property upon the ground, that, though perhaps it was legally his, it was very doubtful if he would make a good use of it.

We have expressed our opinion that ecclesiastical property, when once alienated, must lose its separate character, and be viewed as a part of the public income. It would therefore be inconsistent to offer any suggestion respecting the best appropriation of such surplus, rather than of any other portion of the revenue. But we will take the present opportunity of offering a few remarks upon the application, not of a particular surplus, but

of so much of the public money as may be deemed requisite, to a religious use, in which we conceive the welfare of Ireland to be deeply interested,—we mean the payment of the Roman Catholic clergy. This is no new and startling proposition. It appears to have been among those golden intentions—(intentions never to be reduced to practice)—which, like Parliamentary Reform and Catholic Emancipation, once found a distinguished place in the powerful and comprehensive mind of Pitt;—intentions which he abandoned in ill-fated obedience to the misguided conscientiousness of a weaker intellect and a more stubborn will.

We have before us some interesting illustrations of this subject, in a tract written with great vigour and acuteness by Mr Croly, an Irish Roman Catholic priest, on the financial state of the Irish Roman Catholic Church; in which he fearlessly unveils its internal condition, and, detailing the sources from which it is supported, exhibits the influence of that species of support as it affects both the laity and the priesthood. We shall lay his statements before our readers; premising, that though we cannot vouch for their accuracy, we consider testimony of such a kind from such a quarter as eminently entitled to our most serious attention. The Roman Catholic clergy in Ireland are without legal provision, and are dependent for subsistence on voluntary contributions,—voluntary, inasmuch as they are not compellable by law—yet exacted by an authority perhaps more powerful than that of the law,—by custom, by ‘terror of public exposure, and the superstitious fear of sacerdotal hostility.’ The sources of the priests’ income are dues for Confession, for Marriage, for Baptism, for Burial, for Extreme Unction, and for the performance of the Mass. The mode of exacting these dues, says Mr Croly, ‘is quite arbitrary and capricious. There are salutary regulations in every diocese respecting Church dues as well as other points of Church discipline—put forth by episcopal and synodical authority. Specific sums are laid down as the remuneration to be demanded and paid for the performance of such and such religious rites;’ but, owing to the moderation of these sums, and their inadequacy to supply the wants of the priesthood, the priest, says Mr Croly, ‘makes the most he can of his ministry; and multiplies his exactions without any reference to statute law or episcopal authority.’ The clergy disregard the diocesan statutes, and their bishops are supine in respect to their enforcement. There is ‘nothing in regard to ecclesiastical finance but discrepance, capriciousness, and disorganization.’—‘Other bad consequences,’ pursues Mr Croly, ‘regarding the clergy themselves arise out of the present system of Church support. Many among them are constantly endeavouring to overreach and undermine each other.’—‘The curate does not make a fair

‘return to the parish priest, nor the parish priest perhaps to the curate; nor the curates, where a number are associated, to one another.’—‘Church revenue has become a mere scramble,—every man striving to seize upon a larger share, and deciding for himself in the appropriation:’ and the consequence, he emphatically adds, is ‘a shameful state of clerical demoralization.’ He next points out the evil incident to each separate species of exaction. On the direct interest which ‘marriage-money’ gives the priest in the encouragement of improvident marriages, Mr Croly is singularly silent; but he adverts to other evil consequences,—such as disuse of banns, and consequent increase of clandestine and illegal marriages; and declares, that ‘the present system of Church finance gives rise to every species of abuse respecting matrimony, both in regard to the clergy and the laity.’—The demand of Baptism money, he tells us, ‘deranges the administration of the rite itself, and affords matter of scandal at a time when nothing should take place but what would afford instruction and edification.’ The demand of money for Extreme Unction is also said to lead to scandalous scenes; and ‘often when the money is not to be had, bitter words take place in the very hearing and presence of the poor dying person.’ Dues for Confession and the Mass also engender irreverence and superstition. Of the former, Mr Croly says, ‘it transforms religious rites into mercantile commodities, which the priest prices and turns to his own advantage in the best manner he can. He gives and he gets *quid pro quo*. This is the appearance of the thing; and the common people do imagine that they pay their money in lieu of getting Confession and Communion. So deeply, indeed, is this persuasion engraven on their minds, that they consider themselves exempt from the obligation of payment, unless they actually get Absolution and the Holy Sacrament; that is, value for their money.’ Of the exaction of money for Masses, especially at one particular season,—the Day of All Souls, the 2d of November,—we are told, that ‘every effort is then made to interest the faithful in behalf of the souls in Purgatory; in order to increase the customary contributions for Mortuary Masses. Doctrines are frequently advanced on those occasions prompted by cupidity, not very consonant to reason or the Scriptures; and the congregation is led into error in order to replenish the coffers of the priest.’—‘In short,’ says this Roman Catholic clergyman, ‘the entire system at present pursued by the Irish Catholic clergy, as to money matters, or matters of Church finance, is to make the very most of their ministry in gross and in detail; and, regardless of consequences, to render every part and parcel of religion, whether we regard the administration of Sacraments, or the celebration

‘ of Divine Worship, subservient to considerations of self-interest.’*

One of the most serious consequences of this lamentable system is the subservience which it engenders. It places the priest in a position where he is tempted to become at once the demagogue and the tool of the ignorant multitude by whom he is surrounded. He is forced, by hard necessity, to acquire an influence; and if the means by which this influence must be attained were always such as deserve our approbation, we should applaud the necessity which so compelled him; but, since the easiest road to influence is to pamper those passions and prejudices which it is the duty of the clergyman to curb and to dispel, we cannot look with satisfaction upon the temptations to which a numerous, and, we believe, in many instances a meritorious body of men, are exposed by the hardships of their present condition. Popularity is a glittering bait, which men are ever too prone to seek through base compliances, even when unprompted by sordid interest; but, add the spur of sharp necessity—add entire dependence upon the unstable humours of those whose favour is to be conciliated, and you raise a temptation much more strong than human weakness can safely be exposed to. We cannot better enforce our view of this subject than by quoting the emphatic language of Mr Croly.

* In corroboration of Mr Croly’s assertions, we may adduce the following remarkable statement from a work recently published by Mr H. D. Inglis, entitled ‘Ireland in 1834;’ and which, whatever may be thought of it in other respects, has every appearance of being written in an honest and impartial spirit.

‘ I am sorry to be obliged in this place to record a fact, to which I could not have given credit on any evidence less conclusive than that of *my own eyes*. The Roman Catholic chapel is newly erected, and is yet unfinished; and I am told that the anxiety to obtain funds for its completion gave rise to the enactment of some curious scenes at the door. I went there about ten o’clock, and I certainly did witness a scene of a most singular kind. The gates were shut, and four men stood by; one had a silver salver to receive the larger contributions; two were provided with wooden ladles for the copper offerings, and these they shook in the ears of every one who approached; and one man, *the priest, stood just within the gate, armed with a shillelah*. No one was admitted who did not contribute. I saw a man attempt to pass without contributing; and I saw *the priest* push and buffet the man, and at length *strike him several times with his stick*, and knock his hat off his head! This is no matter of hearsay—I *saw it*; and I saw from thirty to forty persons kneeling outside of the gate on the highroad,—poor persons who had not a halfpenny to spare. To be more and more sure that this was the cause of their remaining without, I gave some halfpence amongst them, and saw them admitted.’

‘Let us view the conduct of the Irish priests,’ says he, ‘as instructors of their people. Have they attended to the preaching of the gospel? Have they inculcated the principles of the Catholic religion? Their congregations every where have shown an utter disregard to law and to the constituted authorities;—nothing among them but sedition and insubordination; burning and maiming; murder and massacre—mob-law, in short, the greatest of all curses, the order of the day. What did the priests—the guides and pastors of the people—do under these circumstances? Did they set their faces against this unhappy state of things? Did they preach obedience and subordination? Did they inculcate submission to the authority of law, or aid in preserving the peace and tranquillity of society?—all which they were bound to do as ministers of the gospel, and priests of the Roman Catholic Church. This is a position that cannot be disputed. It has been always the boast of the Roman Catholic Church that she teaches her children to observe the laws, to respect the civil magistrate, and to do nothing inconsistent with the public peace and with individual security. The Irish Catholic priests have not this time past preached these doctrines to the people. It would be too much, perhaps, to say that the priests themselves were the original instigators of the misguided multitude. There is no doubt that many of them acted a prominent part in the business; and the impression on the minds of the common people was, and is, that the priests gave it their full and unqualified sanction. But many of them yielded reluctantly to the torrent, and appeared to give their approbation to that which they in reality condemned. They went with the multitude, instead of guiding the multitude; and suffered religion and morality to be completely turned topsy-turvy. What was the cause of all this? Many causes, no doubt, may be assigned. National and religious prejudices might have had a share—sectarian hatred, cowardice—a general perversity of morals. But can it be said that the present state of clerical dependence for support upon a capricious multitude had no share in determining this unbecoming conduct on the part of the Irish Catholic priesthood? The multitude held the strings of the clerical purse; and wo betide the unfortunate priest who would set himself in opposition to their wishes. As a body they became all-powerful in this respect. The common cry among them was that they would not uphold any priest who would not back them in their proceedings, and instances could be produced where this threat was carried into execution; and upright individuals of the clerical body were made the objects of every species of injustice and persecution. The dread of poverty, and of being cast off by those to whom they looked for subsistence, contributed powerfully to make the body at large become mere time-servers, and overlook the obligations of their sacred ministry. It was a kind of general apostasy, arising from base considerations of self-interest. Accordingly, they either preached or countenanced lawless combination, and suffered the temple to be profaned.

“Discite, pontifices, quid in sancto facit aurum.”

Would they have thus deserted the interests of religion, and belied their

own sentiments, if they did not derive their means of subsistence from the casual offerings of this same headstrong and unreflecting multitude? If they had nothing to fear on this head; if they were not necessitated to look for marriage money and confession money, and baptism money, and mass money, and anointing money from farmers, from tradesmen, and from labourers, think ye that they would not admonish the people, according to the maxims of the gospel and the doctrine of St Paul, to obey those that are placed over us, and to be subject to the higher powers, not only for wrath but for conscience' sake? or would they have suffered the house of God, which should be a house of prayer, to be turned into a den of thieves? Their state of servile dependence, joined to a number of other untoward circumstances, made them dumb dogs in Israel; caused them to give up or abuse the exercise of the sacerdotal authority; and to be unmindful of the apostles, the prophets, and the law.'

Before we quit the subject of the priesthood, we would add one more remark. Let it be remembered that the divided allegiance which is imputed to the Irish priest, and which is supposed to render him in feeling an alien, rather than a subject of the realm, cannot be used as an available reason against endowment. We would say, on the contrary, it is a plea in its favour. It is idle to assert that the stipendiary priest is likely to be a more dangerous, or a less loyal subject, in consequence of his deriving support from the state, than he who, unendowed and unacknowledged, obtains only the bitter bread of precarious oblations. To assert this would be to say that the clerical character is an anomaly in human nature; and that the clergy are not influenced by the same motives which actuate the rest of mankind.

Mark next the effects of the existing system upon the Roman Catholic laity. And first let us hear the testimony of an Irish Roman Catholic priest, with respect to their mental condition.

'It is a prevailing notion in this country (Ireland) that priests possess the most extraordinary powers imaginable,—that the visible and invisible world are under their control; that they can at their will and pleasure make sick or make well; give prosperity or adversity, damnation or salvation; and yet this extreme credulity of the vulgar does not prevent them—so much are they under the control of their passions—from setting themselves occasionally in opposition to these same all-powerful personages, and braving the fatal consequences of their destructive wrath. They hold the strangest opinions regarding departed souls. They fancy the huntsman, the jockey, the sporting squire, will be riding their favourite horses in the other world; and they are persuaded that when any particular mishap befalls themselves, it is done through the malicious intervention of some deceased persons—their enemies. They in general set more value on trivial observances than on the weighty points of the law. They are extremely addicted to lying, to fraud, and circumvention. Nothing can persuade them but that they ought to hate and exterminate, if in their power, all such as differ from them in religion.

“Inde furor vulgo quod numina vicinorum
Odit uterque locus, quum solos credit habendos
Esse Deos quos ipse colat.”—*Juv. Sat. 15.*

It gives them great offence to see their priest on friendly terms with Protestants; and such priests as stand in this sort of relationship are, by way of reproach, denominated Protestant priests. They believe in ghosts, fairies, hobgoblins; give credit to dreams and fortune-tellers; practise superstitious observances without number—spells, charms, and incantations.

We hear this melancholy evidence of the bigotry and intolerance of the Catholic population. Why are they intolerant? They are writhing under a sense of perpetual injustice. The religion of less than a tenth of the population is richly endowed; another sect, the Presbyterian, of almost the same number, is also endowed; the religion of more than five-sixths receives no support from the state at all. The support of the Catholic clergy thus falling upon the Catholic population, the latter are encumbered with an additional burden, from which their Protestant neighbours are exempt. They feel the harsh disparity of condition, and are, not unnaturally, filled with bitterness towards the Church in behalf of which the badge of ascendancy has been so long maintained. If, in place of the present system, the Roman Catholic clergy had a respectable provision assigned them by the state, upon the condition that the present exactions from their congregations should thenceforward cease—if the Irish cottier should understand that no part of his scanty earnings can be lawfully received by the priest, under any pretence, for religious services,—we feel convinced that such provision might be truly called a healing measure. But in order to render it a healing measure, it is essential that the Roman Catholic clergy should cooperate cordially with the efforts of the Legislature. They should, on receiving a stipend from the state, renounce distinctly, publicly, solemnly, and without reservation, all claim, title, or willingness to accept those dues and contributions which are their present means of support. They should consent that such renunciation be read from every pulpit, or affixed to the door of every chapel. They should also consent, as did several Roman Catholic Prelates in 1799, to acknowledge a *veto* in the Crown on their clerical appointments; or to accede to such other reasonable securities as may alleviate the fears and jealousies which are entertained by a large proportion of the Protestant population of the United Kingdom. If these conditions are not complied with, the payment of the Roman Catholic clergy will not be practicable—and if we could suppose it practicable, it would not be a healing measure—it would not effect those important ends for which alone it is to be prized. Not as a ques-

tion between sect and sect is such a measure to be considered; but as tending to promote that spirit of harmony and goodwill, without which, though religious parties may wax strong, religious principle must pine and dwindle. We will not attempt to resist by argument the unreasoning impression that such a measure is necessarily inimical to Protestantism—for against the minds which entertain that prejudice, the arms of reason are, for the most part, not available. It is a simpler and more efficacious mode of answer to point to some acknowledged friend of Protestantism, by whom such a prejudice has been openly discarded. ‘I am of opinion,’ said the Duke of Richmond, on the 6th of June, in the House of Lords, ‘that the Catholic clergy of Ireland ought to be paid ‘by the state’—and we gladly repeat this recorded expression of concurrence with our opinion, when emanating from an ex-minister, whose secession from office, however we may think the grounds erroneous, must at least evince that he is no lukewarm supporter of the claims of the Protestant establishment.

Yet, while such friends of Protestantism are favourable to this measure, there are those who will tell us that to pay the Roman Catholic clergy, is to acknowledge or establish the Roman Catholic Church; and that the state cannot with propriety endow a sect, the tenets of which it does not approve. We deny the assertion. Endowment is a political measure, not necessarily connected with the religious principles of the governing power. More than one sect cannot, on religious grounds, be approved by the same party; and, if endowment were the test of approbation, throughout the realm only one sect could be endowed. The King of Great Britain cannot at once be Episcopalian and Presbyterian. Approving of the one, he must, in some degree, disapprove of the other; yet both Presbyterianism and the Church of England, are established and endowed in the united kingdom. Their tenets, it is true, do not greatly differ; but diversity, however slight, is incompatible with approval. The Presbyterian in his tenets differs slightly from the Church of England—the Roman Catholic differs greatly; but, to the conscientious believer in the superior purity of his own persuasion, the smaller step is not less impossible than the greater. He cannot be reconciled to either; and of neither can he approve. It cannot be made a question of degree; and therefore, on purely religious grounds, there was no reason why the Roman Catholic Church should not have been established in Ireland, as the Presbyterian was in Scotland. There were strong reasons; but they were political and not religious.

Popery assumed, at successive periods, pretensions incompatible with its safe establishment in any quarter of the realm. It denied the supremacy of the sovereign of these kingdoms—it ad-

vocated the supremacy and justified the interposition of a foreign potentate—it allied itself with absolutism—it opposed itself to liberty—it espoused the cause of an expelled monarch, and of successive pretenders to a disputed crown, and was long adverse to the claims of the family now established on the throne; and for these reasons, and not on account of transubstantiation, purgatory, and the invocation of saints, has it been held impossible to render the Roman Catholic Church a dominant established church in any portion of these realms.

But some will say, by paying the Roman Catholics you are fostering and supporting them—you are perpetuating within the land the existence of a creed, which you ought to wish may, at some future period, disappear. Vain and senseless objection! by which man arrogates to himself the power of controlling by temporal means that which is utterly beyond his grasp. We have not been able to diminish the numbers of the Irish Catholics by denying them the appliances of temporal assistance: as little could we perpetuate the existence of their creed by loading them with our utmost bounty. We would say of their faith, in the language of Gamaliel, ‘If it be of man, it will come to nought, but if it be of God ye cannot overthrow it.’

As strongly as we advocate the payment of the Roman Catholic Clergy, so strongly do we deprecate the notion of a common fund for religious uses. If it be expedient to reduce the revenues of the Established Church, it would assuredly be inexpedient that reduction should be made with any reference to the endowment of any other sect. If we would abstain from inflaming the too frequent violence of rival sects, by infusing a spirit of mercenary rapacity, let us not encourage the dangerous idea, that one sect may become a pecuniary gainer by the losses of another—that what is taken from the Protestant Establishment is so much clear profit to the Roman Catholic. A greater curse could scarcely be entailed upon a country, already distracted with religious dissensions, than by furnishing its bigotry with the sordid motives which such a mode of endowment would hold forth. Never may the Protestant of the establishment, the Presbyterian, and the Roman Catholic be rival partakers of a common fund. If the latter should be paid, let them be paid out of the public revenue, receiving what is deemed meet, without reference to the endowments, past, present, or prospective, of any other denomination of Christians.

There may be some who say, ‘We acknowledge the right of the Legislature to appropriate church property to secular purposes—we acknowledge, moreover, that the condition of the Irish Church may be such as calls for legislative interference, and that if the question were purely an Irish question, and that

‘ Church were unconnected with any other, there would be no danger in dealing with it ; but *beware of establishing a precedent* —beware, lest any measure adopted with reference to the Irish Church should be used as a precedent to the future injury of the Church of England.’

Respect for precedent is a wholesome counterpoise to the desire of change, and is one of the chief cementing powers which give stability to our institutions ; but it may be carried to a superstitious and injurious excess. Where precedent is made a shelter for abuse, or an obstacle to improvement, let us not assume that its value is supreme ; but let us weigh the respective advantages of observing or disregarding it. Let us also abstain from hastily assuming that it is a precedent distinctly applicable in the manner asserted by those who appeal to it. There are many false precedents—precedents nominal, but not real—precedents, founded only on similarity of name or of external symbols,—but not supported by an accurate comparison of intrinsic qualities, or an extensive view of circumstances and position.

It is a favourite fallacy among the sticklers for precedent to assume that interference with any part of an institution, is a precedent for interference,—not only with any other part of the same,—but for an interference with any part of any institution that nearly resembles it. It matters not that the institutions in question resemble each other only in those parts which are to remain untouched, and are unlike in those which it is proposed to alter. By these apt sophists the part is readily taken for the whole. A part of the institution is menaced with change—*ergo*, the institution is menaced with change. A cry is raised, ‘ The institution is in danger ! ’ and it flies from tongue to tongue, and thousands utter it who believe that the *whole* institution is in danger. The promulgator of the delusion could explain to his echoers that it is not the *whole*, but a *part* that is menaced. But no—dear to factious bigots is the cry that *lies like truth*. To make distinctions is called ‘ hair-splitting ; ’ to make admissions is deemed cowardly—brevity is the soul of a watchword, and it is pitiful to explain.

There are other institutions similar in some points, different in others—different in concomitant circumstances, but identical in name. A name is all that faction cares for. So again, the bigot lies like truth, and builds up another monstrous fallacy—suppresses the dissimilarity—insists upon the resemblance—cries aloud, ‘ Beware of a precedent. These institutions are all alike. Have they not the self same name ?—Have they not this and ‘ this in common ?—If one is altered, all are threatened ! ’—and well-meaning timidity catches up and repeats the cry which has

first been uttered by designing faction. The credulous and conscientious many, repeating the clamour of the unprincipled few, lend to it the authority of their own sincerity. Honestly believing that their cause is sound, they treat adherence to it as a sacred duty. Many then join them, who, scarcely caring whether the cause be just or not, are glad to gain at an easy rate, a little sanctity in the eyes of men. Thus the ranks are filled; and a cry is raised, in which the deep yell of factious bigotry is mingled with the counterfeit vehemence of time-serving adherents, and the earnest clamours of misguided sincerity; and such is ever the growth and progress of that well-known cry, 'The Church is in danger.' In reverting to the occasions on which this cry has been raised, and endeavouring to extract from the language of the clamourers some clear and definite meaning, we shall find that, for the most part, the object of alarm is not so much the proposed measure, as certain ulterior consequences which array themselves in the brains of the alarmists. The specific measure is generally too distinct and palpable for those purposes of terror, in the excitement of which, it is known to partisans as well as to romance-writers, obscurity is a grand ingredient. They conjure up a great, vague, misty, spectral evil, and apostrophize it under the name of a *precedent*. The offensive measure is not perhaps allowed to be mortally deleterious *per se*; but, if permitted to pass, it will become a *precedent* for other more destructive measures which are not yet in contemplation. We commend a regard to ulterior consequences; and think that prospective speculation cannot be carried too far, as long as it is based on acknowledged facts, and conducted with a due regard to the legitimate rules of reasoning; but we condemn this abuse of 'precedent,'—this specious invocation of misinterpreted authority.

Precedents would cease to be stumbling-blocks, if men would carefully bear in mind the narrow limits of their legitimate application. When the assumed basis of a precedent is any one component part of a complicated measure or institution, the precedent is strictly applicable only to the corresponding part of the corresponding measure or institution; and not to any other part, nor to the whole. Nor is it applicable even to the corresponding part, unless the extraneous circumstances which affect it are similar in both cases. If we bear in mind this principle, we shall, without abating a salutary regard for precedent, avoid a superstitious and enthralling use of it. It will no longer alarm and impede us in the removal of deformities and the introduction of improvements. We shall not apprehend danger to the Protestant religion whenever the Legislature lays a finger on any dark corner of ecclesiastical abuse. We shall not think that to remodel

the temporalities of the Church is a step to interference with its doctrines ; and shall laugh to scorn the man who tells us that an appropriation of the revenues of the Irish Church is necessarily a prelude to an attack upon the discipline of the Church of England.

The argument which is founded upon fears of a precedent, addresses itself with most force to those who regard the Irish Church as part and parcel of the Church of England. It is true that, by the 5th Article of the Act of Union, it is ruled, ‘ That the ‘ Churches of England and Ireland, as now by law established, ‘ shall be united into one Protestant Episcopal Church, to be ‘ called the United Church of England and Ireland ; and that the ‘ doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the said United ‘ Church, shall be, and shall remain in full force for ever, as the ‘ same are now by law established.’ But this article, rightly interpreted,* does not imply community of interest, but merely enjoins the maintenance of identity *as a sect*, or denomination of Christians. It enjoins the maintenance of *spiritual* identity, and does not refer to *temporalities*. It is remarkable that while ‘ doctrine, worship, discipline, and government,’ are expressly named in this article, allusion to *temporalities* is wholly omitted. Let it be remembered, too, that these stipulations are held to refer only to such points as regard the distinctive character of the Church, and not to matters of number and amount. Government by bishops is to be maintained ; but the *number* of bishops was not specified. The Legislature has accordingly decided that the number of bishops may be prospectively reduced ; and we are not aware that this decision has either nullified the Act of Union, or is an unanswerable reason for a similar reduction of bishops in England. Yet, if the Act precluded all change, to meddle with that which may be included under the terms, ‘ discipline and government,’ must be an infringement of greater enormity than to meddle with temporalities of which no mention has been made. The question, whether any legislature can bind its successors ‘ for ever,’ we are content to leave unargued, till we find men of weight and ability who are hardy enough to maintain it.

Trusting that it will be deemed unnecessary to contend at greater length that the Churches of England and Ireland are not so inextricably bound up together by the act of Union that the same measures must be invariably applied to both, let us see how respective circumstances tend to sanction this dread of precedent. The enquiry is eminently calculated to satisfy the calm and reasoning Protestant, that in many respects the Church of Ireland affords no precedent applicable to that of England. In many circumstances they widely differ. They were different in

their origin, different in their growth, and are very different in their present state and practical adaptation to the religious wants of the respective communities for which they are designed.

With their origin the difference began. In England reformation originated with the people. Ostensibly it proceeded from the will of a despot. But we should overrate the power of Henry VIII., and falsely estimate the submissiveness of his subjects, if we imagined that this mighty change was rudely forced upon an unwilling public. The passions of the monarch were an exciting cause, but other causes had preceded. He had only poured the vials of his wrath into a cup which was almost full. He had availed himself of the popular feeling for the gratification of his private wishes. Very long had a spirit of Sectarianism been sapping the foundations of Popery. The lessons of Wickliffe had not been forgotten. His followers, the Lollards, had during a century and a half been acquiring strength and numbers in that dangerous silence which is all that persecution can enforce. But in the beginning of the sixteenth century, the spirit of enquiry which called forth the energies of Luther had also awakened the dormant energies of this widely spread dissent; and ere the name of Luther was known in England an increased number of Sectarians had suffered for their faith. Meanwhile, the clergy were declining in popularity, even with those to whom they were not obnoxious on religious grounds. Both their wealth and their immunity from civil punishment had long excited the jealousy of the laity; and successive changes of the law in the reigns of Henry VI., VII., and VIII., with respect to benefit of clergy, evince the growing desire to restrict this privilege. To such a height had this feeling grown in the latter reign, that one, Standish, was encouraged to deny the right of ecclesiastics to exemptions from temporal jurisdiction. It was a boldness which in these days we can scarcely estimate; but a boldness justified by the result, for the King and the Parliament supported Standish against the hostility of the Church. Such had become the unpopularity of the clergy early in the reign of Henry VIII., that on the question of a trial, in a temporal court, of an ecclesiastic on a charge of murder, it was alleged by a bishop, as an argument against such procedure, that the life of no clergyman was safe if placed at the mercy of a London jury. Before Catholicism was abjured in England, already were the clergy attacked by violent speeches in the House of Commons; and a bishop, who complained of such language in the Upper House, was reprimanded for his pains. The People and the Parliament were ripe for change; and if they seemed submissive instruments of the Sovereign's will, it was because that will coincided with their own.

It was otherwise in Ireland. The people of Ireland were not ripe for reformation. The doctrines of Wickliffe had never penetrated the Egyptian darkness of that benighted land. A dense ignorance overshadowed it; and with that ignorance the English Government had been greatly chargeable. Had they pursued a generous policy—had they attempted to civilize, to conciliate the native Irish—had they endeavoured to collect all the inhabitants of that country into one undistinguished body of English subjects, instead of excluding the original natives from the pale of English law—ignorance, and its companion bigotry, would not have been found so stubbornly arrayed against the introduction of the reformed doctrines. The clergy did little to civilize the people. They were themselves undisciplined, ignorant, and remiss. Districts occupied by the old natives received scarcely any attention from the Irish Bishops; and to some such districts the appointment, both of prelates and pastors, had sometimes been totally omitted. Such irregularity had existed, that of the very names and succession of some Irish Bishops in the early part of the sixteenth century, Sir James Ware could obtain no memorials. Meanwhile, so ignorant were the inferior clergy, according to the report of Archbishop Browne, in the reign of Henry VIII., that ‘they were incapable of performing rightly their commonest duties, and utter strangers to the language in which they celebrated their mass.’ The people cared little for their clergy; but they were devotedly attached to the authority of the Pope. They revered this potentate both as a spiritual and as a temporal chief. He was the only authority in religion they had been ever taught to respect. They had also been taught that Ireland was his *fief*, and that from him was derived the sole legitimate authority that could be exercised over it by the King of England. As for the yoke of ecclesiastical oppression, it had fallen on them as well as upon the English. But in Ireland it was only one of many oppressions, and not the worst. It had not that distinctness and comparative magnitude which attracted the attention of the English laity. It was lost in the herd of grievances. Ignorance and subjection confirmed the apathy of the Irish laity. The clergy were encouraged by this apathy to resist with vehemence all innovation. Cromer, Archbishop of Armagh, dared to denounce as impious the projects of Henry, summoned the suffragans and clergy of his province, and exhorted them to resist. They could even engage the populace on their side; and at the time when in England public feeling ran so strongly against the clergy that they shrunk from the ordeal of a trial by jury, in Ireland, the bearer of the King’s commission—the ostensible assailant of clerical privileges—found his life endangered by

popular fury. A Parliament was convened. It represented not the public feeling, but solely the will of him who summoned it, and it proved as obsequious as the King expected. It renounced the supremacy of Rome, and recognised the supremacy of Henry VIII. It vested in the King first fruits; directed that an English school should be kept in every parish in Ireland; and made other enactments by which the Reformation was *nominally* effected. *Really* effected it was not. Acts might be passed, but they could not be executed. Even in the succeeding reign, bishops were still nominated by the Pope in defiance of the Crown. Even in the reign of James I., (as we learn from the testimony of Sir John Davies,) the dissolution of religious houses enacted under Henry VIII. in Tyrone, Tyrconnel, and Fermanagh, had not yet been effected. This stubborn resistance to the authority of Henry suggested to the counsellors of Edward VI. the employment of craft and caution; and when the adoption of a new reformed liturgy was enjoined by proclamation, it was offered not as an *altered* liturgy, but merely as a *translated* one. The trick failed. Dowdal, the successor of Cromer, exposed and treated it with merited scorn, and encouraged the clergy and laity to reject it. No pains had been taken to enlighten that laity; and the *vis inertiae* of their blind ignorance was successfully employed in opposing innovation. That ignorance was also an impediment to conversion; and a large part of the population were rendered inaccessible to the reformed clergy by possessing no knowledge of the English language.

The Reformation never took root in Ireland during the reign of Edward VI.; and, in the succeeding reign of Mary, it was swept away by the returning tide of Popery, as though it had been written in sand. Elizabeth reestablished it, and by her father's chosen tool—a parliament; but by a parliament which, even in form, was less entitled to be considered an organ of the public voice. In 1560, she convened a parliament to which were summoned representatives from not more than ten counties; and in which the remaining number was made up of burgesses from those towns in which the royal authority prevailed. This packed assembly restored to the crown ecclesiastical jurisdiction—appointed a new oath of supremacy—repealed laws against heresy—enforced the use of the common prayer, with a curious proviso, that when English was not understood, it might be used in Latin—gave to the crown first-fruits and twentieths, and the power of collation by letters patent to vacant sees—and having hastily performed these important functions, in a few weeks it was dissolved. It was found, as before, that though to enact was easy, to enforce was difficult. An extensive resistance was ex-

tensively successful. ‘The clergy,’ says Leland, ‘who refused to conform, abandoned their cures—no reformed ministers could be found to supply their places; the churches fell to ruin—the people were left without any religious worship or instruction. Even in places of most civility, the statutes lately made were evaded or neglected with impunity.’

Such was the inauspicious origin of the established Church in Ireland. Such was its reception in that country at the time when in England it was popular and triumphant. It was the chosen religion of the people of England—it was forced upon Ireland as a badge of servitude. This marked difference which characterised the origin of the Established Church in the two countries, has prevailed throughout their subsequent existence. In England, Protestantism has ever since lived in the hearts of a vast majority of the people. It has, by its vigorous and steady growth, proved its perfect adaptation to the soil of England, and the sincerity with which it was adopted. If the state of the establishment tends to show that Protestantism in England is the national religion, *dissent* proves it even more. If Protestantism had been forced upon the people of England—if there had been a lurking tendency to revert to Romanism, it would have been exhibited in dissent. But dissent has ever tended, not *towards* Romanism, but further from it. It has been a remnant of that spirit which actuated the Lollards, and effected the Reformation; and it has, at various periods, been stimulated chiefly by suspicions that the Established Church was approximating to the corruptions of the Roman Catholic. In England, Protestantism has grown as though it were indigenous. In Ireland, it has dwindled like a sickly exotic.

A lengthened comparison of the two Established Churches presents a lengthened series of differences. Names are similar, and little else. They are similar (in the words of the Act of Union) in ‘doctrine, worship, discipline, and government.’ There is a forced resemblance visible in forms; but where is the vitality which ought to render the resemblance perfect? Far from resembling the Church of England, the Church of Ireland is a monstrous anomaly, unparalleled in the civilized world. It is the case of a church of which not only do the temporalities exceed what are required by the spiritual wants of any other religious community of equal extent; but in which these exorbitant temporalities are given to the religion of a small minority. In England, no other sect approaches, within moderate limits, the numbers of the Established Church, which we have no doubt, if a census were made, would be found to comprise more than half the population. In Ireland, the numbers of the

Established Church will probably be found to fall below a tenth. Talk of resemblance ! talk of precedent ! with differences like these before us. Is the faculty of discrimination to be banished from our councils ? Are empty sounds to be preferred to facts ? Is similarity of name to be considered, rather than dissimilarity of nature ? Are we to be told that any measure effecting a change in the Church of Ireland is a precedent dangerous to the Church of England ? Yes,—let it be a precedent when the condition of the Church of England resembles that of the Church of Ireland. If the time shall ever come when one vast, uniform, and organized sect, capable of being included under a single denomination, and incapable, on account of the wideness of its dissent, of being comprehended within the pale of the Established Church, shall comprise an immense and unquestionable majority of the population, and leave the Established Church in a miserable minority—*then*, we say—and *not till then*, let the precedent be applied ; and in whatever manner it might be deemed expedient to deal with the existing Church of Ireland, even so, in that distant day, may the State deal likewise with the Church of England. If such a case could possibly occur—(a possibility which we do not anticipate)—if the Established Church should ever so shamefully decline in numbers, in spite of all its vast appliances—if it should ever so broadly display its utter incompetency to fulfil the purpose of a religious establishment, namely, (to use the words of Paley,) ‘ the preservation and communication of ‘ religious knowledge’—what could we conclude but that some great defect is inherent in its constitution ? What could we judge but that it had proved itself unworthy of the support it had received, and that it ought to be remodelled ? ‘ A religious ‘ establishment,’ says Paley, ‘ is no part of Christianity, it is ‘ only the means of inculcating it.’ Its authority is founded on its utility ; and by its utility it must be judged. We estimate highly the utility of which it is susceptible. It has a tendency to ensure the presence of a learned, sedulous, and independent clergy—learned, because induced by the incentive of a profession to devote much time to theological studies—sedulous, because relieved from the conflicting duties entailed by other modes of maintenance—and independent, because raised above the miserable temptation of seeking to gratify rather than to edify, and of accommodating their doctrines to the humours of their flock. But it would be absurd to contend that these advantages are necessarily derivable from every Established Church, however circumstanced, and wherever placed. If the same Church had been established in every country in Europe, who can doubt that its success would have varied with the circumstances of its position ?

and if it was possible to equalise success, it could be done only by modifying the character of the establishments according to existing circumstances. Perhaps, however, in some instances, no modification could produce more than modified success. There might be a vice inherent in the original establishment, which would inflict a perpetual blight upon its subsequent condition. It may have been imposed by force. It may have been the religion of a minority. It may be in a position more beset with difficulties than even that which was adverted to by Bishop Watson, in his Charge to the clergy of the diocese of Llandaff, in 1813. 'Whether,' said that prelate, 'the majority of the members of any civil community have a right to compel all the members of it to pay towards the maintenance of a set of teachers, appointed by the majority to preach a particular system of doctrines, is a question which might admit a serious discussion. I was once of opinion that the majority had this right in *all* cases, and I am still of opinion that they have it in *many*. But I am staggered when I consider that a case may happen in which the established religion may be the religion of a *minority* of the people,—that minority, at the same time, possessing a majority of the property out of which the ministers of the establishment are to be paid.' It may be a case still more anomalous than that by which the Bishop declared that he was 'staggered,'—the case of an established church being the religion of a minority of the people, *not* possessing a majority of the property out of which the ministers of the establishment are to be paid. If so, it will contend with difficulties, which we do not say must absolutely prevent its ultimate success, but which will demand the judicious exercise of more patient and pious zeal, than might be required to uphold the efficiency of other churches. Paley, the defender of ecclesiastical establishments, maintains that most benefit will result to a Christian community from the appointment of a clergy whose faith is that of the majority—of a clergy appointed, not for polemical purposes of confutation and conversion, but to convey to the people religious instruction, in conformity with the doctrines of their own sect. Therefore, he says, it is the duty of the chief magistrate in establishing a religion, to consult the faith of the nation rather than his own. For the sake of religion,—for the sake of *Protestantism*, we must now regret that neither the despotic Henry, nor the equally despotic Elizabeth, should have applied this rule to Ireland. We must ever regret that political circumstances should have rendered it apparently inexpedient to make the Roman Catholic Church the Established Church of that kingdom.

Glorying in our profession of a reformed religion, we say this assuredly from no regard for Romanism ; but because we believe that had this been done, a better spirit would have prevailed in Ireland ; religion would have been less linked with party ; and there would have been no galling sense of oppression and injustice ever ready to sharpen the acrimony of sectarian bigotry in the breasts of millions. The work is done—it cannot be undone. Because it might have been better if Romanism (the religion of the majority) had been established instead of Protestantism (the religion of the minority), it does not follow that, if possible, it would be expedient to reverse their positions *now*. We could not thus repair the ill effects of centuries of a forced ascendancy. A reversal differs widely from an original decree ; and the furies of discord would now exult in a measure which, if it had been accomplished at the period of the Reformation, would probably have excited no violent emotion of triumph, or of anger, in any portion of the community. We must now bow to the authority of custom and possession. For the sake of internal peace, that jewel of great price, we must permit the modified continuance of a system which we may regret should ever have been adopted. All that can now be done to alleviate the consequences of that original error,—the establishment of a Church which was that of the minority,—is to modify it with a view to improving its efficiency ; removing with a careful hand the most glaring causes of offence ; rendering it more conformable to the religious wants of its congregations ; and abating the scandal of a marked disproportion between the endowments of the Church, and the number of those for whom it was designed. A disregard to numerical proportion was the error which attended the foundation of the Establishment ; and *some* attention to numerical proportion is now requisite in any endeavour that may be made to improve it. Yet such attention appears to have been vehemently denounced by one of the most distinguished champions of ecclesiastical temporalities,—a champion whose denunciation we notice, chiefly on account of that adventitious importance which it naturally derives from his honesty, great abilities, and vigorous eloquence. ‘ This doctrine of proportion,’ said Mr (now Lord) Stanley, in his place in Parliament, ‘ is pregnant with danger. Before you admit this dangerous doctrine, tell me if you can, where, when admitted, it will stop ? Admit this doctrine of proportion—admit that where you have only two Protestants of the Established Church in a parish, you have a right to take away the Protestant minister ; and then tell me why you have not the same right where there are only twenty, or fifty, or a hundred Pro-

‘testants of the same persuasion?’ We beg leave to call Lord Stanley’s attention to the converse of his alarming hypothesis. It seems, that according to *his* ‘doctrine,’ where you have only ten Protestants of the Established Church in a parish, you have *not* a right to take away the Protestant minister. If this is Lord Stanley’s doctrine, we would say to him in his own words, ‘before you admit this doctrine, tell me if you can, where, when admitted, it will stop? Admit that when you have only ten Protestants of the Established Church in a parish, you have *not* a right to take away the Protestant minister, and then tell us why you are not equally without that right, when there is even *one* person of the Protestant persuasion?’ This question deserves an answer quite as much as Lord Stanley’s. What will that answer be? Will he say ‘No: though we have not a right to take away the clergyman when there are ten Protestants, yet we have that right when there is only *one*.’ Then he admits ‘the dangerous doctrine of proportion.’ Will he say boldly, ‘You have not that right where even *one* Protestant is to be found?’ Then he is advocating a principle, which, so announced, and from such authority, would be received with satisfaction and derision by the enemies of Protestantism, and with grief and shame by its warmest friends. But we will afford him a better resting-place. ‘*Three*,’ says Tertullian, ‘form a congregation.’ Suppose that *three* should be the *minimum*:—two persons besides the clergyman should have power to keep the benefice intact. Upon this doctrine, less than 5000 Protestants of the Established Church, (including the Clergy,) properly distributed, would be entitled to maintain the perpetual inviolability of ecclesiastical revenues, which have been estimated to amount to more than L.900,000 per annum. We care not now for the exact amount. It would be sufficient for our argument if it were only half as great—if it were much less than that to which the prudence of its most timid friends has endeavoured to reduce it. If the revenues of the Irish Church were only L.500,000 per annum,—even then, upon this hypothesis, the laity of Ireland, of the Established Church, would be receiving religious instruction at the annual expense of little less than L.200 for each individual.

But we do not require an answer to our question. We proposed it merely as an illustration of the real force of that proposed by Lord Stanley. We deprecate the puerile logic on which each alike is founded. We disclaim this ‘*ratio ruentis acervi*’ as a meet or worthy mode of argument in the discussion of so important a subject. As profitably might we seek to calculate how many

grains of corn a horse could carry, and try to ascertain the point at which the addition of a single grain must make the animal sink beneath its load.

But before we quit this part of the subject we would offer one other remark. If the doctrine of proportion were absolutely rejected—if it were ruled that no degree of diminution in the number of Protestants could affect the temporalities of the established Church,—would not the acknowledgment of such a rule be calculated to produce a most injurious effect upon the zeal and efficiency of that establishment? Would it not engender a security and supineness destructive of that vital zeal without which religion cannot flourish? The sanctity of the clerical profession does not exempt its members from the infirmities of our nature, and from the need of stimulants to exertion. What clergy could withstand the corrupting assurance, that merely through indulgence of the insidious and besetting sins of indolence and inattention, they might, with entire impunity, attain the enjoyment of exoneration from irksome duties, and securely turn the whole establishment into one mass of rich and monstrous sinecures? Never may the time arrive when an unworthy and indolent Protestant clergyman may view with satisfaction the proselytizing labours of the Roman Catholic priest—when he may say in his heart, ‘You are welcome to my congregation; in converting them to Popery you diminish my labours—I know you cannot diminish my stipend.’ For our own part we hold it advisable that ‘the doctrine of proportion’ should be neither absolutely rejected nor absolutely enforced. All must feel that number is a test of utility both past and present; but who, by any certain process of reasoning, even upon the most extensive collection of facts, can pretend to fix the precise lowest number of ‘the faithful,’ that shall be considered entitled to the undivided services of a minister of their persuasion? It is plainly impossible to draw any numerical line that shall not cause perpetual cavil; that shall not encounter objections which cannot be answered; and convey the invidious impression of an improper disregard for the souls of those who collectively do not constitute the requisite number. When there is ‘as much joy over one sinner that repenteth, as over a thousand just persons that need no repentance,’ who shall venture to say that there is any precise number of the sinful, the conversion of whom would not repay the undivided labours of a Christian pastor? This is a question which will be triumphantly asked—but this is not the real question. We cannot presume to estimate the value of an immortal soul; or say what means of religious instruction might not be worthily devoted to the conversion of one single sinner. This, therefore, is not the ground on

which a numerical line could be defended. The question is not how many persons are sufficient to repay the undivided care of one clergyman; but how many persons will sufficiently occupy his time and attention to excite an interest in the duties of his calling, and save him from the injurious and anti-religious influence of that supineness which a sinecure tends to engender.

Now, in attempting to ascertain what shall or shall not be considered a sinecure, we strongly object to the *sole* adoption of a numerical line. We wish that the line should be indistinct; and would infinitely prefer a complicated standard, incapable of exhibition in a tabular form, and founded on a comprehensive consideration not only of numbers and proportions, but of distance, situation, and such local and other circumstances as can be justly taken into the account. We object to a numerical line, because its effect would be decidedly injurious to that religious harmony and Christian spirit of liberality and good-will, which it is so desirable to promote among the various sects in Ireland. We fear that the exclusive adoption of such a standard would aggravate the spirit of sectarian bitterness, and lend new impulse to proselytizing zeal. It would raise the importance of numerical majorities. It would establish number as the criterion of strength. It would stimulate the priest to such interested exertions for the sake of increasing the number of his flock, as genuine piety never could approve. The slow safe course of conscientious conviction would be abandoned for the easier method of obtaining a proselyte through a direct appeal to his interests or his passions. The means would be disregarded for the sake of the end; and religious conversion would be perpetually defiled by the odious characteristics of a political canvass. It would have even worse effects. If it were established, that because a benefice was found to contain less than a stated number of communicants, it should on that sole account cease to be a separate benefice, but be incorporated with some other—if this were made a rule of action, though with the most explicit understanding that it was applicable only to present circumstances, and would never be re-applied in future—if Protestant benefices were to be dealt with by this sole measure, would not a standard be perpetually afforded, open to the comprehensions of the most ignorant and unreasoning, by which they might ever afterwards be able to ascertain what benefices ought to be extinct, or how nearly they were trembling on the verge of that numerical line which had been once ruled to justify their dissolution?

Not alone for the sake of the Protestant minority, but equally for the sake of the Roman Catholic, do we deprecate the notion

of an arrangement which would engender feelings of the worst description, and be fraught with temptations to violence and crime. We would not that in that ill-fated land of bloody brotherhoods—where the bonds of law have been as flax, and the bonds of crime as iron—the Roman Catholic people should be tempted to think they might do good service to God and their country, if, by intimidation, or by whatever means a secret league might ruthlessly enjoin, they could reduce the number of Protestants in any benefice below that number which had been once ruled to justify its dissolution. It is also a valid objection against a numerical line, that it would occasion a cry for perpetual re-adjustment. There would be perpetual clamour for the fresh application of a principle which had once been sanctioned, whenever circumstances, necessarily fluctuating, appeared to render such a re-application favourable to the wishes of the clamourers.

Not only might the Roman Catholic point out benefices in which the Protestant population had declined, and contend that those should be benefices no longer; but with equal reason might the Protestant contend, that, wherever increase of numbers had raised what was once a benefice above the former line of proscription, such original benefice should be now restored. Thus, from each contending sect there would be ever and anon repeated calls for a fresh census and a fresh adjustment; and the result would be, that restless spirit of agitation and contention, which, if not unfavourable to the growth of sects, is fatal to the growth and spirit of true religion. We are not pleading the cause of a sect;—we are not contending for the ascendancy of any church;—we address these remarks to all denominations of Christians;—we hold forth reasons which ought to weigh with the Roman Catholic as well as with the Protestant;—we would not only protect the Protestants against the Catholics, but the Catholics against themselves.

We have offered our opinion of the evil consequences which would result from any measure founded on a sole regard to the numerical amount of any sect. But this is no reason why, in our enquiries into the religious state of Ireland, we should not endeavour to obtain the most accurate information respecting the numbers and proportions of the various sects into which it is divided. It cannot be denied that a knowledge of the numbers of religious communities, and of their increase or decrease, is a valuable addition to our means of forming an accurate judgment respecting their character and condition. It cannot be denied, that if at stated periods during the first four centuries of the Christian era, statements had been made and transmitted to posterity of the numbers who professed the Christian faith, we

should deeply prize such evidence of its progressive victory over expiring Paganism. It cannot be denied that if there had been taken, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, decennial censuses of the numbers of Protestants, these would be instructive records of their increase, and we could better estimate than now the mighty strength of their successful zeal. The Protestant would regard the numerical increase as the sure triumph of truth over error; and even the Roman Catholic must allow that they through whom the faith had prospered had been worthy and diligent labourers in its cause. Should we, in instances like these, admit the importance of numerical details—should we view with interest the statistical records of the increasing strength of European Protestantism,—and shall we refuse to try this test in Ireland, where the same reformed religion by the side of Catholicism exhibits the startling phenomenon of decrease? Shall we take no notice of the striking facts adverted to by Mr Ward, in his speech of the 27th of May? See the return made by a Protestant Bishop to the House of Lords, in 1731, from thirty-seven parishes in the diocese of Ossory, of which the total population was 16,487—that of Protestants 1935. Look, then, at a similar return in 1831, showing the population of the same parishes to be 64,225, and that of the Protestants 1453—proving that while the total population has been almost quadrupled in a hundred years, the number of Protestants has been diminished by one-fifth!

We know that Protestantism has increased throughout Europe—we have evidence of its decrease in one part of Ireland. What is the cause of this strange difference? The most obvious method of solution is to search for other concurrent differences. We search, and a difference is found. Protestantism on the continent has been poor; and wealth, power, and authority were arrayed against it. Protestantism as established in Ireland, has had wealth, power, and authority on its side, and is comparatively the richest church in the world. What shall we infer from this comparison? Are wealth and temporal power, as regarding the Church, the elements of strength or of weakness? Let those who contend they are the elements of strength, and that if you reduce the temporalities you weaken the Church, solve these difficulties if they can. Perhaps they will say, 'We want more facts. Tell us not of returns from thirty-seven parishes. What are thirty-seven out of more than 2000? What are 64,225 out of more than seven millions, that we should attend for an instant to a partial exhibition of such an insignificant fraction of the whole? Let us know all that can be known respecting the state of the Established Church, and that of other sects in Ireland. When we have ob-

‘tained the fullest and most accurate information of this kind within our reach, then shall we be prepared to tell you whether you are justified in the injurious inferences you were about to draw from a partial view of isolated facts.’ Our reply would be, that the proposition was reasonable—that we would not attempt to found an argument upon the partial facts above alluded to—that nothing would be more unfair than to legislate respecting the Church without having previously collected the fullest evidence it was possible to obtain. A Commission of Enquiry, instituted by the late Government, is now on foot, by which, ere long, will be ascertained the respective numbers of Protestants of the Established Church—of Presbyterians—of other Protestant Dissenters, and of Roman Catholics in every benefice and parish in Ireland;—the number and state of schools, the provisions for religious instruction, and, we trust, whatever other circumstances are intimately connected with the moral and political relations of the church. As for the state of the church in times long past, we can only endeavour to collect and compare such records as time has spared us; but, whether such records be abundant or deficient, no deficiency of them can excuse our neglecting to ascertain all that can be known of its present state. Whenever the result of this extensive enquiry shall be laid before the sovereign, the parliament, and the public, we shall return to this subject, and advert to the facts which it reveals. We have hitherto adverted only to the principles by which, in dealing with those facts, we humbly hope the Legislature may be guided. We trust the Legislature will proceed with the caution and moderation which both the magnitude and the difficulties of the subject demand; and beware, lest by any thing they do, they endanger that internal peace, which should be among the primary objects of their care. Let them bear in mind that their comprehensive duty is to watch over the religious welfare of the people of Ireland. We ask them, as Christians, to promote that mild and liberal feeling, which should be alike the attribute of every Christian sect. We ask them, as Protestants, to grant at length to the latent energies of declining Protestantism, some little scope for the exercise of that moral ascendancy, which its political ascendancy has hitherto suppressed.

POSTSCRIPT.

SINCE the preceding article was written, there has appeared a Pamphlet *On National Property, and on the Prospects of the present Administration and of their Successors*, which strongly and ably supports the measure we have recommended at so much length,—namely, a provision for the Roman Catholic Clergy of Ireland. This Tract is otherwise so worthy of notice that we should have been glad, if our time and limits had allowed us, to dwell upon it more largely. It displays a reach of thought, and a calm, yet forcible strain of reasoning, not always to be met with in such productions. If written by one already known to the public, his reputation must be high, if this Piece can detract from it;—if by one who now, for the first time, appears as an author, we think we may venture to assure him that the public will be glad again to see him in that capacity. The following extract, which is all we can make room for, will serve to show the coincidence of the author's views with some of those advanced by us in the foregoing article:

‘ But the Irish people, it may be answered, do not require a provision for their clergy; the clergy themselves would not accept one. Of course the agitators make no such requisition. They ask nothing which would diminish the power which is given to them by the crimes of their countrymen, or the wealth which is extorted from their ignorance and folly. And for many years the voice of Ireland has been heard only in the cries of the agitators, either Catholic or Protestant. It is possible that the fraud or violence of the real enemies of the country might for a time seduce or intimidate a portion of the priests into the rejection of a national provision; but there can be no doubt that by far the greater part of them would be eager to escape from their present precarious subserviency. Any other supposition imputes to them a mixture of wickedness and self-devotion which is scarcely conceivable. It supposes them willing to remain in insecurity and degradation, for the express purpose of continuing a system, the consequences of which must become more and more frightful every day. It supposes them willing to be martyrs to mischief; to suffer, in order that evil may come of it. Nor do we believe that they would practically have the power to refuse. The taxation which they now impose has

‘ every quality which can render a tax oppressive. It is severe, arbitrary in amount, and irregular as to occurrence. It must of course be prohibited, under strict penalties, when the national provision is given, or the new income would be a mere addition to the former one, instead of a substitute; and we have no doubt that their congregations would enforce the prohibition by refusing to pay fees for which there would no longer be any pretext. On this point, as on all other questions, as to the probable conduct and feelings of the Catholics, both lay and clerical, in Ireland, when they shall have been placed in the same situation as they are in the rest of Europe, we refer to the feelings and conduct of the rest of the European Catholics. In every part of Europe, excepting in Ireland, a provision is made for the clergy, sometimes by endowment, but generally out of the public income; and none of the evils to which we have referred, exist. The government does not complain of the disaffection of the clergy, nor the people of their exactions.

‘ But the expense of a provision for the Catholic clergy will be complained of; and, in order to diminish it, it has been proposed to employ, in its aid, the surplus, whatever it may turn out to be, of the endowment now enjoyed by the Protestant Establishment. We will confess that formerly we were in favour of this plan, but subsequent events, and subsequent reflection, have changed our opinion. The violence of party, and the consequently low standard of public morality in Ireland, are such, that every concession is, as a matter of course, attributed, in the first instance, to intimidation. The direct transfer of a portion of the revenue now belonging to one church, to support another, would not be treated as a mere measure of public policy,—as merely the most convenient mode of effecting a desirable object,—but as the triumph of one party, and the defeat of the other. As neither party would attribute it to justice, a word which does not seem to be understood in Ireland, it would excite among the Protestants a mixture of anger and terror; and among the Catholics, contempt and exultation, rather than gratitude, or even esteem. It might be considered as the beginning of the complete restoration to the Catholics of the whole Protestant endowment; and in the present state of society in Ireland, it is to be feared that means might be taken to accelerate that restoration, by forcibly diminishing the number of Protestants.’—

‘ But after all, would the expense be large, when compared with the object to be effected?—The object is the reconciliation of Ireland and England, and the spiritual and temporal

‘welfare of six or seven millions of persons. The mere saving in the subsequent expense of governing Ireland would be more than double the expenditure. Troops are more expensive than priests. It must be added, that we are not proposing a new expenditure,—an expenditure which is to divert the resources of the country from productive to what have been called unproductive purposes, as is the case when an increase is made in the army or navy, or in any other of our public establishments. The Catholic priests exist, and are paid. We propose that their payment should be borne by the whole nation, which would scarcely feel it, instead of falling exclusively on a portion, and that, the very poorest portion, of the community, whom it demoralizes and crushes.’—

‘It is possible, however, that we may be told that this measure, however right in itself, ought to be opposed, because it will be made the foundation of ulterior demands. Of all political sophisms this is the worst. It is the tyrant’s plea in its naked deformity. If such an argument were admissible, no abuse could ever be removed, or ever mitigated. For no concession can ever be made without giving rise to a hope of something more. On this ground Austria is justified in refusing any amelioration to Italy, or even Turkey to her Christian subjects. The continuance of every oppression is justifiable if mere fears of further claims are a justification. The only wise, the only moral conduct in an individual or in a government, is to do *all* that is right, and to resist *all* that is wrong.’

NOTE to the Article in No. CXXI., on the 'Admission of
'Dissenters to the Universities.'

In the note, p. 227, the opinion which, from memory, we attributed to Henke himself, we find, on recurring to our authority, to have been published by him; but whether he were the author of the article in which the doctrine is maintained, remains uncertain.

In the same note we were not quite correct (though erring in the best company) in so strongly charging Luther and Melancthon with '*a compromise of all professed principle*,' in their license to the Landgrave. We now know, from the evidence of their own writings, that both speculatively held that polygamy was lawful to a Christian; and are strongly disposed to believe, that had Munzer and the Anabaptists not brought the doctrine into bad odour, that it would have obtained more than a theoretical approval from the leaders of the Reformation.

ERRATA.

- Page 202, line 4, for *University so called*, read *University properly so called*.
 — 211, — 3 and 19, for *University*, read *Universities*.
 — 217, — 3, for *complimentary*, read *complementary*, et alibi, wherever the same spelling has been introduced.
 — 218, — 20, and *Montpellier*, delenda.
 — 219, — 42, for *Freiberg*, read *Freiburg*.
 — 222, — 28, for *Melancthon*, read *Melancthon*, et alibi, wherever the same spelling occurs.
 — 223, — 9, for *Rosenmuller*, read *Rosenmüller*.
 — — 23, for *were the first*, read *were after Spinoza and other Jewish critics the first*.
 — 226, — 5, for *Adam*, read *Adam F.*
 — — — for *Winteferte*, read *Winther*.
 — 227, — 11, for *Eurgetes*, read *Euergetes*.
 — — 12, 13, *The — Elbe*, delenda.
 — 228, — 3, for *the Spirit*, read *the Holy Spirit*.
 — 229, — 39, for *was*, read *is*.
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No. CXXIII. will be published in April.

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INDEX.

A.

Admission of Dissenters to the Universities. See *Dissenters*.

Afghan Country, sketch of the, 58, 59.

Agricultural Producers, advantages likely to arise to, by railways being established, 98—102.

Agrippa, Cornelius, absurd account of, 43—47.

America—List of railways executed and projected in the United States, 119, 120; State of Pennsylvania takes the lead in the formation, 120; first one formed by government, connected Philadelphia with the banks of the Ohio, *ib.*; other railroads formed, 121, 122; the Baltimore and Ohio railroad the most magnificent, 122, 123; Baltimore and York, 123; Petersburg and Walden, *ib.*; the South Carolina railroad nearly straight, 123, 124; great public spirit and candour which characterise the proceedings of the directors, 124.

Angelo, Michael, merits of, 139.

Animal Physiology, the study of, conduces to the love and admiration of God, 143—145; zoophytes—process by which sponges move in seeking a habitation, 147—149; the polypiferous animals, their organization, 149; the *Flustra Carbacea*, *ib.*; the *Hydra*, 149, 150; the infusory animalcula—the *Monads*, 150—153; the *Medusae*, 153; the *Beroe*, *ib.*; the *Portuguese Man of War*, *ib.*; the *Actiniae*, *ib.*; the *Echinodermata*, *ib.*; the *Mollusca*, *ib.*; natural history of the spider, 153, 154; account of the casting of the shell of the lobster, 154—156; Insect life—the *Pulex*, or flea, 156; the *Podura*, *ib.*; the *Julus* and *Scolopendra*, *ib.*; the *Julus terrestris*, *ib.*; the developement of insects, 156—160; structure of the feet of insects, 160; progressive motion and flight of insects, 161, 162; ossification of vertebrated animals, 163; of birds, *ib.*; structure of their feathers, 164—166; contrivances by which animals seize their food, 170, 171; structure of the poison-fangs of serpents, 172; process of trituration in the stomachs of animals, 172, 173; in the human stomach, 173—175; stomachs in the camel and elephant as a reservoir of water, 175; defence afforded to the arteries, 176; force with which blood is drawn into the aorta, *ib.*; local rotatory circulation in polypiferous zoophytes, 176, 177; phenomena of respiration, 177; the brain furnishes the mind with the material of thought, 178; comparative physiology of vision, *ib.*

Arabian Gulf formerly connected with the Mediterranean, 454.

Astronomy, ideas excited in our minds by its study, 142, 143.

B.

Bacon, Friar, branded as a necromancer by Mr Godwin, for having attempted to make a speaking head, 47, 48.

Ballingall, James, the mercantile navy improved by, 338; contains valuable information for a new classification of ships, 352.

Beaumont, Dr William, experiments and observations on the physiology of digestion, 173—175.

Bible, opinions held by German theologians regarding certain portions of it, 223—230.

Blermes, the original occupiers of Nubia, 302; the signification of their name, 303; expell the Nubians from their country, *ib.*

Bokhara, travels in, by Lieut. Alex. Burnes, 395.—See *Burnes*.

Bolaun, the pass of, 60.

Brain furnishes the mind with the material of thought, 178.

Brewster, Sir David, one of the first founders of the British Scientific Association, 370; appeals to the public in its behalf, 371, 372.

Bridgewater Treatise, Dr Roget's.—See *Roget*, and *Animal Physiology*.

Britain, Great, railways in.—See *Railways*.

British Association, report of its first, second, and third meetings for the advancement of science, 363; necessity of such an institution at the present time, 363—365; Sir David Brewster appeals to the public in its behalf, 371; rules laid down before its first meeting, 372; first meeting held at York, 373, 374; second meeting held at Oxford, 374; third meeting held at Cambridge, 375; fourth meeting held at Edinburgh, *ib.*; its primary objects considered, 377—387; objections urged against such meetings, 387; the great objects contemplated by its founder, 393—394.

Brougham, Lord, corrected report of his speech on moving the second reading of the bill to amend the Poor Laws, 230.

Burke, his reception and patronage of Crabbe, 257.

Burnes's, Lieut. Alexander, Travels into Bokhara, 395; difficulties attending their first attempt to sail up the Indus, 396—399; commence their voyage, 399; reach Bukkur, *ib.*; successful progress of the mission, 399, 400; reach the court of the great Maharaja Runjeet Sing, and reception there, 400—403; return along the frontiers of British India to Simla, 404; commences his journey to Western Turkistan, 405; reaches Lahore, *ib.*; proceeds up the Jelum, and visits the Tope of Manikyala, *ib.*; reaches the Indus, and fords the river, 406—408; reaches the plains of Peshawur, 409; extract describing the march of the caravan, 409, 410; crossed the desert plain of Buttecote, 410; arrives at Cabúl—his ideas respecting the race and language of the inhabitants immature, 411—413; leaves Cabúl, 413; description of the approach to the crest of the Paropamisson range, 413, 414; reaches Bameean, 415; enters the plain of Turkistan, *ib.*; enters Khooloom, 416; is denounced, but successfully extricates himself, 416, 417; arrival at Bokhara, 417; description and character of

the city, 418—421; proceeds to Meshed, 421; the importance of the journey, *ib.*

Byron's, Lord, poetry, addressed to the sentient, rather than to the perceptive qualities of the mind, 6.

C.

Caravaggio, merits of, discussed, 139.

Cardan, Jerome, notice of, by Mr Godwin, 51, 52.

Carrington, N. T., the collected poems of the late, edited by his son, 317; principally local, *ib.*; his early history, 318; character of his poems, 318—321; extracts from his poem 'Dartmoor,' 321—324; his talents appear to the greatest advantage in the minor poems, extracts from, 324—327.

Cellini, Benvenuto, accused and condemned for magic, 52, 53.

Christian Advocates, refutation of its remarks on the theology of Germany, 221—230.

Church Property, appropriation of, 483; many of the arguments brought forward are more ingenious than strong, *ib.*; the right of the Legislature to new mould ecclesiastical property, 484—487; what is the Church? 487—489; what is Church property? 489; Parliament has the moral and equitable right to appropriate church property to secular purposes, 491—494; best application of any surplus fund, 494; objections founded on the supposed inexpediency of alienating Church property, 495; when once alienated, must be viewed as part of the public income, *ib.*; no common fund should be established for religious purposes, 503; establishing a precedent, 504—506; Churches of England and Ireland are not bound up together by the act of Union, 506; comparison of the English and Irish Churches, 510—512; doctrine of numerical proportion of inhabitants argued for the support of religion, 513—518.

pamphlet on, 483; extract from, 489, 490.

Commons, House of, fall into many errors in their impatience to reform abuses, 235—244.

Conolly's, Lieut. Arthur, journey to the North of India, overland from England, through Russia, Persia, and Afghanistan, 54; stopped, and led far into the desert of the Turkomans, 55; escapes and pursues his journey by Herat; but detained at Meshed, *ib.*; melancholy description of the province of Meshed, 56, 57; arrives at Herat, and detained by a deficiency of funds, 57; generously assisted by Syed Muheen Shah, and arrives under his guidance at Candahar, 58; notice of that part of the country, 58, 59; remains in the Valley of Pisheen some days, 59; crosses the hills of Agrum and Musailaigh, *ib.*; arrives at Quetta, and introduced to the governor, 59, 60; enters the pass of Bolaun, 60; pass of Cundye, *ib.*; crosses the Indus near Shikarpoor, 61; at last arrives at Hissar, *ib.*; considers the project of an overland invasion of India, 61—66.

Corn Law Rhymes, the Splendid Village, &c.—See *Elliot, Ebenezer*.

Crabbe, Rev. George, life and poems of, 255; his life divided into two contrasted periods, *ib.*; early history, 255, 258; bitter moments of

his existence, 258—260 ; the effect which the situation his father held at Aldborough had on his future prospects, 260, 261 ; his talents and predilections, 261—267 ; the patronage he received, 267—269 ; the political principles he entertained, 269—270 ; his character as a clergyman, 270 ; susceptibility of feeling which he felt, 273—274 ; reserve he maintained concerning himself, 274 ; forgetfulness he felt for his old friends, 275—276 ; affection he and his wife had for each other, 276 ; as a grandfather, 277 ; full of unmeaning and unnecessary notes, 278 ; special criticisms not judicious, and criticisms on them, 278—281 ; the posthumous poems attached to the edition are decidedly inferior, 281—287 ; extracts from, 289—290 ; general opinion of the power and popularity of Crabbe, 282—287 ; analysis of his posthumous tales, 290—292 ; extracts from, 292—295 ; meagreness of his correspondence, 295.

Croly, Rev. D. P., on the Roman Catholic Church, 483 ; extracts from his able statement, 496—501. See *Irish Church*.

D.

Dissenters, admission of, to the English Universities, 202 ; their claim to admission withheld, as being *inexpedient* and *unjust*, *ib.* ; these arguments refuted, 202—230.—See *Universities*.

Durham, Earl, speech of, at the Edinburgh National Festival, 248—252.

E.

Edinburgh National Festival, given to Earl Grey, 248—252.

Education, benefits which would arise to Oxford and Cambridge by its system of education being revised, 210.

Egyptian, connexion between the Ethiopian and, language, 307—309 ; enquiry as to whether the Nubian ever had a community of religion with the ancient, 309 ; many of their customs still preserved in Nubia, 309, 310.

Ehrenberg's, Professor, discoveries regarding the Monads belonging to the order *Rotejera*, 150—153.

Elliot's, Ebenezer, poems—sketch of his history, 67, 68 ; originality of his poems, 68 ; conceives that the Corn Laws are owing to the selfishness of the higher orders, 69—71 ; extract showing that poetry has been studied and wrote, by the lower classes, 71 ; fancies that the hand of man is against his writings, 72—74 ; extracts to show his talents as a song-writer, 74—79 ; grapples with subjects of greater compass, as exemplified in extracts, 80—83 ; possesses great powers in describing nature, 83—86 ; 'vision of Bradshaw the regicide,' 87, 88 ; his miscellaneous poems inferior, 88 ; Miles Gordon, extracted from 'The Ranter,' 88—92 ; his picture of his home, 92 ; writes with fierce hostility against the wealthier parts of his countrymen, 92, 93 ; the Poet's prayer, 93.

Ethiopian, connexion between the Egyptian and, language, 307.

Euphrates, questions connected with the navigation of it, 457—463 ; dangers attending its navigation from the powers which possess it, 463—467 ; nearest point from it to the Mediterranean, 468.

Exeter, speech of Henry, Lord Bishop of, on presenting a petition from Cambridge, 423, 424.

F.

Faculty, meaning of the term, 218.

Flinter's, Colonel, account of the present state of the island of Puerto Rico, 328.—See *Puerto Rico*.

France, railways in operation and forming in, 118, 119.

French, sketch of the, students, 138.

G

Gair, F. C., antiquités de la Nubia, etc. par, 297.—See *Nubia*.

Genoa, picture of, 128—129.

German Students, sketch of, 137.

German Theologians, their opinions on portions of the Bible, 222—230.

Germany, railway formed in, 119.

Germany, the first country where a scientific association, was formed, 365.

Glassford's, James, lyrical compositions, selected from the Italian poets, with translations—the present time auspicious for its appearance, 355; his translations are generally excellent, *ib.*; might have made a better selection from Petrarch, 357, 358; extracts, 358—363.

Godwin's, William, *Lives of the Necromancers* 37; the *Physics* of, unmasked by several late writers, 37, 38; the history of human irrationality in the dark ages presents two classes of impostors, 38; history does not transmit to us a correct detail of their conduct, 39; the possessor of knowledge deluded not only the public but himself, *ib.*; the pretended discovery of the philosopher's stone, and the transmutation of base metal, into gold, 40; the forming of the universal medicine, and other causes, 41; Mr Godwin's work does not exhibit that philosophical sagacity looked for, *ib.*; objects of his work, as explained by himself, 42; absurd account of Cornelius Agrippa, 43—47; the celebrated Roger Bacon considered as a necromancer, by his attempt to make a speaking head, 47;—has not marked the distinction between *what was believed* and *what was wilfully fabricated*, 49;—this mistake shown in his account of the notorious Dr Faustus, *ib.*; the general silence of the East respecting individual necromancers, 49—50; brief account of Paracelsus and Jerome Cardan, 50—52; Urbain Grandier, considered by Mr G., 'as one of the cold blooded quacks,' 52, 53;—has not supplied an authentic history of necromancers, 54.

Grant, Professor, the first who gave accurate information respecting zoophytes, 147.

Grey, Earl, National Festival given to, at Edinburgh, 248—252.

H.

Handeck, description of the wild scenery of, 131—132.

Happiness, what it depends on, 296.

Hazlitt, William, treats the character of Portia in a very superficial manner, 184.

Heber, Bishop, his *Journal* is a model for future writers, 125.

I.

Improvements in inland transport,—See *Railroads*.

India, Journey to the North of, by Lieutenant A. Conolly, See *Conolly*.

India, overland invasion of, considered, 61; can never be effected by a *coup de main*, 62; physical difficulties which obstruct the way, *ib.*; difficulties arising from the character of the inhabitants, *ib.*; Bonaparte's plan, 63; an invasion by Russia contrary to its policy, 63—65; apprehensions of Britain on Bonaparte's design, 65; the invasion next to chimerical, 66.

India, on steam navigation to, the three routes proposed, 445; *first route* by the Cape of Good Hope, *ib.*; length of time, 446; the direct run, 447; expense of this route, 447, 448; *second route* by the Mediterranean, Egypt, and the Red Sea, 448—458; route by Alexandria, Suez, Red Sea, to Bombay, 449—451; by Alexandria, Cairo, to Suez, 454; expense of this route very great, *ib.*; route intended to be pursued from Suez to Bombay, 455—457; *third route* by the Persian Gulf and the Euphrates, 457; length of route, *ib.*; navigation of the Euphrates, 459—463; dangers likely to arise from the nations which possess it, 464—467; Persian Gulf the natural line for expeditious communications, 467, 468; route through Syria, 469; size and power of vessels to be employed, 470—476; financial part of the question, 476—480; the plague cannot be avoided on part of the route, 480; summary of the different routes, 480—482.

Indus, its general appearance at the mouth, 399; length it may be navigated, 403, 404.

Inglis, Sir Robert Harry, substance of his speech on presenting a petition from the University of Cambridge, 424—425.

Ireland, only one railway in, connects Dublin with King's Town, 114.

Irish Church, a certain sum should be laid aside from its funds for payment of the Roman Catholic clergy, 495; origin of the Irish Church, 507—510. See *Church Property*.

Italian Church, scene in an, 185—186.

Italians, sketch of the character of the, 138.

Jamieson, Mrs, Characteristics of Woman, 180; has judged correctly of her own powers in writing on such a subject, 180—182; comparison between the character of Shakspeare's Juliet and Wallenstein's Thekla, 190.—See *Shakspeare*.

Jamieson, Mrs, Visits and Sketches at home and abroad, 197; possess many of the beauties of the Characteristics, *ib.*; her account of Moritz Retzsch, 198—201.

L.

Land, value of, raised by railways passing through, or near it, 95—98—102.

Lely, Sir Peter, monotony of his works, 140.

Liverpool and Manchester Railroad, has added much to the value of the land through which it passes, 102; formidable expense entailed on the company in crossing Chat Moss, 103; scheme for another railway, patronised by men who objected to the original passing through their grounds, 103—104; savings made by Manchester

- houses in agencies alone, 106 ; comparison of price of carriage and number of passengers conveyed between—by the coaches and railway, *ib.* ; great expense attending it, for want of proper knowledge of the construction of the locomotive power, and railroad itself, 115—118.
- Lloyd's*, absurd method of arranging ships into three classes at, 343, 344.
- London*, would be vastly benefited in the quality of its provisions, by the establishment of railways through the adjacent country, 100—101.
- London*, railways connecting it with the surrounding country, 107—114.
- Lords, House of*, its functions as a court of judicature, and inexpedience as such, 24—26 ; utility of, as a branch of the legislature, 26, 27 ; not, however, so constituted at present, as to afford the best of legislative assemblies, 27 ; have defended many corruptions in church and state, 28 ; services which in ancient times they rendered to public freedom, *ib.* ; under the Tudors, servants of the Crown, 29, 30 ; entire change effected in the constitution of the House at the French Revolution, 30 ; does not now possess the wealth it formerly did, 31, 32 ; letter addressed to the Duke of Wellington to revive the ancient practice of creating peers for life, 32 ; necessity of, 32, 33 ; present state of the House removes the chief objection to such, 33—36 ; would be of advantage to the present race of hereditary peers, 36 ; and add weight and lustre to the House, 37 ; hereditary peerage might still be created, *ib.* ; has done great good to the cause of Reform, by correcting errors in bills sent up by the House of Commons, 235—242 ; dangers which may arise from such measures being sent up to them, 242—244.
- Luther's*, opinions on speculative theology, 225—226 ; practical theology, 226 ; Biblical criticism, 227—228.

M.

- Maccorah*, the decendants of the ancient Blemyes, 305—306.
- Mahmood*, canal of, 469.
- Mahommedan States*, condition of, at the present time, 64 ; consequence of, as regards an expedition to India, by Russia, 65.
- Marshall's, John*, statements as to the proceedings of the committee for classing the mercantile marine, 338 ; extracts from, 344—346.
- Mercantile Navy of Great Britain*, 338 ; the duty of government to look after its present state, 338, 339 ; amount of loss sustained by shipwreck, 339, 340 ; means of ascertaining the condition of ships most preposterous, 340 ; absurd method of arranging ships into three classes at *Lloyds*, 343, 344 ; evidence for the report of committee appointed to examine into it, 344—347 ; proposed to classify ships according to their construction, and to appoint inspectors ; value of such an arrangement, 347—350 ; the commanders and officers should be appointed after a proper examination, 350—352 ; the tonnage, or capacity of ships, has had injurious influence on the construction, 352 ; the repeal, or modification of the timber dues of the greatest importance, 352, 353.
- Meshed*, disorganized state of the province of, 56.
- Milton*, some of his sonnets are the finest specimens in the English language, 356.

N.

- National Characteristics*, difficulty of estimating them correctly, 187.
National Festival, given to Earl Grey at Edinburgh, 248—251.
Nature, reflections on the love of, 135.
Necromancers, Lives of, by William Godwin, 37.—See *Godwin*.
Negro Slavery, great danger of the public crying against it, if on the first days of emancipation there were bloodshed, 232, 233.
Nor'i, sketch of the town of, 129, 130.
Nubia, Ancient Monuments of, and appearance of the country, 297, 298; modern habitations of, 298; the modern Nubians are not the descendants of those who erected the ancient temples, 298, 299; ancient geographers show that the ancient Nubians occupied ground far removed from that now occupied, 299, 300; character of the inhabitants, 300, 301; when first established, 301; the Blemyes the original inhabitants of, 302; warfare between the Nobatæ and the Blemyes, 303; embrace Christianity, 305; summary of the historical facts which help to elucidate the transition of the Ancient into the Modern Nubia, 306; from whence was their language derived? 307, 308; had they a community of religion with the ancient Egyptians? 309; the customs of ancient Egypt and Ethiopia are still preserved, ib; physiognomy of its inhabitants, 310—312; are not descended from the Egypti-Ethiopians, 312; the character of the country likewise strengthens this, 313, 314; summary of the arguments, 314—316.

O.

- Offenberg*, sketch of the inhabitants of, 130, 131.
Ohio, navigation of the, 458.
Oken, Professor, the founder of an association for the study of science in the German states, 366.
Oxford, rise and progress of the domestic superintendence in, 207—210.

P.

- Painting*, only can give a true description of scenery, 133.
Paracelsus, notice of, in Godwin's Lives of the Necromancers, 50.
Parliament, the last session of, 230; danger arising from too hasty a desire for Reform, 230—235; important improvements in the law relating to justices of peace, made by the House of Lords, 235; bribery at elections' bill, 235—240; poor law bill, 240, 241; charge brought against the Ministry, for doing too little, 244; law of debtor and creditor, 244, 245; the exchequer, 245, 246; grand central court of criminal jurisdiction, 246; poor laws bill, 246—248.
Peel, Sir Robert, admits the right of the Legislature to new mould ecclesiastical property, 484, 485.
Philip Van Artevelde; a Dramatic Romance, by Henry Taylor, 1; displays great talent, ib.; just remarks on those writers of poetry, in whom feeling predominated over thought, 3; the form given to it rather against its success, 7—9; is of that class of poetry, addressed to the percipient properties of the mind, and full of reflections, 9;

detached passages to justify the commendation, 9, 17; style of the work bears abundant evidence of judicious care, 18; frequent coarse expressions and disagreeable images admitted, *ib.*; passage quoted on the death of Adriana, 19, 20; extracts from 'the Lay of Elena,' 20—24.

Physiology.—See *Animal and Vegetable*.

Physiognomical characteristics of the Nubians and the people of Sennâr, 310, 311.

Poetry, great eagerness and apathy shown for, during the present century, 2; satiety for, produced by an appeal to passions and the senses, 2—4; will be rendered more lasting when true knowledge is conveyed through its medium, 4—6; Lord Byron's poetry, 6; Mr Taylor's poem of 'Philip Van Artevelde,' 6, 7; can never equal the landscape painter in conveying the appearance of a place, 319.

Poetry, symptoms of reaction in, 354; the sonnet is the most difficult department of English poetry, 356; Milton has successfully surmounted the difficulty, *ib.*; Wordsworth has followed his example, 356, 357; the successful translation of a good sonnet almost as difficult to do, as an original composition, 357.

Poor-rates, decreased by the establishment of railways, 104.

Precedent, favourite fallacy amongst sticklers against a, 504—506.

Protestantism, increase of, through Europe, 518.

Puerto Rico, early history of, 329; its appearance and climate, 330, 331; population of, 331; character of the inhabitants, 331—334; produce of, 334; free coloured inhabitants more numerous than any West India Island, *ib.*; the slaves are treated with great kindness, and is the basis upon which the polity of the island rests, 334, 335; practicability of sugar cultivation, 335, 336; future destiny of this beautiful island depends on giving freedom to its slaves, 337.

R.

Railways, improvements in inland navigation, 94; opposition to, arises from the landlords, *ib.*; benefits arising to land from railways passing through them, 95—102; another ground of objection, is the injury likely to be produced to turnpike trusts, 98; advantages of, to agricultural producers, 98—102; attended with a variety of subordinate benefits, 104; speed of transit, 105; preference given by the public to, on account of the speed and cheapness of transit, 104—106; increases the number of passengers, 106; railways now in progress to connect Birmingham, Manchester, and Liverpool, 107; the ill effects of slopes to be avoided by tunnels, chasms, viaducts, and embankments, *ib.*; obstacle to the adoption of tunnels in the want of sufficient ventilation, 108—110; levels of the line, 109; width of road, 110; time which will be taken in passing from London to Birmingham, 110, 111; railway connecting London with Southampton and Portsmouth at present forming, 112; another projected between the metropolis and Bristol, *ib.*; an estimate these undertakings are likely to produce on the intercourse of the country, 113, 114; railways in contemplation, 114; only one railway in Ireland, *ib.*; railways in operation, and form-

- ing, in France, 118, 119; Germany, 119. For railways in United States, see *America*.
- Red Sea*, impossible to navigate it during the prevalence of the south-west monsoon, 449; description of it, 449—451.
- Reform*, dangers arising from too hasty a desire for, as instanced in several bills passed, 230—235; House of Lords of great use in correcting errors in Bills sent from the Commons, 235—244.
- Religion*, in Italy, 136.
- Religious Tests*, not held by the German Universities, 222—224.
- Retzsch, Moritz*, account of, by Mrs Jamieson, 198—201.
- Roget, Peter Mark*, Animal and Vegetable Physiology considered with reference to Natural Theology, by, 142; views and plan pursued by Dr Roget, 144, 145; treats almost exclusively of animal physiology, 145; general tone of piety which pervades the work, 146. See *Animal Physiology and Vegetable Physiology*.
- Roman Catholic Clergy*, should be paid by the state, 495; financial state of the, 496—498; places the priest in a position to become the demagogue and tool of his congregation, 498—500; effects of the present system on the laity, 500, 501; engagements they must enter into with the state if paid, 501; argument brought forward, that by paying them it is establishing their religion, 502, 503.
- Rosellini, Dottore Ippolito*, I. Monumenti dell' Egitto, e della Nubia, etc. See *Nubia*.

S.

- Scanderoon*, insalubrious state of the climate, 468, 469.
- Scientific Association*, first established in Germany by Professor Oken, 366; laws laid down for its future government, 367, 368; supported by the King of Bavaria, 368; first meeting held at Berlin, 368, 369.
- Scotch Burgh Bill*, would have been rendered nugatory if the qualification had been L.20, 233, 234.
- Sea Insurance*, a great cause of the shipwrecks which occur, 338—342.
- Sennâr*, the physiognomy of the people of, changed by the climate, 311.
- Serbelloni*, beauties of, 133, 134.
- Shakspeare*, the cause of his pre-eminence was his adherence to truth, 4.
- Shakspeare*, Mrs Jamieson's Characteristics of the female characters of, 180; difficulty of stating any thing new, 182—184; justice has never been done to them, 184; she has done much to place them in a new light, 185, 186; her observations on the character of Portia during the trial scene, 186—188, and the casket scene, 188, 189; reflections on Juliet, 189—194; on Miranda, 195, 196.
- Shipwrecks*, on the frequency of, 338; number of British vessels lost from 1793 to 1829, 339, 340; greatly caused by the system of insurance, 340—342; number of shipwrecks owing to natural causes, 353.
- Slight Reminiscences of the Rhine, Switzerland, and a Corner of Italy*, 125; is a faithful and interesting record of the scenes and circumstances witnessed, 127, 128; sketch of Genoa, 128, 129; Novi, 129, 130; Offenbergh and its inhabitants, 130, 131; scenery of the Handeck, 131,

- 132 ; Simplon, 132 ; scenery of the Lucerne Lake, 132, 133 ; glowing narrative of a day spent at Serbelloni, 133, 134 ; reflections on the love of nature, 135 ; natural scenery, *ib.* ; visit to an Italian church, and suggestions there on religion, 135, 136 ; Rousseau's eloquent exaggerations amusingly noticed, 136, 137 ; difficulty of estimating national characteristics correctly, 137 ; sketch of German students, and a comparison of them with the French, 137, 138 ; of the Italians, 138, 139 ; unpoetical temperament of the Swiss well expressed, 139 ; just appreciation of the works of Michael Angelo and Caravaggio, 139, 140 ; remarks on Vandyke's and Sir Peter Lely's works, 140 ; occasional sentimental deviations occur in the work, 140, 141.
- Society*, the form which it assumes must ultimately become amenable to reason, 364, 365.
- Spaniards*, character of the, 334, 335.
- Stanley's, Lord*, arguments for upholding the Irish Church, 513—515.
- Suez, Isthmus of*, estimated expense of clearing the old canal from Suez to the Nile, 452.
- Sugar*, practicability of raising it by unrestricted labour, 335, 336.
- Swiss*, unpoetical temperament of the, 139.

T.

- Tatta*, account of the town of, 398.
- Taylor's, Henry*, Philip Van Artevelde. See *Philip Van Artevelde*.
- Tory Administration*, the time may arrive when one may require to be placed at the head of affairs, 252—254.
- Travels*, different characteristics of books of, 125—127.

U.

- United States*, railways in. See *America*.
- Universities*, admission of Dissenters to the, 202 ; actual and legal constitution of, 203, 204 ; preliminary admissions made to simplify the question, 204, 205 ; do not, however, determine the question, but merely manifest their preposterous state, 205, 206 ; Dissenters have a natural right to the privileges of the, 206 ; how can that right be made available ? 207, 208 ; review of the rise and progress of the system of domestic superintendence in the, 207—210 ; plan proposed to allow Dissenters to found a College, or Colleges, for themselves, would be detrimental in the highest degree, 210, 211 ; a better plan would be by establishing, as of old, Halls or Hostels, 211, 212 ; the objection as to religious instruction brought forward against the Dissenters, 212, 213 ; name and nature of a university, 213—220 ; the religion taught cannot interfere with the Dissenters, *as no religious instruction is given*, 220, 221 ; the removal of religious tests would have the effect of placing men in office enemies to all religion—this argument refuted, 221—230.
-
- (*English*.) the opponents to the admission of Dissenters to them are by their speeches arguing a radical reform, 422, 423 ; Bishop of Exeter's speech on the injustice of interfering with trustees of a corporation, 423, 424 ; Sir Robert H. Inglis on the same subject, 424, 425 ; their arguments refuted, 425—427 ; and shown, *1st*, that a great

breach of trust had been committed, 428, 429 ; *2d*, by whom the breach had been committed, 429 ; *3d*, the interested motives which frustrated the constitutive statutes, *ib.* ; *4th*, that the collegial heads are fully conscious of such, 429, 430 ; ignorance of either House of Parliament to combat the mistatements brought forward, 430 ; the Dissenters could only claim admission into, as national schools, 430—432 ; the admission of Dissenters *not* determined by religious differences and religious motives, 432 ; value of the oath, 433—435 ; considered as an argument against the Dissenters, 436—438 ; as an argument on the part of the collegial interest, 438—445.

V.

Vandyke, remarks on the works of, 140.

Vegetable Physiology, food of plants, 167 ; plants which ought to be planted in succession, knowledge of, explains the principle of the rotation of crops, 167—169 ; explanation of the natural phenomenon called *Fairy Rings*, 169, 170.

W.

Warwick Bribery Bill, an example of unreflecting legislation, 238—240.

Wellington, letter to the Duke of, on creating Peers for life, 24 ; support which he gave to the Poor Law Bill, 246.

Woman, Characteristics of, by Mrs Jamieson. See *Shakspeare*.

Wordsworth, as a writer of sonnets, stands next to Milton amongst the English writers, 357.



