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CONTENTS.

ART. I. Mounier de l'Influence des Philosophes, Francs-Maçons, et Illuminés, sur la Revolution de France, p. 1
II. Dr Parr's Spital Sermon - - - - 18
III. Godwin's Reply to Parr - - - - 24
IV. Asiatic Researches, vol. VI. - - - - 26
V. Olivier's Travels in the Ottoman Empire, Egypt, and Persia - - - - - - - 44
VI. Baldwin's Political Reflections relative to Egypt 59
VII. Irvine's Inquiry into the Causes and Effects of Emigration from the Highlands and Western Islands of Scotland - - - - - - 61
VIII. Southey's Thalaba: a metrical Romance - 63
IX. Rennel's Discourses on various Subjects - 83
X. Voyage dans les Departemens de la France, par une Societé d'Artistes et Gens de lettres - - 91
XI. Christison's General Diffusion of Knowledge, one great cause of the prosperity of North Britain 92
XII. Bowles's Reflections at the Conclusion of the War 94
XIII. Herrenschand, Adresse aux Vrais Hommes de bien, à ceux qui gouvernent comme à ceux qui sont gouvernés - - - - - - - - 98
XIV. The Utility of Country Banks - - - - 106
XV. Pratt's Bread; or, The Poor—a Poem - - 108
XVI. Dr Langford's Anniversary Sermon - - 113
XVII. Mrs Opie's Poems - - - - - - *ibid.*
XVIII. Public Characters of 1801-2 - - - - - 122
XIX. Bonnet, Essai sur l'Art de rendre Revolutions utiles *ibid.*
XX. Nares's Thanksgiving Sermon for Plenty - - 128
XXI. Horneman's Travels - - - - - - 130
XXII. Mackenzie's Voyages in North America, &c. 141
XXIII. Wood's Optics - - - - - - - - 158
XXIV. Acerbi's Travels through Sweden, &c. - - 163
XXV. Thornton on the Paper Credit of Great Britain - 172
XXVI. Playfair's Illustrations of the Huttonian Theory - 201
XXVII. Crisis of the Sugar Colonies - - - - - 216
XXVIII. Morveau on the Means of Purifying Infected Air, &c. 237
XXIX. Dr Haygarth on the Prevention of Infectious Fevers 245

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CONTENTS of No. II.

Art. I. Villers's Philosophy of Kant - - - - - p. 253
II. Sonnini's Travels in Greece and Turkey - - 281
III. Paley's Natural Theology - - - - - 287
IV. Storch's Picture of Petersburgh - - - 305
V. Boyd's Divina Commedia of Dante - - - 307
VI. Lewis's Alfonso - - - - - - - 314
VII. Adolphus's History of England - - - 317
VIII. Denon's Travels in Egypt - - - - 330
IX. Politique de tous les Cabinets de l'Europe, &c. - 345
X. Necker's Last Views - - - - - - 382
XI. Scott's Minstrelsy of the Scotish Border - - 395
XII. Woodhouse on Imaginary Quantities - - 407
XIII. Anquetil's Oupnekhat - - - - - - 412
XIV. Hunter's Poems - - - - - - - 421
XV. Herschell on the New Planets - - - - 426
XVI. Canard, Principes d'Economie Politique - - 431
XVII. Bakerian Lecture on Light and Colours - - 450
XVIII. Young on Colours not hitherto described - - 457
XIX. Camperi Icones Herniarum - - - - - 460
XX. Heberden on the History and Cure of Diseases 466
XXI. Belsham's Philosophy of the Mind - - - 475
XXII. Mad. Necker, Reflexions sur le Divorce - - 486
XXIII. Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, Vol. V, Part II.; including Lord Woodhouselee's Remarks on a mixed species of Evidence in matters of History—Blizzard's Description of an Extra-uterine Fœtus—Mr Ivory's Solution of Kepler's Problem—Lord Ancram's Improvements in Arms and Cavalry Accoutrements—Mr Wallace of Perth's new method of expressing the Coefficients of the Development of the Algebraic Formula—Dr Kennedy's Chemical Analysis of an uncommon Species of Zeolite, &c. - - - - - - - - 495—510

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IN committing this Work to the judgement of the Public, the Editors have but little to observe.

It will be easily perceived, that it forms no part of their object, to take notice of every production that issues from the Press; and that they wish their Journal to be distinguished, rather for the selection, than for the number, of its articles.

Of the books that are daily presented to the world, a very large proportion is evidently destined to obscurity, by the insignificance of their subjects, or the defects of their execution; and it seems unreasonable to expect that the Public should be interested by any account of performances, which have never attracted any share of its attention. A review of such productions, like the biography of private individuals, could afford gratification only to the partiality of friends, or the malignity of enemies.—The very lowest order of publications are rejected, accordingly, by most of the literary journals of which the Public is already in possession. But the Conductors of the EDINBURGH REVIEW propose to carry this principle of selection a good deal farther; to decline any attempt at exhibiting a complete view of modern literature; and to confine their notice, in a great degree, to works that either have attained, or deserve, a certain portion of celebrity.

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As the value of a publication, conducted upon this principle, will not depend very materially upon the earliness of its intelligence, they have been induced to prefer a quarterly, to a monthly period of publication, that they may always have before them a greater variety for selection, and be occasionally guided in their choice by the tendencies of public opinion.

In a Review which is published at so long intervals, it would be improper to continue any article from one number to another; and, for this reason, as well as for the full discussion of important subjects, it may, sometimes, be found necessary to extend these articles to a greater length, than is usual in works of this nature. Even with these allowances, perhaps the reader may think that some apology is necessary for the length of a few articles in the present Number.—If he cannot find an excuse for them, in the extraordinary interest of the subjects, his candour will probably lead him to impute this defect to that inexperience, which subjects the beginning of all such undertakings to so many other disadvantages.

October 1802.

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THE

EDINBURGH REVIEW,

OCTOBER 1802.

ART. I. *De L'Influence attribuée aux Philosophes, aux Francs-Maçons, et aux Illuminés, sur la Revolution de France.* Par J. J. Mounier. Tubingen. pp. 245.

M. MOUNIER, "a man of talents and of virtue," according to the great anti-revolutionary writer of this country, the antagonist of Mirabeau, and the popular president of the first National Assembly, is well entitled to be heard upon the causes of the French revolution. He was not only a witness, but an actor, in those scenes, of the origin of which he is treating; and must therefore have felt in himself, or observed in others, the influence of every principle that really contributed to their production. His testimony, it may also be observed, is now given, after ten years of exile may be presumed to have detached him from the factions of his country, and made him independent of the gratitude or resentment of its rulers.

With all these claims to our attention, M. Mounier cannot, however, expect that his authority should be taken for decisive upon so vast and complicated a question. In an affair of this nature, it is not enough to have had a good opportunity for observation. Where so many interests are concerned, and so many motives put in action, a man cannot always give an account of every thing he sees, or even of every thing he has contributed to do. His associates may have acted upon principles very different from his; and he may have been the dupe of his opponents, even while he was most zealous in his resistance. It will be remembered, too, that M. Mounier, after cooperating in a revolution that was to consummate the felicity of his country, was obliged to leave it to the mercy of an unprincipled faction; and it may perhaps be conjectured, that he who was disappointed in the issue of these transactions, has also been mistaken as to their cause. M. Mounier, finally, is a man of letters, and is entitled to feel for philosophers some of the partialities of a brother. In denying that they had any share in the French revolution, he vindicates them from a charge that sounds heavy in the ears of mankind; and

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judges wisely, that it is safer to plead not guilty to the fact, than to the intention.

M. Mounier, however, is not one of those, whom the horrors of the revolution have terrified into an abjuration of the principles of liberty. He classes the bigots of despotism with the apostles of insurrection, and adheres steadily to those notions of regulated freedom which could not satisfy the revolutionary ardour of his countrymen. His book is written, upon the whole, in a style of great candour and moderation; and though it will not probably convert those who have faith in an antisocial conspiracy, must be allowed, upon all hands, to contain much acute reasoning, and many judicious remarks.

The work, as is indicated in the title-page, is divided into three parts, in which the charge of revolutionary agency is separately considered, as it applies to the Philosophers, to the Free-Masons, and to the Illuminati of Germany. The first of these is by much the largest, and contains nearly the whole of the author's reasonings and opinions upon the real causes of the revolution. We shall endeavour to lay before our readers a concise view of his doctrines upon this subject.

It is the clear and decided opinion of M. Mounier, that the revolution in France was brought about, neither directly, by the combination and conspiracy of its philosophers, nor indirectly, by the influence of their writings. It was brought about, he is persuaded, by the ordinary causes of political change; by the insubordination of the Parliaments, and the disorders of the finance; and by the new and extraordinary remedies that the Sovereign and his ministers thought fit to apply to these disorders.

The refractory and ambitious spirit of the Parliaments had been a source of vexation to the Court of France for more than half a century before the name of democracy was heard of in that kingdom. The members of these tribunals were always among the privileged orders; and the rights of the people formed no part of their subjects of contention with the Crown. They were suppressed under Lewis XV, and restored by his successor, before there was a man in France who had imagined the possibility of a popular revolution. The finances, on the other hand, had been in disorder for little less than a century. Since the time of Cardinal Fleuri, there had been a regular deficiency in the produce of the taxes, and a debt that was constantly increasing. From the year 1778 to the year 1784, the exigencies of the war with England had increased this debt by a sum of 1250 millions of livres; and when M. Neckar went out of office, the produce of the taxes was incapable of defraying the interest. The Parliaments, in the mean time, refused to register the edicts for new imposts; and it became evident, that the Government must be-

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come bankrupt, if the privileged orders were not subjected to a more effectual contribution. As they constituted all the Parliaments, however, it was in vain to hope for the cooperation of these bodies; and with a view to overrule them, or at least to dispense with their authority, the *Notables* were assembled in 1787. In spite of all the pains that had been taken to ensure the success of this experiment, it failed. M. de Calonne was dismissed; and M. de Brienne, who succeeded him, undertook to compel the Parliaments to register the Royal edicts in spite of their resistance. The contest had now become a matter of popular interest and attention; and as the taxes, and the pretensions of the noblesse to immunity, were extremely disagreeable to the body of the people, the demand that was suddenly made by the Parliament of Paris for the convocation of the States-General, was seconded by the voice of the whole nation. The States-General had not been assembled since the year 1614. The *Tiers Etat* was at that time in the completest subjection to the Crown and the Nobility; and as the produce of the Royal domain was at any rate sufficient for the ordinary expenses of Government, their temper and disposition was but of little national importance. In the year 1788, every thing was different; and the ministry were sufficiently aware, that if the States were once assembled, there was an end to the ancient administration of Government in the country. They resisted the demands of the people, therefore, as long as they possibly could. The convocation of the States-General, in the mean time, was the demand and the petition of every order of men in France: The clergy, the nobility, the capital, the parliaments, and even a considerable proportion of those who were about the person of the Sovereign, concurred in thinking it indispensable to their salvation. The army followed their example; resistance became impossible; the ministry was dismissed; and orders were given for assembling the ancient representatives of the nation.

A revolution was thus brought about, says M. Mounier, in which philosophy had not the slightest operation, and by which the ancient monarchy and aristocracy must necessarily have received some limitation. It was not yet apparent that they were both to be entirely overthrown. Perhaps there was not an individual in the country, that looked forward to the establishment of a republic. The events that followed, were not necessary consequences of those that had gone before; but they were produced by causes of the same description, and owed their origin, alike, to circumstances that had no connexion with the speculations of philosophers.

The chief cause of the failure of this grand experiment, and of the first disorders that accompanied the revolution, was, according to M. Mounier, the dissension that naturally arose among

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the different orders that had thus been called to deliberate, and the fluctuating and unsteady policy of the Court in its endeavours to overawe, or to reconcile them. As the principal object of this convocation, on the part of the Government, was to relieve the finances, by diminishing the exemptions of the privileged Orders, it would have rendered the whole scheme vain, to have given such a form to the Assembly as would have secured to these Orders the absolute command of its deliberations. M. Neckar, therefore, and a great part of the King's council, were disposed to listen to the applications that were made from all parts of the kingdom for a *double representation* of the Commons. The Parliaments, and most of the Nobility, were against it. Their opposition, however, was disregarded; the double representation was granted; and another question, of still greater importance, presented itself for the consideration of the Government.

By the ancient constitution of the States-General, the three different orders of Clergy, Nobility, and Commons, assembled in separate chambers, and took each of them their resolutions apart. The Third Estate was sure to be outvoted, therefore, in every question where the interest of the privileged orders was concerned; and the additional number of their representatives would not have secured them from insignificance, if this plan of deliberation had been adhered to. The same circumstances, therefore, that, by raising their consideration, and increasing their importance in the community, had entitled them to obtain a double representation, seemed obviously to require, that the ancient form of convocation should be abandoned, and that their voice should not be entirely without effect in the great Assembly of the nation. Notwithstanding the incalculable importance of adjusting this matter by some vigorous and immediate resolution, M. Mounier assures us, that the deputies were allowed to repair to Versailles, and the assembly of the States to be opened, before the King's ministers had come to any determination on the subject. It was known, at the same time, that one part of the deputies had been positively instructed by their constituents to contend for the ancient constitution of the States; while others had been directed to agree to nothing but the re-union of the Three Orders in one deliberative assembly.

The Chancellor de Barentin, in opening the session, congratulated the Third Estate upon the double representation they had so happily obtained, expressed his wishes for the agreement of the Three Orders to a joint deliberation, and ended by recommending it to them to begin by deliberating apart! M. Neckar held the same irresolute and inconsistent language; and each party conceived that the administration would decide ultimately in its favour.—This state of uncertainty only exasperated their prejudices, and fomented their mu-

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tual animosity. The ministry wavered and temporized. M. Neckar at last proposed that they should deliberate together, at least upon the question of their future organization. The expedient was probably futile; but it was not put to the test of experiment. After it had been approved of in council, it was suddenly retracted by the influence of a party immediately about the person of the king, and a peremptory order issued for the separation and independence of the Three Orders of representatives. To prepare for the promulgation of this edict, a guard was appointed to exclude the representatives of the Third Estate from the usual place of their meeting. They believed that the council had determined on their dissolution: They adjourned to a tennis-court in the neighbourhood; and, in the enthusiasm of alarm, took the celebrated oath, never to separate till a legal constitution had been established. M. Mounier acknowledges that this oath was fraught with danger to the prerogatives of royalty; but he denies that it was taken in an assembly of republicans; and justifies it, upon the ground of the emergency and alarm by which it was dictated. The councils of the king wanted that firmness that had been shown by the representatives of the people; the re-union of the orders was decreed; and the king commanded the privileged deputies to deliberate along with those of the Tiers Etat.

In all these transactions (says M. Mounier), the philosophers had no participation; they were the result of contending interests, and the consequences of a political conjuncture, to which no parallel could be found in the history of the world; they were the fruits, in a particular manner, of that improvidence and presumption, that neglected the signs of the times, and disdained to provide for events which it chose to consider as impossible. A revolution, however, was already accomplished; and it might have terminated happily at this point, had it not been for fresh imprudencies of which the Government was guilty.

In spite of the dissensions by which they had been preceded, the first meetings of the National Assembly gave the greatest indications of returning harmony and order. The friends of monarchy, and the advocates for moderation, constituted the great majority, both in that assembly and in the nation. The aristocratical counsellors, however, by whom the king was surrounded in secret, destroyed this fair prospect of tranquillity; they persuaded him to try the effects of terror; they surrounded the metropolis with armies; they dismissed the popular ministers with insult, and replaced them by the avowed advocates of the prerogative. The populace, full of indignation and apprehension at the military array with which they were surrounded, rose in a tumultuous manner, and demolished the Bastille; a great part of the troops declared for the popular side of the question; the people flew to

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arms in every part of the country; and the King was once more obliged to submit. The triumph which the lower orders had now obtained, and the dangers they had escaped, inflamed their presumption and their prejudices: the nobility and the higher clergy became the objects of their jealousy and aversion. Men were found in the Assembly, who were capable of employing those terrible passions as the instruments of their own elevation, and of purchasing a dangerous popularity, by the indiscriminate persecution of the aristocracy. Though these incendiaries did not at first exceed the number of 80, in an assembly of 800, their audacity, their activity, the terror of their associates among the rabble, and the disunion of those by whose cooperation they should have been opposed, gave them a fatal ascendancy in the capital, and enabled them, at length, to subject every part of the government to their will. Then followed the outrages of the 5th and 6th of October; the King's flight to Varennes; and the establishment of the republic in bloodshed and injustice.

Such, according to this author, was the true course and progress of the revolution, and such the causes to which it ought to be ascribed. The speculative writings of philosophers had as little to do with it as the lodges of Free-Masonry. The first steps were taken by men who detested the philosophers as infidels, or despised them as visionaries; the last, by men to whom all philosophy was unknown, and who pretended to use no finer instruments of persuasion than the purse and the dagger.

This account is certainly entitled to the praise of great clearness and simplicity, and cannot be denied to have a foundation in truth; but it appears to us to be deficient in profundity and extent, and to leave the revolution, in a great measure, to be accounted for, after all these causes have been enumerated and recognized. The finances of a nation may be disordered, we conceive, or its representatives assembled, without subverting its constitution. The different orders of the State may disagree, and grow angry in support of their respective pretensions, without tearing the frame of society to pieces, and obliterating every vestige of ancient regulation. The circumstances enumerated by M. Mounier, seem to us to be only the occasions and immediate symptoms of disorder, and not the efficient and ultimate causes. To produce the effects that we have witnessed, there must have been a revolutionary spirit fermenting in the minds of the people, which took advantage of those occurrences, and converted them into engines for its own diffusion and increase. M. Mounier, in short, has given us rather an history of the revolution, than an account of its causes; he has stated events as depending upon one another, which actually proceeded from one common principle; and thought he was explaining the origin of a disorder, when he was

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only investigating the circumstances that had determined its eruption to one particular member.

He has thus accounted for the revolution, it seems to us, in no other way than an historian would account for an invasion, by describing the route of the assailing army, enumerating the stations they occupied, the defiles that were abandoned to them, and the bridges they broke up in their rear; while he neglected to inform us in what places the invaders had been assembled, by whom they had been trained and enlisted, and how they had been supplied with arms, and intelligence, and audacity. He has stated, as the first causes of the revolution, circumstances that really proved it to be begun; and has gone no farther back than to the earliest of its apparent effects. He has mistaken the cataracts that broke the stream, for the fountains from which it rose; and contented himself with referring the fruit to the blossom, without taking any account of the germination of the seed, or the subterraneous windings of the root.

It is in many cases, we will confess, a matter of great difficulty to distinguish between the predisposing and occasional causes of a complicated political event, or to determine in how far those circumstances that have *facilitated* its production, were really indispensable to its existence. In the question of which we are now treating, however, there does not appear to be any such nicety. M. Mounier maintains, that the revolution was occasioned entirely by the financial embarrassments of France, by the convocation of the States-General, and the irresolution of the Royal councils. The question therefore is not, whether the revolution could have been accomplished without these occurrences; but whether these are sufficient to account for it of themselves; and whether they leave nothing to be imputed to the influence of the preachers of liberty, and the writings of republican philosophers.

Now, upon this question, we profess to entertain an opinion not less decided than that of M. Mounier, though it happens to be diametrically opposite. Had there been no previous tendency to a revolution in France, the government might have declared a bankruptcy, without endangering the foundations of the throne; and the people would have remained quiet and submissive spectators of the quarrels between the ministers and the parliaments, and of the convocation and dissolution of the States-General themselves. This, indeed, is expressly the sentiment of M. Mounier himself, (p. 29.); and it is justified by all preceding experience. But if events might have happened in 1690, without endangering the monarchy, that were found sufficient to subvert it in 1790, it is natural to inquire, from what this difference has proceeded? All parties, it is believed, will agree in the answer—It proceeded from

the change that had taken place in the condition and sentiments of the people; from the progress of commercial opulence; from the diffusion of information, and the prevalence of political discussion. Now, it seems difficult to deny, that the philosophers were instrumental in bringing about this change; that they had attracted the public attention to the abuses of government, and spread very widely among the people, the sentiment of their grievances and their rights. M. Mounier himself informs us, that, for some time *before* the revolution, the French nation "had been enamoured of the idea of liberty, without understanding very well what it meant, and without being conscious that they were so soon to have an opportunity of attaining it. When that opportunity offered itself," he adds, "it was seized with an enthusiastic eagerness that paralyzed all the nerves of the Sovereign." He acknowledges also, that the deputies of the Tiers Etat were enabled to disobey the royal mandate for their separation, and to triumph in that disobedience, only because the *public opinion* was so decidedly in their favour, that nobody could be found who would undertake to disperse them by violence.

Now, if it be true, that for upwards of twenty years before this period, this love of liberty had been inculcated with much zeal and little prudence, in many eloquent and popular publications, and that the names and the maxims of those writers were very much in the mouths of those who patronized the subversion of royalty in that country, is it not reasonable to presume, that some part of this enthusiasm for liberty, and some part of that popular favour for those who were supposed to be its champions, by means of which it is allowed that the revolution was accomplished, may be attributed to the influence of those publications?

We do not wish to push this argument far; we are conscious that many other causes contributed to excite, in the minds of the people, those ideas of independence and reform by which the revolution was effected. The constant example, and increasing intimacy with England—the contagion caught in America—and, above all, the advances that had been made in opulence and information, by those classes of the people to whom the exemptions and pretensions of the privileged orders were most obnoxious—all cooperated to produce a spirit of discontent and innovation, and to increase their dislike and impatience of the defects and abuses of their government. In considering a question of this kind, it should never be forgotten, that it had many defects, and was liable to manifold abuses: But for this very reason, the writers who aggravated these defects, and held out these abuses to detestation, were the more likely to make an impression. To say that they made none, and that all the zeal that was testified in

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France against despotism, and in favour of liberty, was the natural and spontaneous result of reflection and feeling in the minds of those whom it actuated, is to make an assertion which does not sound probable, and certainly has not been proved. That writings, capable of exciting it, existed, and were read, seems not to be contested upon any hand: It is somewhat paradoxical to contend, that they had yet no share in its excitation. If Moliere could render the faculty of medicine ridiculous by a few farces, in an age much less addicted to literature; if Voltaire could, by the mere force of writing, advance the interests of infidelity, in opposition to all the orthodox learning of Europe; is it to be imagined, that no effect would be produced by the greatest talents in the world, employed upon a theme the most popular and seductive?

M. Mounier has asked, if we think that men require to be taught the self-evident doctrine of their rights, and their means of redress; if the Roman insurgents were led by philosophers, when they seceded to Mons Sacer; or, if the Swiss and the Dutch asserted their liberties upon the suggestion of democratical authors? We would answer, that, in small states, and barbarous ages, there are abuses so gross, as to be absolutely intolerable, and so qualified, as to become personal to every member of the community; that orators supply the place of writers in those early ages; and that we only deny the influence of the latter, where we are assured of their non-existence. Because a vessel may be carried along by the current, shall we deny that her progress is assisted by the breeze?

We are persuaded, therefore, that the writings of those popular philosophers, who have contended for political freedom, had some share in bringing about the revolution in France; how great, or how inconsiderable a share, we are not qualified to determine, and hold it indeed impossible to ascertain. There are no *data* from which we can estimate the relative force of such an influence; nor does language afford us any terms that are fitted to express its proportions. We must be satisfied with holding that it existed, and that those who deny its operation altogether, are almost as much mistaken as those who make it account for every thing.

But though we conceive that philosophy is thus, in some degree, responsible for the French revolution, we are far from charging her with the guilt that this name implies. The writers to whom we allude, may have produced effects very different from what they intended, and very different even from what their works might seem calculated to produce. An approved medicine may have occasioned convulsions and death; and the flame

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that was meant to enlighten, may have spread into conflagration and ruin.

M. Mounier, throughout his book, has attended too little to this distinction. He has denied, for the philosophers, all participation in the fact; and has had but little interest, therefore, to justify them on the score of intention. It is a subject, however, which deserves a little consideration.

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

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foretold those consequences by which the whole world has since been astonished.

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

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

M. Mounier expresses himself with much judgment and propriety upon the subject of religion; its necessity to a sound morality, and its tendency to promote rational liberty, and to preserve good order. He is of opinion, however, that there is no natural connexion between irreligion and democracy, and thinks

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that the infidel writers of this age have not to answer for its political enormities. He observes, that it was during the devoutest ages of the Church, that Italy was covered with republics, and that Switzerland asserted her independence; that the revolted States of America were composed of the most religious people of the world; and that the liberty and equality which brought Charles the First to the block, were generated among fanatics and puritans.

Our limits will not allow us to enter fully into the consideration of this very important question. We shall take the liberty to make but two remarks upon the opinion we have just quoted: The one is, that the existence of insurrections in a religious age, is no proof of the inefficacy of religion to promote a rational submission to authority;—a check may be very strong, without being altogether insurmountable; and disorders may arise in spite of religion, without discrediting its tendency to suppress them. It surely would be no good ground for denying that intoxication made men quarrelsome, to enumerate the instances in which people had quarrelled when they were sober. The other remark is, that instances taken from the conduct of enthusiasts and bigots, have no fair application to the present question. Fanaticism and irreligion approach very nearly to each other, in their effects on the moral conduct. He who thinks himself a favourite with the Deity, is apt to be as careless of his behaviour, as he who does not believe at all in his existence; both think themselves alike entitled to dispense with the vulgar rules of morality; and both are alike destitute of the curb and the guidance of a sober and rational religion. Submission to lawful authority is indisputably the maxim of Christianity; and they who destroy our faith in that religion, take away one security for our submission, and facilitate the subversion of governments. This is a great truth, the authority of which is not impaired by the rebellions that priests have instigated, or the disorders that fanatics have raised.

After having detained our readers so long with the investigation of M. Mounier's own theory of the revolution, we can scarcely undertake to follow him through all his remarks on the theories of others. He treats, with much scorn and ridicule, the idea of accounting for this great event, by the supposition of an actual conspiracy of philosophers and speculative men; and, upon this subject, we conceive that his statement is correct and satisfactory. There never were any considerable number of literary men in France, we are persuaded, who wished for the subversion of royalty; and the few that entertained that sentiment, expressed it openly in their writings, and do not appear to have taken any extraordinary pains, either to diffuse, or to set it in action. In attempting to prove this pretended conspiracy of the philosophers

against the throne, we conceive that the Abbé Baruel has completely failed; and are certain, that his zeal has carried him into excesses, which no liberal man will justify. We shall say nothing of the declarations of that miserable hypochondriac (Le Roi), who is said to have revealed the secret of the Committee which met at Baron Holbach's: But when an obscure writer denounces Montesquieu as a conspirator, and loads with every epithet of reproach, the pure and respectable names of Turgot, Malesherbes, and Neckar, the public will know what to think of his charity and his cause. It required certainly nothing less than the acuteness of the *odium theologicum*, to discover in Neckar's book on the importance of religious opinions, a proof of the *atheism* of the writer; and it would require a faith, that had superseded both charity and judgment, to believe that this virtuous minister "excited a famine, to drive the people to revolt; and then ruined the finances, to force them on to rebellion." Our readers will see, with pleasure, the refutation of these calumnies in this publication of M. Mounier. We regret that our limits do not permit us to enter at all into the detail of his observations.

We agree, then, upon the whole, with M. Mounier, that the revolution was produced by apparent and natural causes; that there is no room for pretending to *discoveries* upon such a subject; and that the conspiracies, and secret combinations which some writers have affected to disclose, have had no existence, but in their own imaginations. In the year 1786, there probably was not a man in France, who entertained the idea of overthrowing the throne of the Bourbons; and the party that shook it first, had evidently no connexion with that which laid it in ruins. It would not be easy to say, then, which party was the agent of this conspiracy of philosophers; and they who fought against each other, could not well be pupils of the same school, nor acting from the same code of instruction. If the Parliaments acted in subordination to this antimonarchical conspiracy, the leaders of the first National Assembly must have acted against it. If Fayette was its emissary, Orleans must have been its foe. The conspirators who supported Brissot, could not have contributed to the successes of Robespierre; and the devices by which Robespierre was successful, cannot account for the triumphs of Buonaparte. The idea, in short, of a conspiracy, regularly concerted, and successfully carried on by men calling themselves philosophers, for the establishment of a republic, appears to us to be the most visionary and extravagant. Such a supposition has, no doubt, a fine dramatic effect, and gives an air of theatrical interest to the history; but, in the great tragedy of real life, there are no such fantastic plots, or simple catastrophes. Events are always produced by the cooperation of complicated causes; and the theories that

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would refer them to extraordinary and mysterious agents, may infallibly be rejected as erroneous.

We differ from M. Mounier, on the other hand, in believing, that though the philosophers did not concert, or organize the revolution in their councils of conspiracy, they yet contributed, in some degree, to its production, by the influence of their writings; the greater part without consciousness or design, and a few through a dangerous zeal for liberty, or an excessive thirst for distinction.

We have now concluded all that we meant to say upon the first part of M. Mounier's publication, or that in which he treats of the philosophers; and the length to which our observations have extended, must confine, within very narrow limits, our remarks on the remaining two parts.

On the subject of Free-Masonry, he treats, we think, with merited contempt, the reveries and visions of the Abbé Baruel, as to the crimes of the Templars, and the doctrine of Manes. He adopts the opinion of Professor Robison, as to the origin of this institution; and enumerates several of the opposite interpretations that have been given of the symbolical representations it employs. He denies that the secret of free-masonry, consists in liberty and equality; and reasons, with great acuteness, upon the absurdity of supposing, that the real import of this secret should have been unknown to its inventors. The Abbé Baruel, he says, maintains that this doctrine was reserved for the higher orders, and was not taught in England at all: yet he seems to allow, that it was from England that the rest of Europe have derived this institution; and he says, that five out of six of the free-masons in France, had been initiated into this dangerous doctrine. Now, it is strange, that the instructors of all the rest, should have been ignorant of the purport of their doctrine; and it is no less strange, that a doctrine, imparted only to the higher degrees, and withheld from the apprentices, companions, and masters, should have been made known to five-sixths of the whole free-masons in France. He admits, that certain individuals may, about the beginning of the revolution, have taken advantage of the secrecy and security of their lodges, to propagate seditious doctrines; but he denies that this was the object of the institution, or that the practice was prevalent to any dangerous degree. Orleans, he admits, was Grand-Master of the French lodges; but he owed that situation to his distinguished birth, and succeeded the prince of Conti. He vindicates several individuals from the imputation of impiety and disaffection, brought against them by Baruel; and speaks highly of the devotion and morality of many members of the Martiniste, and other most suspected lodges: At the same time, he assures his readers, that he is not himself either a Free-Mason or a Martiniste, and complains a little of Professor Robison, for having re-

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presented him as such. He allows, that all secret societies are capable of becoming dangerous; and that it is the duty of Government to ascertain what are their doctrines and proceedings; but he alleges, that those of the free-masons have always been puerile and innocent: He observes, that they are still patronized by the friends of government and religion, in every nation of Europe; and reckon among their members, some of the most distinguished princes, prelates, and statesmen, that the age can boast of.

It seems to us to be impossible to refuse our assent to these general conclusions: Yet our author has, perhaps, treated too slightly the abuses which this institution sustained in France, during the first days of the revolution. The secrecy of their meetings and proceedings was certainly very favourable to the propagation of dangerous doctrines, and the concoction of wicked designs. It is highly natural to suppose that advantage would be taken of this circumstance, by those who were then caballing for power. The advantage, however, we certainly believe, was neither indispensable to their success, nor of importance to their progress. To refer the revolution to such a cause, is like referring the progress of a victorious army, to their having occupied a small eminence in their approach; it might cover their array for a moment, but could never be the means of their conquest. The Jacobin club never assembled under the disguise of a mason lodge, nor any of its affiliated societies; nor is any thing, indeed, more absurd, thon to suppose that men should be converted into democrats in a crowd, by the help of mummery, and symbols, and enigmas.

The last part of M. Mounier's work is employed upon the illuminated orders of Germany. Most of our readers have, probably, looked into the publications, in which the views and doctrines of this famous society have lately been denounced to the public. The critical time at which these writings appeared in this country, gave them an interest, which the subject could never have commanded at any other; and people are still shuddering, in Britain, at a discovery which has been forgotten in Germany for more than a dozen of years. A great part of M. Mounier's observations upon this subject, are directed to elucidate the real views and objects of Weishaupt and his followers. He admits that their practices were illegal, and that their suppression was right: But the lessons taught in the lower degrees, he conceives to have been innocent; and the design of procuring all offices for men of talents, more impracticable than rebellious. The number of princes, nobles, magistrates, &c. that were initiated, and are recorded as converts, he takes to be a decisive proof of the political safety of the doctrines they made public; and the non-existence of any insurrection, or tendency to insurrection, either in Bava-

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ria or in any part of the empire, he assumes, with reason, as a decisive argument against the possibility of their being the instigators of the French revolution. We have not leisure to follow him through all the observations he makes upon this subject: It is more to the purpose, to consider what he says as to the direct charge of their having contributed to bring about the French revolution.

Upon this charge, he observes, in the first place, that the doctrine of the Illuminati, as it appears in their original papers, is essentially different from that of the Jacobin leaders of the revolution: The former were for guiding the existing governments by secret and pacific influence, and were ambitious to enrol potentates and nobles among their members; the latter were for subverting every thing, and waged open war with all that was distinguished by birth or by office. The followers of Weishaupt professed to detest all violence, and to depend upon time and patience for the consummation of their wishes. The Jacobins preached, every where, *the sacred duty of insurrection*; and valued themselves upon regenerating a kingdom in a year. The German speculatists terminated their views, in the ultimate disappearance of every species of political institution, and the *kingship* of every father of a family. The French empiric pretended to regard the happiness of the individual, as dependent upon the perfection of the constitution under which he was to live. Each, accordingly, has acted in conformity to the principles it professed. The Jacobins have filled all France with desolation and terror. In the three hundred states and principalities of Germany, the Illuminati have not been so much as accused of having excited the slightest disturbance. Their chieftain has found an asylum in the court of a Prince too wise to be a dupe, and too virtuous to be an accomplice.

In the second place, M. Mounier remarks, that the society of Illuminati was suppressed in 1787; and the French revolution could not be said to have begun till 1789.

In the third place, he observes, and it is an observation that seems of itself nearly decisive of the question, that the name of France is never once mentioned in all that mass of papers that was seized in Bavaria; and that though they contain the most complete lists of their members, and the places of their meetings, there is not the name of a single Frenchman to be found among the number. With the exception of a few Italians, the society was composed altogether of the natives of Germany.

M. Baruel ascribes the *illumination* of all France to the labours of Bode and De Busch, who spent a few weeks in Paris in the year 1787. M. Mounier treats the idea of this sudden conversion with the ridicule it appears to deserve, and afterwards expresses himself in a more serious manner, in these words:

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" I lived, during the first days of the revolution, in the society of many friends to true liberty, (and I hope, myself, to be reckoned among the number); and I am ready to declare upon my oath, that I never had the slightest reason to suspect, that the principles of any one of them were influenced, in the smallest degree, by the societies of Free-Masons, or of Illuminati. I also knew many at that time, whose conduct was less laudable, and who afterwards steered the vessel of the State into the middle of shoals and dangers; but for them also, I can make the same protestation. "

When the character and opportunities of M. Mounier are attended to, this testimony must be allowed to possess very great authority.

He denies, that the story of Mirabeau's illumination is entitled to any credit. " The emissaries of Weishaupt would have attempted in vain, " he says, " either to add to his information, to change his opinions, or to correct his vices. " With regard to Prunelle De Lierre, whom Baruel accuses of having attempted to seduce Camille Jordan into the sect of Illuminati, and of having corresponded with him for that purpose, M. Mounier avers, that *he has it from Jordan himself*, that De Lierre never spoke to him on the subject of the Illuminati, never mentioned the name in his presence, and never wrote to him a syllable upon the subject.

Upon the facts contained in these statements, we are not qualified to decide; but the opinions expressed by the author, meet in general with our approbation. The object of the Illuminated Orders was probably, in its own nature, unattainable; and they would have perished by their internal dissensions, before they could have given any disturbance to the community. At the same time, their constitution was a system of manifest usurpation; and, independently of the doctrines they taught, their secret association alone, made them a proper object of reprobation. We are persuaded, at the same time, that their principles never spread beyond the precincts of Germany; and that they had no sort of share in producing the revolution in France. M. Baruel himself will not deny, that there is not a word in the papers of the sect, that could so much as suggest that idea; and the circumstances, by which he endeavours to support it, prove nothing to an impartial mind, but his own zeal and credulity.

We cannot dismiss this work of M. Mounier's, without bearing testimony, once more, to the candour and liberality which he has constantly preserved in treating of a subject, that has, more than any other, exasperated the prejudices of men. The time is coming, we hope, when this praise will confer less distinction; and when men, recovering from their apprehensions, and cooling from

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their contests, shall begin to study the *moral* of that great tragedy, by which they have all been agitated, as actors or spectators.

M. Mounier's style is clear, concise, and energetic: he does not aim at pathetic eloquence; and never offends by that frothy declamation, which has been so common among the politicians of his country. His arguments are sometimes imperfectly expressed; and he frequently writes like a man, who despises the objections of his antagonists too much, to give them a good answer. As a short specimen of his manner of composition, we shall subjoin the following character of Mirabeau.

'The restless ambition of Mirabeau, and his insatiable thirst for celebrity, riches and power, made him, at the same moment, the slave of every party in the State. I have seen him go from the nocturnal committees of the partizans of Orleans, to the meetings of the determined republicans; and from those, again, to the cabinets of the King's ministers. He was always willing, however, to have sided with the latter; and, if they had granted him the terms he expected, he would have preferred the support of Royalty to an alliance with men he despised. His principles are not to be judged of, by the innumerable contradictions that occur in his speeches and publications. In these, he never studied so much to say what he thought, as what was most suitable to his interest at the existing crisis. To me he has frequently communicated his real opinion; and a man, certainly, I have never known, of an understanding more enlightened, of a more consummate knowledge of politics, of a character more venal, or a heart more depraved. He sold himself, in the end, several times over to the Court: But, before the purchase was completed, he had become unserviceable for any thing but mischief; and had so entangled himself with the demagogues and perturbators of the public peace, that he could not speak reasonably, without being accused of treachery to their cause."

Art. II. *Spital Sermon*, preached at Christ-church upon Easter Tuesday, April 15. 1800. To which are added, Notes by Samuel Parr, LL.D. Printed for J. Mawman in the Poultry. 1801. Quarto. Closely printed. pp. 161.

Whoever has had the good fortune to see Dr Parr's wig, must have observed, that while it trespasses a little on the orthodox magnitude of perukes in the anterior parts, it scorns even Episcopal limits behind, and swells out into boundless convexity of frizz, the *μεγα θαυμα* of barbers, and the terror of the literary world. After the manner of his wig, the Doctor has constructed his sermon, giving us a discourse of no common length, and subjoining an immeasureable mass of notes, which

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appear to concern every learned thing, every learned man, and almost every unlearned man since the beginning of the world.

For his text, Dr Parr has chosen *Gal.* vi. 10. *As we have therefore opportunity, let us do good to all men, especially to those who are of the household of faith.* After a short preliminary comparison between the dangers of the selfish system, and the modern one of universal benevolence, he divides his sermon into two parts: In the first, examining how far, by the constitution of human nature, and the circumstances of human life, the principles of particular and universal benevolence are compatible: In the last, commenting on the nature of the charitable institution, for which he is preaching.

The former part is levelled against the doctrines of Mr Godwin; and, here, Dr Parr exposes, very strongly and happily, the folly of making universal benevolence the *immediate motive* of our actions. As we consider this, though of no very difficult execution, to be by far the best part of the sermon, we shall very willingly make some extracts from it.

'To me it appears, that the modern advocates for universal philanthropy have fallen into the error charged upon those who are fascinated by a violent and extraordinary fondness for what a celebrated author calls "some moral species." Some men, it has been remarked, are hurried into romantic adventures, by their excessive admiration of fortitude. Others are actuated by a headstrong zeal, for disseminating the true religion. Hence, while the only properties, for which fortitude or zeal can be esteemed, are scarcely discernible, from the enormous bulkiness to which they are swollen, the ends, to which alone they can be directed usefully, are overlooked or defeated; the public good is impaired, rather than increased; and the claims that other virtues equally obligatory have to our notice, are totally disregarded. Thus, too, when any dazzling phantoms of universal philanthropy have seized our attention, the objects that formerly engaged it, shrink and fade. All considerations of kindred, friends and countrymen, drop from the mind, during the struggles it makes to grasp the collective interests of the species; and when the association that attached us to them has been dissolved, the notions we have formed of their comparative insignificance will prevent them from recovering, I do not say any hold whatsoever, but that *strong* and *lasting* hold they once had, upon our conviction and our feelings. Universal benevolence, should it, from any strange combination of circumstances, ever become passionate, will, like every other passion, "justify itself:" and the importunity of its demands to obtain a hearing, will be proportionate to the weakness of its cause. But what are the consequences? A perpetual wrestling for victory between the refinements of sophistry, and the remonstrances of indignant nature —the agitations of secret distrust in opinions, which gain few or no

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proselytes, and feelings which excite little or no sympathy—the neglect of all the usual duties, by which social life is preserved or adorned; and in the pursuit of other duties which are unusual, and indeed imaginary, a succession of airy projects, eager hopes, tumultuous efforts, and galling disappointments, such, in truth, as every wise man foresaw, and a good man would rarely commiserate.'

In a subsequent part of his sermon, Dr Parr handles the same topic with equal success.

'The stoics, it has been said, were more successful in weakening the tender affections, than in animating men to the stronger virtues of fortitude and self-command; and possible it is, that the influence of our modern reformers may be greater, in furnishing their disciples with pleas for the neglect of their ordinary duties, than in stimulating their endeavours for the performance of those which are extraordinary, and perhaps ideal. If, indeed, the representations we have lately heard of universal philanthropy, served only to amuse the fancy of those who approve of them, and to communicate that pleasure which arises from contemplating the magnitude and grandeur of a favourite subject, we might be tempted to smile at them as groundless and harmless. But they tend to debase the dignity, and to weaken the efficacy of those particular affections, for which we have daily and hourly occasion in the events of real life. They tempt us to substitute the ease of speculation, and the pride of dogmatism, for the toil of practice. To a class of artificial and ostentatious sentiments, they give the most dangerous triumph over the genuine and salutary dictates of nature. They delude and inflame our minds with pharisaical notions of superior wisdom and superior virtue; and, what is the worst of all, they may be used as "a cloke to us" for insensibility, where other men feel; and for negligence, where other men act with *visible* and *useful*, though *limited*, effect.'

In attempting to show the connexion between particular and universal benevolence, Dr Parr does not appear to us to have taken a clear and satisfactory view of the subject. Nature impels us both to good and bad actions; and, even in the former, gives us no measure by which we may prevent them from degenerating into excess. Rapine and revenge, are not less natural than parental and filial affection; which latter class of feelings may themselves be a source of crimes, if they overpower (as they frequently do) the sense of justice. It is not, therefore, a sufficient justification of our actions, that they are natural. We must seek, from our reason, some principle which will enable us to determine what impulses of nature we are to obey, and what we are to resist: such is that of general utility, or, what is the same thing, of universal good; a principle which sanctifies and limits the more particular affections. The duty of a son to

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a parent, or a parent to a son, is not an ultimate principle of morals, but depends on the principle of universal good, and is only praiseworthy, because it is found to promote it. At the same time, our spheres of action and intelligence are so confined, that it is better, in a great majority of instances, to suffer our conduct to be guided by those affections which have been long sanctioned by the approbation of mankind, than to enter into a process of reasoning, and investigate the relation which every trifling event might bear to the general interests of the world. In his principle of universal benevolence, Mr Godwin is unquestionably right. That it is the grand principle on which all morals rest—that it is the corrective for the excess of all particular affections, we believe to be undeniable: and he is only erroneous in excluding the particular affections; because, in so doing, he deprives us of our most powerful means of promoting his own principle of universal good; for it is as much as to say, that all the crew ought to have the *general* welfare of the ship so much at heart, that no sailor should ever pull any *particular* rope, or hand any *individual* sail. By universal benevolence, we mean, and understand Dr Parr to mean, not a barren affection for the species, but a desire to promote their real happiness; and of this principle, he thus speaks:

'I admit, and I approve of it, as an *emotion* of which general happiness is the cause, but not as a passion; of which, according to the usual order of human affairs, it could often be the object. I approve of it as a disposition to wish, and, as opportunity may occur, to desire and do good, rather than harm, to those with whom we are quite unconnected.'

It would appear, from this kind of language, that a desire of promoting the universal good, were a pardonable weakness, rather than a fundamental principle of ethics; that the particular affections were incapable of excess; and that they never wanted the corrective of a more generous and exalted feeling. In a subsequent part of his sermon, Dr Parr atones a little for this over-zealous depretiation of the principle of universal benevolence; but he nowhere states the particular affections to derive their value and their limits from their subservience to a more extensive philanthropy. He does not show us that they exist only as virtues, from their instrumentality in promoting the general good; and that, to preserve their true character, they should be frequently referred to that principle as their proper criterion.

In the latter part of his sermon, Dr Parr combats the general objections of Mr Turgot to all charitable institutions, with considerable vigour and success. To say that an institution is

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necessarily bad, because it will not always be administered with the same zeal, proves a little too much; for it is an objection to political and religious, as well as to charitable institutions; and, from a lively apprehension of the fluctuating characters of those who govern, would leave the world without any government at all. It is better there should be an asylum for the mad, and a hospital for the wounded, if they were to squander away 50 *per cent.* of their income, than that we should be disgusted with sore limbs, and shocked by straw-crown'd monarchs in the streets. All institutions of this kind must suffer the risk of being governed by more or less of probity and talents. The good which one active character effects, and the wise order which he establishes, may outlive him for a long period; and we all hate each other's crimes, by which we gain nothing, so much, that in proportion as public opinion acquires ascendancy in any particular country, every public institution becomes more and more guaranteed from abuse.

Upon the whole, this sermon is rather the production of what is called a sensible, than of a very acute man; of a man certainly more remarkable for his learning, than his originality. It refutes the very refutable positions of Mr Godwin, without placing the doctrine of benevolence in a clear light; and it almost leaves us to suppose, that the particular affections are themselves ultimate principles of action, instead of convenient instruments of a more general principle.

The style is such, as to give a general impression of heaviness to the whole sermon. The Doctor is never simple and natural for a single instant. Every thing smells of the rhetorician. He never appears to forget himself, or to be hurried by his subject into obvious language. Every expression seems to be the result of artifice and intention; and as to the worthy dedicatees, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, unless the sermon be *done into English by a person of honour*, they may perhaps be flattered by the Doctor's politeness, but they can never be much edified by his meaning. Dr Parr seems to think, that eloquence consists not in an exuberance of beautiful images—not in simple and sublime conceptions—not in the feelings of the passions; but in a studious arrangement of *sonorous, exotic, and sesquipedal* words: a very ancient error, which corrupts the style of young, and wearies the patience of sensible men. In some of his combinations of words, the Doctor is singularly unhappy. We have the *din of superficial cavillers*, the *prancings of giddy ostentation*, *fluttering vanity*, *hissing scorn*, *dank clod*, &c. &c. &c. The following intrusion of a technical word into a pathetic description, renders the whole passage almost ludicrous.

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'Within a few days, mute was the tongue that uttered these celestial sounds, and the hand which signed your indenture lay cold and motionless in the dark and dreary chambers of death.'

In page 16, Dr Parr, in speaking of the indentures of the hospital, a subject (as we should have thought) little calculated for rhetorical panegyric, says of them—

'If the writer of whom I am speaking, had perused, as I have, your indentures and your rules, he would have found in them seriousness without austerity, earnestness without extravagance, good sense without the trickeries of art, good language without the trappings of rhetoric, and the firmness of conscious worth, rather than the prancings of giddy ostentation.'

The latter member of this eloge would not be wholly unintelligible, if applied to a spirited coach horse; but we have never yet witnessed the phenomenon of a *prancing indenture*.

It is not our intention to follow Dr Parr through the copious, and varied learning of his notes; in the perusal of which, we have been as much delighted with the richness of his acquisitions, the vigour of his understanding, and the genuine goodness of his heart, as we have been amused with his ludicrous self-importance, and the miraculous simplicity of his character. We would rather recommend it to the doctor, to publish an annual list of worthies, as a kind of stimulus to literary men; to be included in which, will unquestionably be considered as great an honour, as for a commoner to be elevated to the peerage. A line of Greek, a line of Latin, or no line at all, subsequent to each name, will distinguish, with sufficient accuracy, the shades of merit, and the degree of immortality conferred.

Why should Dr Parr confine this *eulogomania* to the literary characters of this island alone? In the university of Benares, in the lettered kingdom of Ava, among the Mandarins at Pekin, there must, doubtless, be many men who have the eloquence of *βακωνος, the feeling of ταιλωρος, and the judgment of ωκηρος, of whom Dr Parr might be happy to say, that they have profundity without obscurity—perspicuity without prolixity—ornament without glare—terseness without barrenness—penetration without subtlety—comprehensiveness without digression—and a great number of other things without a great number of other things.

In spite of 32 pages of very close printing, in defence of the University of Oxford, is it, or is it not true, that very many of its Professors enjoy ample salaries, without reading any lectures at all? The character of particular colleges will certainly vary

* Πάντες μὲν σοφοί· ἐγὼ δὲ Ὤκηρον μὲν σέβω. θαυμάζω δὲ Βάκωνον, καὶ φιλῶ Ταίλωρον. See Lucian in Vita Dæmonact. vol. ii. p. 391.——(Dr. Parr's note.)

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with the character of their governors; but the University of Oxford so far differs from Dr Parr, in the commendation he has bestowed upon its state of *public* education, that they have, since the publication of his book, we believe, and forty years after Mr Gibbon's residence, completely abolished their very ludicrous and disgraceful exercises for degrees, and have substituted in their place, a system of exertion, and a scale of academical honours, calculated (we are willing to hope) to produce the happiest effects.

We were very sorry, in reading Dr Parr's note on the Universities, to meet with the following passage:

'Ill would it become me, tamely and silently to acquiesce in the strictures of this formidable accuser, upon a seminary to which I owe many obligations, though I left it, as must not be dissembled, before the usual time, and, in truth, had been almost compelled to leave it; *not* by the want of a proper education, for I had arrived at the first place in the first form of Harrow School, when I was not quite fourteen,—not by the want of useful tutors, for mine were eminently able, and to me had been uniformly kind,—not by the want of ambition, for I had begun to look up ardently and anxiously to academical distinctions,—not by the want of attachment to the place, for I regarded it then, as I continue to regard it now, with the fondest and most unfeigned affection,—but by another want, which it were unnecessary to name, and for the supply of which, after some hesitation, I determined to provide by patient toil and resolute self-denial, when I had not completed my twentieth year. I ceased, therefore, to reside, with an aching heart: I looked back with mingled feelings of regret and humiliation to advantages of which I could no longer partake, and honours to which I could no longer aspire.'

To those who know the truly honourable and respectable character of Dr Parr, the vast extent of his learning, and the unadulterated benevolence of his nature, such an account cannot but be very affecting, in spite of the bad taste in which it is communicated. How painful to reflect, that a truly devout and attentive minister, a strenuous defender of the church establishment, and by far the most learned man of his day, should be permitted to languish on a little paltry curacy in Warwickshire!
——Dii meliora, &c. &c.

ART. III. *Thoughts occasioned by the Perusal of Dr Parr's Spital Sermon; being a Reply to the Attacks of Dr Parr, Mr M'Intosh, the Author of an Essay on Population, and others.* By William Godwin. Taylor & Wilks, Chancery-Lane.

We were quite surprised at discovering so much good sense and moderation in the first part of this pamphlet, in which Mr Godwin replies to Mr M'Intosh and Dr Parr. The charge

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which he prefers against Mr M'Intosh, of suddenly breaking up a long established friendship, of holding him out to public execration, and whitewashing his own political reputation at the expense of his ancient comrade, is a charge out of our jurisdiction, as it is rather of a moral, than a literary nature, and, if true, affects Mr M'Intosh more as a man, than as an author.

Mr Godwin repeats here his recantations of the principle, '*that general utility should be made the immediate motive to our actions;*' but, at the same time, very fairly accuses Dr Parr of neglecting to consider the principle of universal benevolence as a *criterion*, though not a *motive* of action.

'There is a distinction to be introduced here, with which I am persuaded Dr Parr is well acquainted, though, for some reason, he has chosen to pass over one side of this distinction entirely in silence in his sermon, between the motive from which a virtuous action is to arise, and the criterion by which it is to be determined to be virtuous. The motives of human actions, are feelings, or passions, or habits. Without feeling, we cannot act at all; and without passion, we cannot act greatly. But, when we proceed to ascertain whether our actions are entitled to the name of virtue, this can only be done by examining into their effects, by bringing them to a standard, and comparing them with a criterion.'

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

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

'This criterion has been above described, and it is not perhaps of the utmost importance whether we call it utility, or justice, or, more periphrastically, the production of the greatest general good, the greatest public sum of pleasurable sensation. Call it by what name you please, it will still be true, that this is the law by which our actions must be tried. I must be attentive to the welfare of my child; because he is one in the great congregation of the family of the whole earth. I must be attentive to the welfare of my child; because I can, in many portions of the never-ceasing current of human life, be conferring pleasure and benefit on him, when I cannot be directly employed in conferring benefit on others. I best understand his character and his wants; I possess a greater power of modelling his disposition and influencing his fortune; and, as was observed in Political Justice, (p. 132.), he is the individual, in the great "distribution of the class needing superintendance and supply among the class capa-

ble of affording them," whom it falls to my lot to protect and cherish. I do not require that, when a man is employed in benefiting his child, he should constantly recollect the abstract principle of utility; but I do maintain, that his actions in prosecuting that benefit, are no further virtuous, than in proportion as they square with that principle.'

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

Art. IV. *Asiatic Researches:* or Transactions of the Society instituted in Bengal, for inquiring into the History and Antiquities, the Arts, Sciences and Literature of Asia. Vol. VI. 1801.

Amidst the acquisitions which a few years have added to the stock of general information, the historian, the antiquary, the botanist and the geographer, will acknowledge important obligations to the ardour of literary research, excited in the centre of Asia. From the banks of the Ganges, the exploring genius of Philosophy has darted a rapid glance over the vast *terræ incognitæ* which extended in every direction; the manners and customs of populous nations, whose names were only known as occupying a place in our maps, have been perspicuously described; the position of their cities, and courses of their rivers ascertained and delineated. Mr Marsden's history of Sumatra, presents a comprehensive view of one of the most considerable isles of the Indian ocean; the Burman embassy has enabled Colonel Symes to afford an interesting sketch of a highly fertile country, inhabited by a race of enterprising warriors; and Captain Turner has pourtrayed, with much ability, the hardy, though unwarlike tribes, who cultivate the romantic mountains of Bhuttan, or tend their flocks on the sterile plains of the lofty Tibet. It is, however, to the publications of the Society instituted at Calcutta, by the late Sir William Jones, that the learned will chiefly look for accurate views of the past and present state of the na-

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tions which surround them. Some important and many curious facts already ascertained, induce us to hope, that those expectations will not ultimately be disappointed. Amongst the former, we may class the deduction, not derived from the fallacious sources of a pliant etymology, but from a profound knowledge of most of the Asiatic languages, that the Arabs, Hindus, and Tartars, constitute three distinct races, whose manners, history, languages, and dogmata, are peculiar and unconnected, and from whom the other nations of Asia may reasonably be supposed to have proceeded. In the identification of Chandra Gupta, king of Prachi, with the Sandrocottus of the Greeks, a fixed era has been obtained, which must prove of the most important utility to those who shall attempt in future to trace the obscure history of ancient India. It is now ascertained, that the religion of Buddha prevails over a range of country even more extensive than that of Mohammed; counting amongst its votaries, all the Tartar tribes who have not embraced Islamism; the inhabitants of Tibet and Bhuttan, of Ava and its southern dependencies; the greater part of the Chinese nation, including the court, the people of Japan, of Ceylon, and probably of all the Indian isles, where the inhabitants are still polytheists. A variety of ingenious conjectures has been proposed by Captain Wilford, and supported with much erudition: the antiquity of the astronomical observations of the Hindus has become a subject of interesting discussion; and various tribes inhabiting the same country, but of different manners, idioms and configuration, have been distinguished and described. The volume before us is no less calculated, than those which have preceded it, to repay the attention of the curious.

Narrative of a Journey from Agra to Oujein.
By William Hunter *Esq.*

This sensible traveller accompanied the Resident at the court of the Mahratta chief, Madhugi Sindia, in the year 1792, to Oujein, the capital of his hereditary dominions, where he passed nearly a twelvemonth, and has furnished an instructive account of that city, and of two different routes from Agra to it. The first traversed the country of the brave Bundelas, who have still withstood the encroachments of the Mahrattas. The celebrated fortress of Gualior merited a description. The hill on which it stands is a mile and a half in length, in breadth only 300 yards, and its height, where greatest, 342 feet. At the north end is a palace, and about the middle of the fort, two remarkable buildings of red stone, in the most ancient style of Hindu architecture. On the outside, about half way up, are many cells, which contain the figures of men and animals, carved, in the same man-

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ner as these excavations themselves, out of the solid rock. A line of blue enamel, still very fresh and brilliant, runs along all the east side. From hence to Oujein, the country usually presented the appearance of industry and successful culture. At Burwasagar, the Mahratta Subadar amused himself with philosophical experiments; he had got the plates of the Encyclopaedia, neatly copied by artists of his own; and, at the age of sixty, expressed great solicitude to obtain an instructor in the English language, to enable him to understand the text.

The city of Oujein (in Sanscrit, Ujjaïni and Avanti) boasts a high antiquity, and is considered as the first meridian by Hindu geographers and astronomers. By repeated observations, Mr Hunter ascertained its longitude to be 75 deg. 51 min. E. and its latitude 23 deg. 2 min. 13 sec. But the modern city lies about a mile south of the spot; where, by digging to the depth of from fifteen to eighteen feet, the capital of Vicramaditya is found buried in the earth, with its walls entire, and pillars unbroken. The traditionary legend of the place, imputes its downfal to a shower of earth; and Mr Hunter remarks, that there are no traces of volcanic hills, nor scoriae, in the vicinity. The entire state of the walls militates against the supposition of an earthquake, as Mr Hunter observes: we can, however, impute the ruin of Ujjaïni only to this cause, operating with a gentler concussion than usually attends that tremendous phenomenon; for the black vegetable mould, under which it lies buried, scarcely admits of being blown in such quantity. The present city is six miles in circumference, surrounded by a stone wall, with round towers; the Sipara washes its southern extremity, near which stands an observatory, built by the respectable Rajah of Ambher. The officers of government are almost the only Mahratta inhabitants of Oujein; the bulk of the people speak a dialect little different from that of Agra; the Moslems form a considerable portion of the population, and of their number a great part is composed of Ismaelite sectaries.

Account of the Inhabitants of the Poggy Islands, lying off Sumatra. By John Crisp Esq.

These islands are situated about twenty-five leagues west of Sumatra; a strait of two miles broad separates the northern Poggy from the south; and the whole appears in our maps under the appellation of Nassau island. The northern extremity lies in 2 deg. 18 min. S.; the southern in 3 deg. 16 min. Like Sumatra, they consist of steep mountains, covered with trees to their summits; amongst which are a considerable variety bearing fruit. The inhabitants amount only to 1400; and when the abundance of food, and mildness of the climate are considered, their resi-

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dence cannot date from a remote period. The sago tree furnishes the principal article of food; pork, fish, and the common dunghill fowl, their favourite nutriment. Notwithstanding their proximity to Sumatra, 'their language is totally different, and their customs and habits of life indicate a very distinct origin, and bear a striking resemblance to those of the inhabitants of the late discovered islands in the Pacific Ocean.' Their colour is a light brown; the custom of tattooing is universal; the chastity of their females before marriage is not held in estimation; and they have no form of religious worship, nor idea of a future state.

Observations on the Theory of Walls, wherein some particulars are investigated, which have not been considered by Writers on Fortification. By William Lambton, *Lieutenant in his Majesty's 33d Regiment of Foot.*

Mr Lambton is of opinion, that the force necessary to sustain a certain mass of earth, has been overrated, from neglecting to consider the tenacity of the masonry in the line where the wall is supposed to break off. He exhibits a formula for obtaining what he imagines a juster measure; but, till his deductions be confirmed by experiments on masses of masonry constructed at different times, the saving of expense, time, and labour, will scarcely justify a deviation from the present practice.

On the Poison of Serpents. By W. Boag *Esq.*

Fontana was satisfied, from the result of numerous experiments, that in the lunar caustic (nitrate of silver) he had discovered a specific remedy for the bite of serpents. The rationale of the cure is explained by Mr Boag, on the following hypothesis. The nature of the venom is the same in all serpents, and to be cured by the same means; it operates on the blood by abstracting the oxygen, on which its vitality depends; but this oxygen is supplied by the lunar caustic, since the nitric acid contains it in a loose form, and the silver has but little attraction for it. This theory, if supported by facts, seems sufficiently consistent; but all the animals bitten by a cobra de capello, the only snake used in Mr Boag's experiments, died, notwithstanding the application of the lunar caustic, unless where the venom had been previously exhausted by repeated incisions.

An Account of the Petroleum Wells in the Burman Dominions, extracted from the Journal of a Voyage from Rangoong, up the River Irávati to Amarápurá. By Captain Hiram Cox, *Resident at Rangong.*

These wells were visited and described by Colonel Symes, on his voyage down the Iravati; Captain Cox has added some in-

teresting particulars, and ascertained the existence of coal, below a supervening stratum of schistus. He concludes, 'that it possesses all the properties of coal-tar, being, in fact, the self-same thing. The only difference is, that nature elaborates in the bowels of the earth that for the Burmans, for which European nations are obliged to the ingenuity of Lord Dundonald.' From the 520 wells, Captain Cox estimates the annual average produce at 92,781 tons, and the value at near a million Sterling.

On the Religion and Literature of the Burmans: By Francis Buchanan, *M. D.*

Dr Buchanan accompanied Colonel Symes on his embassy to the Court of Amrapur; and, in the present disquisition, has communicated to the public, the result of his inquiries on the interesting topics mentioned in the title. Every thing relating to the lively and polished nation, so lately introduced to the acquaintance of the western world, is calculated to attract attention; and the writer is manifestly a person of abilities and education.

> 'Juvat integros accedere fontes,
> Atque haurire; juvatque novos decerpere flores.'

Of the Burman literature, all we learn from Dr Buchanan is, that their books are numerous, and treat of history, religion, law, and medicine. But what do all books treat of? 'I heard of no poetry which the Burmans possess, except songs?' Had Dr Buchanan inquired, he would probably have found most of the works extant in the Pali language were in verse. The Burman religion occupies the remainder of this disquisition.

As we shall find it necessary to object, in many instances, to the information furnished by this gentleman, and, in most, to dissent from his conclusions, it is proper to account, in some measure, for the confidence with which we venture to contradict a writer, whose opportunities of information on the subjects he treats of, are peculiar to himself, and the other gentlemen of the mission. Dr Buchanan does not pretend to any acquaintance with the learned languages of the East; and he regrets, that his stay in the Burman dominions was too short to enable him to acquire theirs. In this predicament, his information is derived from a Romish missionary, and his etymological inferences from Paulinus. That Paulinus was unacquainted with the Sanscrit language, of which he has published a dictionary, it seems paradoxical to assert. It is nevertheless true, that, in his travels, he betrays a complete ignorance of that language, and quotes books for facts that are not to be found in them. His Sanscrit dictionary (which we have in vain endea-

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voured to procure) is, we will venture to assert, a dictionary of the Malabar idiom, which bears the same relation to the Sanscrit that Italian does to Latin, or the vernacular dialect of modern Athens to the language of Aristotle and Plato.

'From a want of knowledge in the language,' says Dr Buchanan, 'I should have obtained a very superficial view of the religious tenets of the Rahans, had not Captain Symes given me the use of three treatises, which he procured from Vincentius Sangermano, an Italian priest residing at Rangong. These I have united into one connected account, translating them from the original Latin, and intermixing them throughout with such observations, as my personal acquaintance with the subject, and my reading, have enabled me to collect.'

Our attention was powerfully arrested by the first of these, entitled, Cosmographia Burmana; but our astonishment was extreme, to discover this supposed Burman document, to be a singularly mutilated and imperfect transcript, intermixed with the translator's observations, of a Sanscrit poem. The latter is named Khetra Nirmana,* or the division of countries, and is unquestionably the most antient geographical tract now extant. It abounds in fable; but its extravagancies are compensated by the beauty of the imagery, and the harmony of the verse. The Burman version has retained only the fictions, and omits the names and descriptions of several hundreds of countries, mountains, and rivers, specified in the original.

The Burmans (says Sangermano) suppose the earth to be a circular plane, elevated in the centre. Here rises Mienmo (in Sanscrit, Meru; the Meros of Alexander's historians), the largest of mountains. Seven chains of hills, like so many belts, every where surround the king of mountains: and in the intervals between these chains, are seven rivers, called Sida, (Sita, is white, in Sanscrit), because their white waters are limpid like chrystal, and unable, from their lightness, to support even the smallest feather. Opposite to the four cardinal points of Mienmo, are placed, in the middle of the ocean, four great islands, the habitations of men and other animals. The eastern island, named Pioppavideha, is shaped like the moon in her quarters; the western island is like the full moon, and named Amaragoga; Unchegru, the northern island, is square; and, finally, the southern island, which we inhabit, is called Zabudiva, and shaped like a trapezium. 'These names are taken from cer-

* *Note by the Reviewer.*—From the Khetra Nirmana, the fyftem of Buffon and Bailli derives a confirmation, which thefe eminent philofophers little expected; Vaïcûnta, or the Paradife of Vifnu, being unequivocally placed by the Pauranica in the Frozen Ocean.

tain trees, which are the sacred insignia of each particular island: thus, because the sacred tree of the southern island is Zabu, the island is named Zabudiva, or the island of the tree Zabu; diva, in the Pali language, signifying island.' This tree, Zabu, (says Dr Buchanan), is entirely the creature of fancy, there being no species of plant so called.

This assertion is altogether erroneous. Zabudiva, is a corruption of the Jambudwipa of the Hindu geographers; the Jambu tree, is the Eugenia Malaccensis of Linnæus, and the Jambosa domestica of Rumphius, who considers it as the most exquisite of the tropical fruits, after the mangostin. But dwipa does not, in the above passage, signify an island, but a region insulated by mountains. In the infancy of science, to name countries from such natural productions as were, or might be supposed, peculiar to each, seems, at least, an obvious mode of nomenclature. It only remains for us to prove this Burman document to be a mutilated transcript of the Khetra Nirmana.*

'The inhabitants of the northern island,' says Sangermano, 'differ totally from those of the others; for they neither practise agriculture, commerce, nor any other profession. There grows in their island a tree, called Padezabayn, on which, in place of fruit, hang precious garments of every kind: so that from these trees, the inhabitants are supplied with all manner of clothing. Neither have the inhabitants of Unchegru any

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* It would have been easy, if our limits had admitted of it, to have multiplied the instances of coincidence between the Burman and the Sanscrit document. But, if our readers consider the singularity of the ideas, (a tree yielding vesture, persons so similar in their form as not to be distinguishable, and a bird removing the bodies of the dead), and that they occur in both cases in the same order, this passage will probably be deemed as conclusive as a thousand. They will also remark, that the less extravagant fictions of the Pauranica, are caricatured by the ruder Burman; he is not contented with the inhabitants of his island clothing themselves in the leaves, but represents his tree as producing the dresses ready made; it is not the twins only who resemble each other, but the whole nation are absolutely undistinguishable. This comparative rudeness is also very remarkable in the following instance: As the Burman professes to delineate the extent of countries, he begins by exhibiting the measures of space, precisely similar to those of the Brahmans, excepting that for the seeds of the papavera, the former have substituted *lice;* thus, '7 lice = 1 grain of rice,' instead of 7 poppy seeds = 1 barley corn. The two documents would, in all probability, have been exactly similar, had not Sangermano contented himself with giving an *abstract* of the Burman, instead of a translation, and intermixed with it a variety of observations of his own.

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need to cultivate the ground; as the same padezabayn produces a certain excellent kind of rice, which has no husk. Women, there, are not subject to the common sexual infirmities, and bear their children without any pain. When the time comes, they bring them forth in the streets, and there leave them. Thus, no one knows his own relations; as also, because all the inhabitants are of the same form and colour. As soon as a person dies, the body is deposited in a certain place, when very large birds, destined by Fate for that purpose, carry it away to another part of the island, and there devour it. These islanders are very handsome, especially the women, who excel in softness, suppleness, and elegance of limbs.'

Let our readers compare the above passage, with the following, which we translate literally from the Khetra Nirmana.

'1. North of Meru, and south of Mount Nila (the Riphean mountains), lies the land of Curu, venerated by the pious.

'2. There the trees bend with delicious fruits; there, a thousand flowers diffuse an exquisite fragrance.

'3. From one tree, named Kharina, exudes a vegetable milk, sweet as ambrosia: its leaves supply vesture, its fruits nourishment to the natives.

'4. The inhabitants are white and lovely; the women, fair as the nymphs of paradise; they usually produce twins.

'5. These twins grow together; their aspects and qualities are similar, and, like a pair of turtles, one cannot be distinguished from the other.

'6. Robust and healthy, they live in continual enjoyment, free from care; and, as their birth was contemporary, they both die at the same instant.

'7. The huge bird, Bharunda, of enormous strength, lifts up the corse, and drops it in the river.'

We believe this collation will suffice to prove, that the Burman document is of Indian origin; though we are apt to suspect, that the missionary has frequently failed in seizing the sense of his original. But the Burman topography, which forms the second treatise, would probably have furnished a still more ample corroboration of this fact, had Sangermano furnished the Pali names of the 101 nations which are said to inhabit Zabudiva. Instead of this, he only remarks, 'that of all the nations which are known really to inhabit the earth, we find none mentioned as part of the 101, except the Chinese, Siamese, and the inhabitants of Javay, Pegu, Laos, Cussay, and Arakan. The truth, however, we suspect to be, that the Pali names, of these countries alone, were known to the missionary; and that of the rest, the Pali names only were known to the Rahans, whom he

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consulted. The only place specified in his topography, is the Mount Himavan (Imaus), its lakes and rivers.

The last treatise contains an account of the celestial beings, Nat, Rupa, and Arupa: all these are Sanscrit appellations, and correspond with various classes of Devata, with which the imagination of the Brahmans has peopled the air, earth, and waters. There is afterwards exhibited the ceremony of installation into the order of Rahans, and an account of the tenets of Gotama, with those of certain heresiarchs which previously prevailed in the world. To these we cannot advert, without omitting the discussion of various hypotheses, not a little singular, advanced by Dr Buchanan, in the course of his disquisition. These are as follows.

The religion of Gotama, or Buddha, as actually prevalent in Ava, was that of all India, till about the second century before Christ: At that period, the Brahmans first introduced themselves and their rites into that country. They were originally from Egypt; and left it probably on account of the persecution of the Egyptian priests by Cambyses, mentioned by Herodotus. On their arrival, by their superior knowledge, they gradually excluded the Rahans from every part of India, and substituted their own dogmas, though they artfully retained the principal facts known to their predecessors, of Indian history and science. But their sway has proved highly detrimental and injurious to the country; and, to conceal their foreign origin, and the novelty of their doctrine, they have carefully destroyed all the monuments of antiquity, substituting spurious productions of their own invention.

The above summary comprises, we believe, all the material parts of our author's system. But, by what important discoveries, profound investigation, and ingenious logic, is he prepared to prove, that the high antiquity attributed by ancient and modern writers to the Hindu system, is all a delusion, and that from Megasthenes to Sir William Jones, the truth has been impervious to all but himself? We shall endeavour to do justice to his arguments.

When the Emperor Acber conquered Casmir, he was presented with a history of that country, of which an abridged translation has been preserved by Abul Fazil. It mentions, that 'when Casmir was freed from an inundation, Cassyapa brought the Brahmans to inhabit the new land.' After a time, they elected a king, named Quengund, who was contemporary with Crisna (the 8th incarnation of the deity). 'From Quengund to Cotadevi, the last native ruler, this history reckons 159 princes; and Cotadevi was succeeded by a Mohamedan prince, Shamseddin, in the year 1342.' Now, in eastern dynasties,

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where oppression *always* paves the way for revolt, and succession is not clearly defined, ten years is as much as should be allowed for a reign; and Ouengund and Crisna will be placed in the year before Christ 248. Now, the Brahmans of Cassyapa could not be the sect of priests, because they cultivated the earth. This is confirmed by the account given of Rajah Jenneh (it should be Janaca), the 45th prince from Ouengund, 'who established, in his reign, the Brahmeny rites.' His successor, Jelouk, 'tolerated the doctrine of Buddha;' and it was not till the year 342, 'that the Brahmans got the better of the followers of Buddha, and burned down their temples.'

We must, in the first place, remark, that Cassyapa, himself a Brahman, is unquestionably understood by Abul Fazil to have introduced the Brahman priests into Casmir, whom he mentions, not as the cultivators of the earth, but because it was they who elected a king. So far is ten years for a reign from being the true average of an eastern dynasty, that the family of Timur, before the empire of Hindustan fell into confusion, furnish 35 years for a reign; and even now, notwithstanding the reigns of a few months which succeeded, 23 years is the average furnished by the reigning dynasty, in times of great turbulence and distraction. But we find that Abul Fazil states 168, not 151 princes, to have reigned between Ouengund and Cotadevi: Allowing 20 years to a reign, we shall find Ouengund to have reigned 2018 years before Christ; which is precisely the era at which Sir William Jones (whose assertions always derive new force from investigation) places his contemporary Crisna. A more unaccountable error afterwards occurs; for, so far from Rajah Janaca 'establishing the Brahmeny rites,' as Dr Buchanan asserts, his successor abjured these rites, and introduced those of Buddha. We translate the passage from Abul Fazil—'When the regal authority devolved on the cousin of Rajah Janaca, (the Rajah himself is not once mentioned, excepting in the chronological list), he threw off the rites of the Brahmans, and adopted the religion of Jina (Buddha), to whom he remained constantly attached.' The historian proceeds to mention, that this heresy was still more widely diffused in the reign of his successor Jelouk.* His words seem to imply, that Buddha was then liv-

* As the comparative antiquity of the Brahmanical and Samanian superstitions, is a point of singular importance to Indian history; and as Dr Buchanan has afforded, perhaps, the most striking instance, in the history of literature, of an author being cited to prove a fact, exactly the converse of what he really asserts; we will here insert a literal trans-

ing; which is also consentaneous with the opinion of Sir William Jones. Had Dr Buchanan consulted Arrian, he would have seen, that the Brahmans, with their division of casts, had existed, from time immemorial, in the days of Alexander; and that the opinion then prevalent was, that Crisna (whom the Greeks named the Indian Hercules, and mention his being worshipped at Mathura Deorum, where Crisna is still worshipped) appeared upon earth 4500 years before the reign of Sandrocottus, or Chandra Gupta: An exaggerated statement, but sufficient to prove the high antiquity assigned to the Hindu system, so early as the days of the Macedonian conqueror.

It cannot be disputed, that the religion of Buddha obtained, about the period of the Christian era, an extensive ascendancy throughout Hindustan; and it is equally true, that it is now almost extirpated, in all probability, by the exertions of the Brahmans. The Egyptian origin of the latter is not supported by a shadow of proof, and rests on the knowledge they have discovered of the source of the Nile, according to the ingenious hypothesis of Captain Wilford; which is, however, the converse of our author's. That learned speculatist supposes emigrations

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tion of all the paſſages in the Caſmirian hiſtory, which relate to the ſubject under diſcuſſion.

'1. When the water which covered the valley of Caſmir, had in ſome meaſure ſubſided, Caſſyapa, a ſaint of great reputation, brought a colony of Brahmans to it. When the population became numerous, it appeared neceſſary to chooſe a ruler; and the wiſe and experienced, aſſembling for that purpoſe, ſelected the moſt diſtinguiſhed for that ſtation.

'2. Again: When the regal authority devolved on Aſoca, the uncle's ſon of Rajah Janaca, he threw off the religion of the Brahmans, and adopted that of Jina, remaining conſtantly attached to him.' His ſon, Rajah Jeluc, is reſpected as a juſt prince; he conquered the adjacent country as far as the ſea; he procured from Canoj, then the principal city of Hinduſtan, ſeven learned Brahmans, whom he appointed to the chief offices of his kingdom. The Hindus relate ſeveral wonderful adventures of this monarch. In his reign, the religion of Buddha continued to acquire an aſcendancy.

'3. In the reign of Rajah Nerka, the worſhip of Buddha was proſcribed, and his temples levelled with the ground.' Dr Buchanan, it will be obſerved, places this event *in anno Domini* 340; yet, many generations after, the hiſtorian mentions that Caſmir was conquered by Vicramaditya, who indiſputably reigned in the century before our Saviour. A deciſive proof of the total fallacy of his calculation, and of the juſtice of our remarks.

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from India to Egypt; Dr Buchanan, the contrary. That the Brahmans have destroyed their early records, is an assertion which certainly required some evidence, though none is offered. Whether their sway has been favourable or prejudicial to the countries it influenced, must be judged of by their situation previously to the Mohamedan invasion. Now, all the Moslem writers, who treat of the conquest, speak, in terms of the highest admiration, of the immense population, riches and good order, which Hindustan exhibited under its native rulers. If Dr Buchanan had referred to their description of Canoge, or, in more recent times, to that of Vijanagara, whilst governed by a Hindu prince, he would probably have seen cause to regret the gentle sway, and lenient maxims, of those whom he treats with such unmerited harshness.

An observation of Sir William Jones, had our author deemed it worthy of his attention, might have spared him the trouble he has taken to ridicule the science of the Brahmans—'We must never confound,' says that modest and cautious inquirer, 'the system of the Jyautishicas, or mathematical astronomers, with that of the Pauranicas, or poetical fabulists; for, to such a confusion alone must we impute the many mistakes of Europeans on the subject of Indian science.' Yet, Dr Buchanan reasons, throughout, on the wild imaginations of Hindu poets, as if they were meant to convey a profound system of philosophy; and his arguments are as cogent, as if it were attempted to prove, from the Orlando Furioso, that the modern Italians supposed the operations of nature subject to the controul of necromancers and fairies.

We have already devoted to this disquisition a larger proportion of our attention than its merits might appear to require; but we cannot leave Dr Buchanan, without remarking, that Sangermano, in enumerating Rahu as an eighth planet, which might be taken for the *Georgium sidus*, and thus strip Herschel of his honours, has led him into a mistake. Rahu is the name of the nodes, or points, formed by the intersections of the ecliptic and the moon's orbit, which the Pauranicas figure as a mighty dragon, attempting to swallow the sun and moon, and thus the cause of eclipses.

Narrative of a Journey to Srinagar. By Captain Thomas Hardwicke.

Between the forests of Rohilcund and the snow-covered ridges of the lofty Himala (Imaus), extend various ranges of mountains, intersected by the course of the Ganges. A sterile tract of uneven country furnishes a scanty subsistence to the Hindu mountaineers. Here lies the kingdom of Srinagara, secluded from

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the rest of the world by almost inaccessible barriers; the river Alacnandra, before it joins the Ganges, washes the capital, seated in a plain two miles in extent, and probably the largest in the kingdom. The revenues of the Rajah only amount to 50,000*l.*; of which he pays a moiety, as tribute, to the sovereign of Gorca. Mines of copper, lead and iron, are wrought by his subjects; and gold is found in the sands of several rivers. This itinerary is valuable to the geographer, and the botanist; but we expected to derive more particular information concerning the Indian spikenard (Valerian Jatamansi), from the country in which it was supposed indigenous. This petty principality dates its origin 1978 years before Christ; and has been exempted, by its poverty, from the yoke of foreign invaders.

Description of the Caves, or Excavations, on the mountain about a mile to the eastward of the town of Ellore.

Sir Charles Malet has here furnished a minute, though somewhat perplexed, description of one of the most stupendous monuments of times of remote antiquity, still extant on the surface of the earth: An immense mountain, almost entirely excavated into large halls, spacious saloons, and lofty temples, supported by pillars of elegant workmanship, and ornamented by emblematical sculptures of wonderful beauty and endless variety. The solidity of its materials seems to mock the revolutions of states and empires, and to be destined to convey, to the remotest posterity, a memorial of the industry and ingenuity of primeval times. Obelisks, pyramids, and sphinxes, constitute a part of the decorations; and the mythological history of the Hindus furnishes the subjects of the sculptures. The work is attributed by them to the five sons of Pandu, who lived, according to Sir William Jones, about 2000 years before Christ. When the ingenious artist, Mr Wales, who has been employed in designing these excavations, shall have favoured the world with the plans and inscriptions of these singular remains, there is little doubt of ascertaining their origin and use. Sir Charles, from his being unacquainted with Sanscrit, his indisposition at the time he viewed them, and the ignorance of his Cicerone, has furnished a description better calculated to excite, than to gratify curiosity. The excavations at Thebes, in Egypt, appear to be analogous in their purposes and execution.

Remarks on some Antiquities on the West and South Coasts of Ceylon.

These papers, furnished by Captain Mackenzie and Mr Harington, supply some important confirmations of the received (and, we will venture to affirm, the true) opinion, concerning the relative antiquity of the religion of the Brahmans, and the

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worship of Buddha. The former of these prevailed in Ceylon, till it was supplanted by the latter, introduced in the sixth century before Christ. Of the first fact, we never entertained a doubt, since the island is covered with towns and villages, named after the Hindu deities; the ruins of whose temples are now seen surrounding modern edifices constructed to Buddha. Attached to the latter, is usually seen a solid structure of a circular shape, surrounded by a terrace, in all respects similar to those described by Colonel Symes in the Burman dominions, where the same superstition is prevalent. Their analogy with the Egyptian pyramids, suggests a confirmation of one of Sir William Jones's hypotheses, of which his untimely death prevented the elucidation.—*See Dissertation on the Antiquity of the Indian zodiac.*

On Mount Caucasus. By Captain Francis Wilford.

Captain Wilford is a skilful geographer, and an excellent classical scholar.. By birth a German, he has, since his residence in Bengal, to a knowledge of the antient languages of Europe, added that of India. His first communication to the Society, fixed demonstratively the seat of Tagara, a celebrated emporium, according to Arrian and Ptolemy, at Deoghir, near the excavations described by Sir Charles Malet. The next, attracted much more of the public attention, by endeavouring to establish, that an early intercourse had subsisted between India and the countries watered by the Nile, and successive emigrations having taken place from the former to the latter. The theory seemed too much founded on verbal etymologies; but these, with the coincidences derived from geography, history, and fable, constituted a mass of evidence, * which it were difficult to resist,

* *Note by the Reviewer.*—Much more might, doubtless, be produced, if requisite. We met, a few days ago, with a passage of this nature, in the Sanscrit history of Deva Mahusa, or Dionysius. The Pauranica mentions, that, after marching through various countries, he repaired to Ollaki, the city of Cuvera. The annotator adds, that by the city of Cuvera (the Indian Plutus), we must understand, mines of gold. On referring to the dictionary of Amara Singha, for the meaning of the word Ollaki, it was found to signify the city of Cuvera, and men with woolly hair. Mount Ollaki, between the Nile and the Red Sea, is thus described by the Arabian geographer: 'In the land of Baja, there are gold mines, particularly at a place called Ollaki: there are not, in any quarter of the world, such gold mines as these. The inhabitants worship idols.' Ollaki has no signification whatever in Arabic; therefore, we presume none in the Abyssinian. Its Sanscrit meanings are singularly apposite, and must prove, we think, decisive, as to the place alluded to.

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whilst the fact to be proved was not improbable in itself. His subsequent communications exhibit the same powers of combination, the same erudition and ingenuity, but usually suggest much wilder hypotheses; so that, whilst we admire the talents of the writer, we seldom feel disposed to acquiesce in his conclusions. In this class we must rank his supposition, that the sacred isles of the Puránás, are those of Great Britain and Ireland; an hypothesis which would require the strongest proofs, and has hitherto been supported only by the weakest. The paper before us is distinguished by the same excellencies, and by similar defects: it abounds in assertions destitute of proof, and in valuable, judicious and curious remarks.

Mount Caucasus derived its name from the Khasa, a tribe whose descendants still inhabit the same regions. The appellation extended from India to the shores of the Mediterranean, probably because this extensive range was inhabited by Khasa: for we find the Cossei amongst the mountaineers of Persia, Mount Casius on the borders of Egypt, and another in Syria. Their original country is Cashgar, to the north-east of Cabul, situated in a delightful valley, and watered by a large river, which washes Chatraul, the capital city. This is still the seat of a petty Mohamedan prince, who is now tributary to the Chinese, together with the districts near the sources of the Oxus. An extensive branch of Caucasus was called, by the Greeks, Parapamisus, obviously derived from Para Vami, the pure and excellent city of Vami, commonly called Bamiyan. It is situated on the road between Balkh and Cabul, and, like Thebes in Egypt, consists of a vast number of apartments and recesses cut out of the rock, some of which, on account of their extraordinary dimensions, are supposed to have been temples: Two colossal statues, one eighty ells high, and the other only fifty, erect, and adhering to the mountain from which they are cut out, still arrest the attention of travellers. The Hindus and Buddhists have each a legend to account for them: The Moslems affirm, they represent Caïumaras and his consort; which means, says our author, Adam and Eve. Bamiyan is named Bahlica in the Puranas, and is frequently confounded with Balkh, by Persian writers, who mean the former, when they speak of the metropolis of the fire worshippers. This and the adjacent countries are considered, by the natives, as the place of abode of the progenitors of mankind. The foundation of Bamiyan is ascribed to Shama, who appears to be Shem; and from hence Abraham is said to have travelled to the west. A spot occurs also, answering minutely to the Mosaical description of the terrestrial paradise; for a small brook, winding through the valley, falls into a lake, whence issue four navigable rivers. The land of Khavila, abounding in

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gold. is found in the district of Cabul. But although this idea be not countenanced by tradition, many circumstances concur to prove, that it was in this vicinity, Swayambhuva, or Noah, debarked with his family from the ark. The region near Tukht Soliman, is the only country where the olive tree is indigenous; and Noah was supplied with wine, by the vines still growing spontaneously between Bamiyan and the Indus. Aryavarta, or India, is probably the Araraut mentioned in scripture, whence the patriarchs journeyed (as they are said) from the east, to settle in Shinar. Parapamisus is named Parnassus, by Dionysius, Periegetes, Priscian, and Avienus: This term originated in the Parnasala, houses of leaves, inhabited by the hermits, who dwelt on this sacred mountain. For Deva Cala Yavana (Deucalion), king of this country, when he repaired to Greece, after being expelled from his dominions by Crisna, transferred to the Grecian Parnassus, the name and worship celebrated on the Parnassus of India.

We have selected the more prominent hypotheses proposed by Captain Wilford in the course of his learned disquisition. Arrian affirms, that Caucasus was a mountain of Scythia, widely distant from Parapamisus. But, be this as it may, its name is, in our opinion, a corruption of Cuh-Caf; a mountain which, according to the Persian romances, environs the habitable globe. The Khasa are unquestionably a tribe of mountaineers, who inhabit a part of the range north-west of India; but we have seen no reason to believe they extended even to the Caspian. The antiquity of Bamiyan, is proved, by tradition, and by its remains, which attest the workmanship of primeval artists; but we are by no means satisfied that it is the Bahlica of the Puranas; nor that Balkh, the ancient Bactria, is not the metropolis of the Ignicolists, mentioned by the Moslem historians. Our author, somewhat ludicrously, permits his readers to choose, whether they will suppose Sama, to whom its foundation is ascribed by the Buddhists, to be Shem, the son of Noah, or Sam, the famous hero of Persia, grandfather of Rustum. Were there no other alternative, we should declare for Sam, who was governor of Zabul for the king of Persia, and certainly lived in the vicinity; though, what analogy excepting of name, can be traced between a Buddhist devotee, and a Persian warrior, we are at a loss to imagine. The flaming sword which guards the approaches to Eden, has not, we apprehend, receded, nor permitted our author to penetrate to its site; and the bleak Mount of Araraut will retain its claim as the resting place of the ark, in spite of the vines and olives of Aryaverta. The legends respecting Parnassus and Deucalion, stand in a different predicament; for the historians of Alexander admit that he found

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traces of the exploits of the Grecian deities as far east as his arms had reached. But the discussion, however curious, would occupy a space inconsistent with our limits.

On the Antiquity of the Surya Siddhanta. By Mr J. Bentley.

Mr Bentley appears to be a mathematician of considerable industry and merit. In this disquisition, he has supplied some instructive observations on the principles of the Hindu astronomy, and on the manner in which their cycles were, or might have been formed. He has also exhibited useful formulæ, showing their application in discovering the actual position of the heavenly bodies.

His discussion relative to the antiquity of the Surya Siddhanta, involves points of the utmost importance; no less, indeed, than whether the whole of Sanscrit literature shall be considered as the spurious productions of a recent age, or genuine monuments of primeval times. We shall endeavour to do justice to his formidable attack on the Indian Gymnosophists.

The Surya Siddhanta is generally believed to be the most ancient astronomical treatise the Hindus have; and, according to their notions, was received by divine revelation 2,164,899 years ago: But the mean result of calculations, from ten different *data* afforded by that work, and, on its own principles, assuming the position of the heavenly bodies to have been accurately observed at the time it was written, gives only 731 years for the date of its composition, or the year of our Lord 1068.* But, independent of all calculations, an astronomical work, intituled the Bhasvati, was composed 700 years ago by Sotanund, who, according to Hindu accounts, was a pupil of Varáha Mihíra: the

* By exhibiting the mean result only, we have given Mr Bentley's argument an advantage to which it is not entitled. The individual results from each of the ten *data*, vary from 300 to 1100 years, for the age of the Surya Siddhanta. Hence, the only legitimate inference that can be deduced, is, either that the heavenly bodies were so inaccurately observed by the author, as to furnish no basis for calculation; or that the observations were made at a period prodigiously anterior to that assumed by Mr Bentley. The first alone is admissible, and in that we are disposed to acquiesce. But when it is recollected how many collations, researches, and ingenious conjectures, have been requisite to restore Greek and Roman writers to their pristine sense, some inquiry would be necessary respecting the manuscript used by Mr Bentley, and the certainty of his comprehending his text, which he interprets differently from his instructors. At present, Mr Bentley is involved in the following dilemma; either that the observations of the heavenly bodies contained in the Surya Siddhanta, are wholly erroneous; or that they were not made at the period he conjectures,

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commentary on this treatise declares, that Varáha was the author of the Surya Siddhánta. 'Therefore, any Hindu work, in which the name of Varáha, or his system, is mentioned, must evidently be modern: and this circumstance alone totally destroys the pretended antiquity of many of the Puranas and other books, which, through the artifices of the Brahmanical tribe, have been hitherto deemed the most ancient in existence.' Now, all the other astronomical works Mr Bentley has seen, adopt the system given in the Surya Siddhánta by Varáha. A work ascribed to Parasara, a philosopher who is supposed to have lived before the Vedas were arranged in their present form, exhibits a still more manifest proof of forgery; since one of the formulæ it exhibits, mentions the era of Saca, which began *anno Domini* 78.

It would be easy to show, that the circumstances so forcibly stated, by no means justify the sweeping inference deduced by our author. Varáha Mihira was never considered as an antient writer, and is supposed by Sir William Jones, to have flourished *anno Domini* 499. That he was the author of the Surya Siddhánta, rests on the single authority of the commentator on the Bhasvati, a work which seems to have been composed in Siam; though we greatly wish Mr Bentley had imitated Sir William Jones on such occasions, by inserting the original passage. But, on what authority does our author assume, that the calpa or cycle of Varáha is that of Varáha *Mihira*, the modern astronomer? We find the Hindu cycles always distinguished by the names of different deities. There is the Devi Calpa, the Surya Calpa; the present is the Visnu Calpa; and we entertain no doubt, that the Varáha Calpa derived that designation from the Varáha Avatára, or incarnation of Visnu, in the form of a boar, as is the universal opinion of the natives. Now, the name of Varáha Mihira unquestionably does not occur in the Puránas, or in any work pretending to antiquity; and we have seen in what light we are to consider the Varáha Calpa. The mention of the era of Sácá, in a work attributed to Parásara, is only decisive against that passage; for we are satisfied no work of great antiquity can exist, in a country where the art of printing is unknown, free from interpolations. The institutes of Timur are now acknowledged to be genuine, and written under the direction of that conqueror, though they are found to contain an account of his own death. Some copyist of the Crista Parásara, was acquainted with an useful formula, which he injudiciously inserted in what he considered its proper place. Did our limits permit, we could distinctly prove, from considerations unconnected with astronomy, that the high antiquity attributed to the Hindu records, is founded on evidence of a nature almost conclusive.

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Art. V. *Travels in the Ottoman Empire, Egypt, and Persia,* undertaken by Order of the Government of France, during the firſt ſix years of the Republic, by G. A. Olivier, Member of the National Inſtitute, of the Society of Agriculture of the Department of the Seine, &c. &c. Illuſtrated by Engravings, conſiſting of Human Figures, Animals, Plants, Maps, Plans, &c. &c. To which is prefixed, a Map of Greece, of the Archipelago, and of a part of Aſia Minor. Vol. I. & II. Tranſlated from the French. Longman. 1801.

Amidst the horrors of the revolutionary crisis in France, whilst the Royal Family was confined in the Temple, a sanguinary proscription everywhere pursued its adherents; and whilst the armies of the Allied Powers still hovered on the frontiers, the executive provisional council found leisure to draw up a schedule of instructions for Messrs Olivier and Bruguière, deputed to collect information relative to the interesting countries enumerated in the title-page. 'Commerce, agriculture, natural history, general physics, geography, the medical art, and even our political relations with Turkey,' were the objects to which their attention was primarily directed.

M. Olivier, who alone lived to revisit his native country, is a native of Provence, and was previously known to the literary world, by his 'Entomologie, ou histoire naturelle des insectes,' by his 'Dictionnaire des insectes, faisant partie de l'Encyclopedie méthodique,' and by a variety of Mémoires on subjects of natural history and agriculture. The candour and simplicity of the statements, which M. Olivier has exhibited, as the result of his personal observations, confirms us in the opinion, that the ostensible motives, above assigned for his mission, were also the real ones; and we may reasonably conclude, that the provisional government would scarcely have selected a laborious entomologist, for purposes of more questionable tendency.

'I have,' ſays our author, 'in the following narrative, avoided all ſingular anecdotes, all humorous ſtories, more fit to amuſe than inſtruct. I was not willing to employ thoſe over-brilliant colours, which may be captivating for a moment; but the effect of which is tranſient. The ſight of a deſerted field covered with myrtles, or that of a garden confuſedly planted with date and orange trees, could never inflame my imagination; and I have frequently ſurveyed, without aſtoniſhment, truncated capitals, and ſcattered fragments of columns.'

From this passage, our readers will be enabled to appreciate the extent and species of the entertainment afforded by the French traveller; they will find important facts, and meagre description; much political discussion, and little illustration of manners. The luxuriant scenery, which skirts the banks of the Thracian Bos-

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phorus, is certainly depicted with no very splendid colouring, in the pages of our author. To him the city of Constantine is an irregular capital, with an excellent harbour; the hoary cliffs of Olympus, viewed in the distant horizon, are only high mountains, covered through great part of the year with snow; and the celebrated labyrinth of Crete, suggests the idea of a large stone quarry.

M. Olivier, and his colleague, embarked at Toulon, in the month of April 1793; and, after a passage of twenty-two days, reached the harbour of Constantinople. The elevated position of this city, 'the mixture of trees, houses, and minarets, which it presents; the entrance of the Bosphorus; the harbour and suburbs of Galata, Pera, and St Demitri; Scutari, and the verdant hills which lie behind; the Propontis, with its islands; farther on, Mount Olympus, covered with snow; everywhere the variegated and fertile fields of Asia and Europe;—all this assemblage exhibits different pictures, which captivate and astonish.' But these impressions are speedily removed on entering the city, composed of narrow and ill-paved streets, and filled with mean houses, constructed of earth and wood. Its population he estimates at five hundred thousand inhabitants, ascertained by the distribution of corn monopolized by the Porte, and supposing that the men, women, and children eat a pound and a half of flour per day. Though this allowance be sufficiently ample, yet recent travellers do not admit so considerable a population: Mr Dallaway states it at 400,000, inclusive of the suburbs of Galata, Pera, Tophana, and Scutari. We are disposed, however, to believe our author correct; the quantity of corn daily distributed, is an ascertained fact; the estimated consumption of each individual, seems rather to err by excess; and if we take into consideration the probability of considerable quantities being smuggled into the city, we can scarcely suppose its population to fall short of his calculation.

The subsistence of this immense population is derived almost exclusively from the Grand Signior. 'Almost all the revenues of the royal treasury,' says M. Olivier, 'are consumed in Constantinople; here are placed all the national establishments; and, in the provinces, there neither are armies, navy, arsenals, nor fortresses kept up at his expense.' This observation, as above expressed, might lead to an important error; the provincial governors defray these expenses, from the revenues of their respective provinces, and remit the surplus to the royal treasury at Constantinople; but those disbursements are unquestionably derived from the same sources which supply the expenditure of the capital. The wealth annually poured into Constantinople, and consumed there, our author estimates at two hundred millions of livres; and to the presence of the sovereign, to the expense of his palace,

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and to the public establishments, he attributes solely its great population.

'The richest private individuals of the empire, do not come hither to spend their income in effeminacy and idleness; or dissipate their fortunes in the hazards of play, in the pleasures of love, or in the luxury of the table. The Agas, or lords, remain on their estates, in order to preserve them, defend them, and make the most of them. The Pachas cannot quit their government, without an order of the sovereign. The Molhas' (it should be Mula) 'and the Cadis, exercise justice in the towns, whither they have received orders to repair: both the one and the other come to intrigue at Constantinople, only when they are displaced.'

The harbour presents an ever-varying scene, from the arrival and departure of ships and large boats, and the continual movement of caiques, manned by two or three rowers. In its facility of access; in that of its defence, by fortifying the entrance of the Bosphorus, and of the Hellespont; in its capacity of containing a considerable navy; and in the removal of depositions by the rotatory motion of the current, which keeps it perpetually clear; the harbour of Constantinople possesses still more important advantages. 'We may, at this moment, carry the Turkish navy to twenty sail of the line, one of which is a three decker; to upwards of twenty frigates or sloops, some of which are of 40 guns; and to various other small vessels.' Hussain Pacha, who, from a confidential slave, had been raised by Selim to the office of high-admiral, strenuously exerted himself to add to the number: but whilst the Turkish navy shall continue to be wrought by Greeks ignorant of navigation, and ill-affected to the cause in which they are engaged, their maritime power must be calculated from other *data* than the number of their vessels.

From Constantinople, our author was transported in ten minutes across the Bosphorus, and landed at Scutari, on the opposite shore. This town serves as an emporium, and a rendezvous to the caravans of Asia; and its population, estimated at 60,000 inhabitants, was included in that of the capital. 'The burying grounds of Scutari are the handsomest of the Ottoman empire, from their extent, the luxury of the tombs, and the height and closeness of the trees.' The Turks prefer being buried in Asia, which they consider as belonging to the true believers; while the land of Europe is expected again to revert one day into the possession of the Infidels; a prediction, which, like most others, will doubtless accelerate its own accomplishment. The cypress trees, which shade the cemetery, extend to the site of Chalcedon, now faintly marked by some remains of walls, and a small subterraneous temple. Notwithstanding the extensive gardens

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which, in some places, cover the environs of Constantinople, the adjacent fields are surprisingly neglected; and, from their sterile aspect, bespeak rather a devastated country, than the vicinity of a populous city. A chain of schistose hills, very fertile, and covered with cypresses, oaks, lime-trees, chesnut-trees, arbutuses, myrtles, brooms, and vines, skirts the channel of the Bosphorus. The castles, erected on each shore to defend the passage, might, in our author's opinion, be dismantled by a single frigate. In the broadest part, only six miles from the Black Sea, stands the romantic village of Buyucdéré, chiefly inhabited by Europeans, Greeks, and Armenians;—to render it a residence perfectly agreeable, it were necessary, M. Olivier thinks, that the ambassadors of the Europeans should be less fond of ceremony, and the women of the Greeks less attached to money.

Citizen Beauchamp, at the request of the National Institute, having recently surveyed the coasts of the Black Sea, as far as Trebisond—'It results,' says M. Olivier, 'from his observations, that the south coast advances, in some places, about a degree more towards the north; that Capes Kerenpé and Indjé are nearly in the 42d degree; that the gulph of Samson is much deeper; and that Trebisond is five or six leagues more to the westward, than it is laid down on the charts.' This information would have been more valuable, had it been more particular: in fact, we find Karanpi (the ancient Carambis) actually occupying, in our charts, the position here assigned to it; and our readers will doubtless be surprised to find the Amisenus Sinus (called Amisun by the Turks) converted by the Citizen Beauchamp (for we cannot suppose it M. Olivier) into the gulph of *Samson.*

From Buyucdéré to the Black Sea, lies a country very uneven, a little mountainous, at first volcanic, then schistose, uncultivated, covered with rock-roses, arbutuses, and broom. The coast rises twenty toises, almost perpendicularly, for a great extent presenting a mixture of clay and calcareous earth, in which a company of Armenian traders wrought a few veins of a vegetable substance, 'which have not yet entirely reached the state of *charcoal.*' For this error, M. Olivier is manifestly indebted to his translator; and we cannot doubt that he meant, that these vegetable remains have not reached the state of coal.

In his medical capacity, M. Olivier had occasion to enter the haram of a Turkish officer: We select his description of the interior of the dwelling:

'We were received in a handsome kiosk, a sort of saloon open on the sides, ornamented with paintings, gilding, and Arabic sentences taken from the Koran. In the middle, were a jet-d'eau, and a bason of white marble; on one side was a view of the Bosphorus; and on the other,

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that of a beautiful garden, and of part of the Capidgi's house, built with much elegance. After the customary compliments, pipes and coffee were brought; and, after an hour's conversation, we went to the female patient. No servant followed us. The Capidgi made us cross various apartments, the doors of which he himself opened and shut. We arrived at a hall rather spacious, surrounded, on three sides, by a sopha covered with a beautiful crimson cloth, trimmed with gold fringe. On the floor were spread a fine Egyptian mat, and a few little Persian carpets. The sick woman was in the middle of the room, on a light mattress, surrounded by large cushions, on which she was leaning, and attended by two young female slaves.'

In Turkey, the law permits three manners of cohabiting with women. Tournefort justly observed, that a man married the first, hired the second, and purchased the third. M. Olivier, however, states, somewhat inaccurately, that the second of these modes 'is distinguished by the name of 'kapin:' the word *cabîn*, to which he alludes, signifies literally a jointure or dowry, and is one of the many Persic terms incorporated with the mixed idiom of the Turks. In considering the consequences of polygamy on population, our author determines it to be prejudicial; assuming, however, that the number of women is nearly equal to that of men. Were this *petitio principii* conceded, there could be no question that polygamy were unfavourable to population; but we apprehend that, in the southern climates of Asia, the number of female births considerably preponderates; and, unless this circumstance be attributed to polygamy as an effect, its influence on population must still remain problematical.

On the 9th April 1798, our author accompanied the French legation, to see the filing off of a part of the army, which Sultan Selim was sending against Paswan Oglou.

'We saw pass in succession, companies of cavalry, of Delis, of Yaïms, of Timariots, of Selictars, and of Spahis, armed with a musket, two pistols, and a sabre. After them came a company of horsemen, armed with lances: like those who went first, they had their sabre and pistols. Each company was preceded by one or two colours, and followed by a great number of Sacas, or water-carriers. The horses on which these Sacas' (it should be Saki) 'were mounted, had two large leather bottles of water, for the wants of the company.

'What had rather a bad effect among this chosen troop was, that the muskets were of different form and calibre; the horsemen were irregularly clothed; many among them were in rags and ill mounted, while some others were better dressed and better armed. The officers were distinguished by the beauty of their horses, by the richness of the trappings, and by the footmen who preceded them.'

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'Oglou, in Turkish, signifies son. The father was Ayam, or Notable of Widin.' [We must here remark, that the office of Ayan, enjoyed by the father of Paswan Oglou, derived from an Arabic word signifying an eye, and not Ayam, as M. Olivier writes it, was that of Inspector or Comptroller of the city, and certainly bore no resemblance to the functions of a French Notable.] 'He was rich, and enjoyed great consideration among his fellow citizens. He commanded a troop of volunteers in the last war of the Turks against the Russians and Germans. It is thought that his reputation, and, above all, his riches, induced the Grand Visir, then Seraskier of the army, to cause him to be apprehended, and his head to be cut off.' The conduct of Paswan Oglou is attributed, by our author, to revenge; and political events concurred to facilitate his designs. The signal and successive defeats of the Turkish armies, had called the attention of the Sultans Mustafa III. and Abdul Hamid, to the improvement of their military establishment; and various institutions were formed with that intention. Selim III, on his accession to the throne, struck with the superiority of European arms and tactics, determined to substitute a well-disciplined army, in the room of the mutinous and disorderly bands which constituted the corps of Janizaries; but that body, though little formidable to an enemy, was still too powerful to be attacked with impunity by their sovereign. An attempt to preclude the increase of their number by new recruits, occasioned an insurrection in the Western provinces: This revolt was suppressed everywhere but at Widin; where Paswan Oglou, recently appointed Ayan, marched at the head of the insurgents against the Pacha, cut him in pieces, and obliged him to abandon the town. This success collected around him all the disaffected Janizaries of the provinces; the prospect of immunity from the new taxes, enlisted others under his banners; the Greeks were attracted by the abolition of distinctions, and by the motto of liberty and justice, which were seen, perhaps, only on his standards. Seizing the imperial revenues, and levying contributions from the country, his force was already become so formidable, as to induce the Porte to grant him a pardon, and the restitution of his father's property: It was farther stipulated, that every thing should remain at Widin on the antient footing; that the new tax should not be established there; and that the Janizaries should be maintained in their rights. It was easy to predict the consequences of this disgraceful compromise: The Pacha deputed to the government of Widin by the Porte, found his authority merely nominal; the influence and intrigues of Paswan Oglou extended even to the Court; he solicited the government for himself, together with the dignity of Pacha of Three Tails; and, when he perceived his machinations fruitless, raised again the standard of revolt, drove away the

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Pacha, and recommenced his incursions into the neighbouring provinces. Paswan Oglou, according to M. Olivier, was only deterred, by dread of the imperial Courts of Vienna and Petersburgh, from seizing on the provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia, and erecting them into an independent principality. A less hazardous attempt, in our author's opinion, would have been, to march to Constantinople, and to seat himself on the Ottoman throne! He did neither; but contented himself with levying contributions, augmenting his forces, and preparing to resist such attacks as the Porte might meditate against him. 'Already had the Janizaries refused to march; already did the immense number of inhabitants of Constantinople hold out their arms to him, whom they considered as their deliverer, as the defender of their rights: The majority of the great were devoted to his interests; and the people, as is well known, always seduced by the prestiges which surround the great man, second his projects without inquiry, and promote, without mistrust, all his enterprises.' At length, the different Pachas of European Turkey were ordered to march against him with all their forces. The result of the campaign was favourable to Paswan, who added Orsova, Silistria, Kersova, and almost all the towns situated on the Danube, to those which had previously acknowledged his authority. In 1798, all the Pachas of the empire were ordered to detach their quota of troops, for the reduction of this formidable rebel: The Janizaries still persisted in their refusal to march against a Mussulman, whose only crime was to have asserted their privileges. A numerous army was, however, collected, the rear guard of which M. Olivier had seen file off, and entrusted to the command of Hussain Pacha, the High Admiral, whose personal courage and tried fidelity were supposed to supply the place of experience, in an arduous service, to which he had been unaccustomed. The signal defeat of this commander, before the gates of Widin, completed the triumph, and has, for a time, consolidated the power of Paswan Oglou.

'As ſoon as Hussain had retired, Paſwan recalled the ſoldiers that he had diſbanded; he a ſecond time made himſelf maſter of the places which he had evacuated, and again threatened the north of the empire. After various deliberations of the Council, the Porte determined to offer the rebel, whom it could not deſtroy, his pardon, the government of Widin, and the dignity of Pacha with Three Tails: And as, in theſe circumſtances,' ſays M. Olivier, 'deſpotiſm required a victim, the Prince of Wallachia was ſacrificed to the reſentment of Huſſain, and his head brought to Conſtantinople in Ventoſe, year 7 (1799.)'

We were desirous to lay before our readers the origin and progress of the powerful insurgent who still threatens destruction to the Ottoman throne: But it is now time we should complete

our survey of Constantinople, and prosecute our researches among the Grecian isles. That city enjoys the advantages of a mild temperature, a beautiful sky, and very healthful climate. The north-north-east wind, which is much the most prevalent, by blowing over the Black Sea, before it reaches the capital, tempers the heats of Summer, and mitigates the sharpness of the Winter cold. 'It seldom freezes in open day; and the thermometer scarcely ever falls, during the night, more than two or three degrees below the freezing point.' At that period, the tandour supplies the want of grates and chimnies; it is a copper brazier, placed under a table, round which the company sit; it appears to our author, of Greek origin; we must remark, however, that the word is used, in Persia, to signify an oven. To this dangerous mode of communicating heat, the frequent fires, which devastate the city, are, doubtless, imputable. A multitude of bears, and hungry dogs, infest the streets; yet canine madness is totally unknown in the East. Our author here points out an analogy between that disorder and the plague, neither of which, he thinks, can be spontaneously generated or communicated by the atmosphere: A dog must be bitten, and a man must come into contact with pestiferous persons, or with some article they have touched, before they receive the infection. We are convinced, that the plague is most frequently, and most fatally, communicated by actual contact; but, in absolutely denying the possibility of its spontaneous generation, M. Olivier appears to forget, that, both that disease, and canine madness, must have originated in that manner, in whatever mode they may now most frequently be communicated. Heat and cold are equally repugnant to this scourge of the finest climates: the sharp Winters of Asia Minor, and the intense heats of an Egyptian Summer, equally eradicate the seeds of this disease. Unction, our author considers as an useless remedy, but an important preservative; and seems to believe, that butter-men, whose hands and garments are usually impregnated with that substance, are scarcely ever attacked by the plague. Water-carriers are little subject to it; and persons under a venereal treatment, are also exempted from its influence. 'Nature indicates,' says our author, 'that the plague cannot be cured without the sudden appearance, and the abundant suppuration of one or more buboes: all the efforts of the physician should therefore tend to provoke, as quickly as possible, this suppuration, by the application of the actual cautery, or of a burning iron, to the place where the buboes begin to show themselves.' It seems to result from M. Olivier's inquiries, that this virus is analogous to that of the itch, of syphilis, of canine madness, and of all the disorders which, in man, and in animals, are only contagious through immediate

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contact. In this case, it may be possible to find, among the preparations of metals and semi-metals, if not a specific, at least an useful remedy.

The Coran is the civil, criminal, and religious code of the Moslems; its interpreters, the Ulema, (properly, Elima, or the learned), compose the highest and most respectable body in the Turkish empire. At its head is the Mufti, or Shaikh-alislam, the supreme chief of the religion of Mohamed, whose decrees, or fatwa, M. Olivier calls fetfas. 'Two Cadileskers, or military judges, are annually appointed for Europe and Asia: the Istombul Effendi, or judge of Constantinople, is next in dignity. Mulas preside in the courts of the most considerable cities; and in those less populous, justice is administered, or bartered, by a Cadi. The universities of Constantinople, Bursa, and Adrianople, instruct those destined for the law, in religious, civil, and criminal jurisprudence; and the office of Madaris, or Professor, is itself an object of ambition, and a step to higher preferment. The law officers enjoy the important privilege of living secure from the extortions of the Pacha, and of transmitting their property to their heirs, without risk of confiscation. The ecclesiastical order may be said to consist of the Shaikh, who preaches in the mosques every Friday; of the Khatib, who recites the Khurba, attesting the unity of God, the prophetic character of Mohamed, and praying for the prosperity of the Sultan, and success of his arms against infidels; the Imam, who performs the usual service five times a day; and of the Muezzin, who, from the top of the minaret, summons pious Moslems to prayers. All these terms relative to law and religion, are of Arabic extraction, and have been sometimes mistaken, and oftener misspelt, by our author: But it were tedious to correct these minute defects, in a writer who appears never to have studied the Oriental languages.

The offices of the State are denoted by terms derived from the Turkish language. The dignity of Pacha of three tails, confers the supreme delegated power over a whole province. The distinction of this order into Pachas of three and of two tails, has not been explained by M. Olivier; but we believe it will be found to originate in the dignity, or Munsub, conferred by royal grant, at the period of elevation to the government, by which the Munsubdar is constituted commander of so many horse. If the number be triple that of the usual Munsub, the officer becomes a Pacha of three tails. Though this whimsical appellation be left unexplained by all the writers whom we have consulted, we rely, with some confidence, on the conjecture we have ventured to propose. A pachalic is divided, for military purposes, into certain districts, called sangiacs, or standards. The janizaries, spahis, yaïms, and timariots of the dis-

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trict, are obliged, in case of war, to unite under the colours of a commander, called Sangiac-bey, and to wait the commands of the Pacha. When Greece was conquered by the arms of the Moslems, certain lands were granted to the officers and soldiers, without quit-rent, as a reward for their valour; others were erected into lordships, under the names of Yaïm and Timar, and granted for life, with the title of Aga, on condition of supplying a specified number of troops, when required.

There is room for an interesting disquisition which should trace the origin of the system, which appears to have extended with the Tartar conquests, almost from one end of Asia to the other; and which should illustrate the modification it underwent in the different countries, from the previous habits, or more complete subjection of the inhabitants. Thus we find, in Hindustan, subsequent to the Mogul conquest, the office of Subadar, analogous to that of Pacha, and, like it, distinguished by a titular Munsub of the greatest number of horse: the provincial Foujdar of India, represents the Sangiac-bey of Turkey. In the free lands, we recognise the Altumgha: the Yaïms and Timars supply the place of the Jaghirdar. This military system of the Tartar conquerors, was extremely foreign to the mild paternal government of the ancient Hindu princes: and we find the intelligent traveller, Abdul Rezac, who visited, as embassador, the court of Vijanagar, impute the great population and riches of that empire, to the army being paid from the treasury, and having no connexion with the cultivators of the land. In fact, we find that the system was never so completely introduced into India, as to eject the landed proprietors from their estates, which seems to have happened in Turkey. The Jaghirdars were not, like the Yaïms, proprietors for life of a certain portion of land, but claim from the Zemindar, the revenue accruing from the latter to government. We hope, the curious nature of the investigation will excuse the length of this digression, and plead our pardon, if we have pursued the parallel to an unwarrantable extent. The annual quit-rent, established by the Turks, 'amounts to a fifth of the produce for the Rayas, or Infidels,' and a seventh, only, for the lands held by Moslems. We must here remark, that the Arabic term, 'Raya,' is by no means synonimous with infidel; it signifies husbandman, or cultivator; and if it seem, almost exclusively, applied to Greeks, it is only because the Turks seldom descend to the labours of agriculture.

The Grand Visir, or prime minister, is the chief executive officer of the State, and formerly presided in the Divan composed of six councillors. Selim III. has increased the number to twelve; and, according to Mr Dallaway, usually attends in person: But this alteration has not, hitherto, been productive

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of the advantages which the Sultan probably had in view. Dissensions usually prevail in the Divan; M. Olivier asserts, perfidy: But we cannot suppose, that the members of this council would think their personal aggrandisement could be augmented, by promoting the designs of Paswan Oglou, or the court of Petersburgh; and are inclined to add this allegation to the list of vulgar rumours.

Want of confidence in the government, and of security to private property, produce, in Turkey, their usual effects of depressing commerce, and raising the rate of interest; but M. Olivier candidly acknowledges, that dishonesty is not a Turkish vice; that their word may be relied on; and that, were they less oppressive towards their tributary subjects, they might be regarded as an estimable nation. Wool forms the principal article of export trade from Constantinople; camels hair, employed in the manufacture of hats; the hair of the Angora goat, cotton, buffaloes hides and tongues, hares skins, Turkey leather, silk, wax, copper, and orpiment, complete the list of exports. 'The Angora goats have much affinity, says our author, as to the fineness of their hair, to those of Carman and Cashmir. Both of them inhabit elevated places, cold in Winter, and very warm in Summer.' But the shawl goat, to which our author alludes, is a native of Tibet, not of Cashmir, and delights in a climate where the Angora goat would inevitably perish. In conformity to his instructions, M. Olivier endeavoured to discover the process used for dressing and dyeing the goats skins, known by the name of Morocco leather; but experienced a resistance which he did not expect; and it must still remain doubtful, whether it is to the quality of the skins, or to their proceedings, that we must attribute the beauty of the moroccos of the Levant.

M. Olivier and his associates had now spent above eighteen months in Constantinople and its environs; yet the French envoy had received no instructions concerning them, nor authority to supply them with the means of prosecuting their journey. In the rapid succession of parties in France, the object of their mission was forgotten with its projectors; and, receiving no answer to the different letters which they had addressed to their government, our travellers resolved to spend the Winter at the Dardanelles, or in the islands of Greece—'far,' says M. Olivier, 'from the agitations and intrigues which the various shades of political opinions had produced among the French, and of which we had, in spite of ourselves, been witnesses.' Neither the inclination, nor the instructions of our travellers, called their attention to the monuments of antiquity still extant in the Grecian isles; but M. Olivier's readers will be qualified to form a competent idea of their present state, or to conjecture what they might become when

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emancipated from the Turkish yoke. The extent we have allowed to what we consider as the most interesting part of the volumes before us, precludes us from enlarging on what remains: We cannot however conclude, without taking a rapid survey of the places visited by our author previously to his arrival in Crete, where the second volume (and we presume no more has been tanslated) terminates.

At the head of the gulf of Mundania, the village of Ghemlec occupies the site of the ancient Cius; its present population is about 2000 souls: The Turks have established in the vicinity a dock-yard for the construction of ships of the line; in 1794, an eighty gun ship was on the stocks, and almost finished. The oaks and pines of Olympus and the neighbouring mountains, supply abundantly the requisite materials. Here the cold was sharply felt on the 12th December; and there fell five or six inches of snow, which brought a multitude of snipes and ducks into the woods and adjacent plains.

Marmora, which has obtained its name from its blue marble, and communicated it to the Propontis, is the ancient Proconnesus; twelve leagues in circuit, and, though mountainous, both populous and fertile: Their flocks of sheep, cotton, with the produce of their vines and olive trees, form the wealth of the inhabitants of Marmora. The entrance of the Hellespont has Gallipoli and Lampsacus on its opposite shores; the former occupies a cape terminated by a light-house, and contains about 16,000 inhabitants. Lampsacus, formerly much more considerable, famous for its gardens, its vineyards, the delicious flavour of its wines, and the worship of Priapus, has fallen to the state of a mean village. 'On the ruins of its temples has been erected a mosque; and the worship,' says M. Olivier, 'paid to the God, preserver of the universe, is replaced by offerings to the Panaya.' The god of Lampsacus seems to have gained a votary in M. Olivier, who laments the fall of his temples with the tenderness of the Roman poet—

> 'Sic umbrosa tibi contingant tecta, Priape,
> Ne capiti soles, ne noceantque nives.'

The site of Abydos is still marked by ruins: those of the ancient Dardanus have disappeared—*etiam periere ruinæ*. Between them, at the distance of three miles from the former, lies the castle and town of the Dardanelles, in which are reckoned 4000 inhabitants; it is seated in a fertile valley, washed by the Rhodius. 'Here the orange tree begins to grow in the open air.' From hence our author made an excursion to the Troad; and bears strong testimony to the accuracy of Homer's topography, and to its delineation by M. Le Chevalier. He does not, how-

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ever, attempt to refute the objections so ingeniously urged by Mr Bryant. The Scamander no longer unites his waters with the Simois; but, after witnessing the battles of gods and heroes, now condescends to turn a few mills, the property of a Turkish Pacha. If the site of the ancient Troy were that which M. Le Chevalier conjectures, between the Simois and the sources of the Scamander, with its citadel constructed on the edge of a precipice,—its natural strength, aided by the valour and despair of its inhabitants, might, our author thinks, have enabled it to resist, for ten years, a formidable army. If we recollect, however, Homer, in his twentieth book, places Troy at a distance in the plain. The whole territory of the Troad, including the second castle of the Dardanelles, supports a population of 8000 inhabitants. The city founded by Alexander, still offers the ruins of ancient monuments: Pococke, Wheeler, Chandler, Le Chevalier, and others, are always referred to by our author, when such occur in his route. A league and a half from the coast, lies the small island of Tenedos; its town contains 6000 inhabitants; and the culture of their vines supplies occupation, and wine of an excellent quality, to its natives, remarkable for their assumed gravity and intemperate festivity, when unawed by the vicinity of their Turkish masters.

Two or three leagues distance from the coast of Asia, lies the isle of Lesbos, the birth-place of Sappho and of Theophrastus: It still possesses distinguished musicians; and in a young poet and performer of Molivo, our author could fancy he beheld a descendant of Arion, or of Terpander, who quelled a sedition by the charms of his voice. Numerous volcanic mountains, separated by plains of extreme fertility, intersect the isle of Lesbos: the population of the whole island may be estimated at 40,000 inhabitants, of whom one half are Greeks. By a peculiar custom, of great antiquity, the eldest daughter here succeeded to the whole property of both her parents, to the exclusion of sons and younger daughters: this singular mode of succession has recently undergone some modification in favour of the latter. The Aleppo and stone pine, the arbutus, the andrachne, the lentisk, the turpentine tree, the myrtle, the agnus castus, and a variety of rock roses, cover the basaltic mountains of Lesbos: 50,000 quintals of oil are annually exported to Constantinople; but its wine was found scarce and unpalateable.

Fortunately for the island of Scio, it has become the appanage of a Sultana, who protects the inhabitants from the extortions of provincial officers. Its extent, less considerable than Lesbos, is about 50 miles from north to south. 'According to the registers of the government, the population of Scio is to be estimated at 110,000 inhabitants. In the capital are reckoned 30,000; *viz.*

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3500 Turks, 1500 Greek Roman Catholics, 25,000 Greek schismatics. About 100 Jews may be added to this calculation.'

'After having crossed,' says M. Olivier, 'a little arm of the sea, I thought myself transported into another region, into another climate. I had seen the Greek bent under the yoke of the most frightful despotism: he was deceitful, rude, timid, superstitious, and poor. Here he enjoys a shadow of liberty: he is honest, civil, bold, industrious, witty, intelligent, and rich. Here I no longer find that mixture of pride and meanness which characterizes the Greeks of Constantinople, and of a great part of the Levant; that timidity, that cowardice, which is occasioned by perpetual fear; that bigotry, which prevents no crime. What distinguishes the inhabitants of Scio from the other Greeks, is a decided inclination towards commerce, a warm taste for the arts, a keen desire for enterprise: It is a sprightly, pleasant, epigrammatic wit; it is sometimes a sort of mad and burlesque gaiety, which has given rise to the following proverb—"It is as uncommon to find a green horse, as a prudent Sciot."

The beauty of the women exceeds what he has remarked elsewhere; but the use of cosmetics, and their love of gain, detract from the effect of their charms. Mastic, obtained by incision from a variety of the lentisk, is the most important production of Scio. The women are in the habit of masticating this gum: 'that of the best quality is sent to Constantinople for the palace of the Grand Signior; the second quality is intended for Cairo, and passes into the harams of the Mamalucs.' Oranges, lemons, and citrons, are articles of considerable export. The expressed juice of the two latter, furnishes a syrup in much request; and the rinds, preserved in sugar or honey, are distributed all over the Levant. The essential oil of roses, and dried figs, of an excellent quality, conclude the list of their exports.

The small island of Tenos, now Tino, ranks next to Scio in its comforts, and in the industry of its inhabitants, whose numbers are stated at 15,800. The same cause accounts for the prosperity of both; here the inhabitants remit the amount of revenue at which they are assessed: No Turks reside on the island; and the labours of their silk worms enables them punctually to observe the conditions. Ninety miles from Tenos, lies the isle of Andros, the appanage of a Sultana: Like the former, it is mountainous and lofty, though possessing more lands fit for cultivation; its population is rated at 12,000 inhabitants, who export silk, oranges, and lemons, to Athens and the Morea. Twelve leagues distant, the small island of Mycone, contains 4000 inhabitants, all mariners or cultivators. Near it lies the celebrated isle of Delos, still fixed, as when rivetted by the voice of Neptune, in order to afford a shelter to the mother of Apollo and Diana. Yet every where schistose or granitical, it exhibits no trace of volcano; 'nothing that can explain, by the laws of phy-

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sics, the wonders which the Greeks have transmitted to us respecting it.' At this day, there no longer exists any thing but ruins, but deserted fields, on which seem to grow, with regret, a few sorry plants, a few stunted shrubs. Rhenea, or the great Delos, is also uninhabited, though some portion of it is cultivated by the peasants of Mycone. Naxos, now Naxia, was the birthplace of Bacchus; the gate and foundations of his temple are still seen near the fountain of Ariadne; a streamlet of pellucid water still marks the place whence she viewed, with despair, the ship which conveyed away her inconstant hero. This island contains 10,000 inhabitants, and belongs chiefly to the descendants of noble Venetian families, whose contempt of agriculture is unhappily imitated by the other inhabitants of Naxos. Two thousand wretched peasants languish on the neighbouring isle of Paros, subject to the fatal visitation of the Turkish fleets. The grotto of Aniparos, our author is at a loss to determine whether to be a marble quarry long excavated, or a vast natural cavity. The island of Nio, the ancient Jos, is forty miles in circuit; its base is everywhere schistose or granitical, and its numerous mountains mostly calcareous; its population is estimated at 3700; but the tomb of Homer, who died here in passing from Samos to Athens, has left no vestige remaining of its existence. Cimolis, now Argentiera, from its doubtful possession of a silver mine, is eighteen miles in circuit, consisting chiefly of volcanic mountains, and containing about 200 inhabitants. Porphyry of various colours, and in various stages of decomposition, are found abundantly in Cimolis: The Cimolian earth, used by the antients as fuller's earth, appears to have been porphyry, which had attained the last degree of decomposition, and become friable, soft, and light. An unhealthy atmosphere, infected by sulphureous exhalations, has almost depoluated the once flourishing isle of Melos, now Milo, sixty miles in circuit, and containing only 500 inhabitants. Our travellers attempted to ascend the volcanic mountain Calamo; but the fetid exhalations, heat, and instability of the ground, deterred them from persisting. A grotto in the island, exhibits chrystals of gypsum, and plumose alum in loose filaments, united in bundles, from one to ten, twelve, or fifteen lines in length. The distance from Cimolis to Thera is sixteen leagues. 'Thera,' says Pliny, 'cum primum emersit Calliste dicta. Ex ea avulsa postea Therasia; atque inter duas enata mox Automate.' M. Olivier is convinced, that these three islands, at a remote epoch, must have formed but one, and that there has taken place a sudden and violent depression which has divided them. The coast, in some places, nearly 100 toises in elevation, presents itself like a perpendicular mountain, formed of various strata, and of different banks of volcanic substances:

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fragments of basaltes, with pumice stones, and strata of puzzolana, are found in this and the above mentioned islands. Three other islands, of posterior formation, occupy a part of the interjacent space. Hiera was dedicated to the infernal deities, because it was seen to issue, all on fire, from the bottom of the sea, according to Pliny, 130 years after the separation of Thera from Therasia. In 1573, a fresh explosion produced the little Caïmeni: the eruption of the new Caïmeni, subsequent to Thera being visited by Tournefort, must have happened between 1707 and 1711. This, and Hiera, are each about a mile in length, and covered with blocks of basaltes, pumice stones, and puzzolana. From hence, our author proceeds to Crete, of which he has furnished an instructive and very detailed account, which concludes the volume.

'L'on ne vaut jamais que ce qu'on veut valoir,' says some French author; and the writer who only aims to instruct, will seldom be found to amuse. Yet, the perspicuous and candid account which M. Olivier exhibits of the actual state of the Turkish empire, cannot fail to inspire considerable interest. The throne, founded by Othman on the ruins of the Greek empire, and transmitted by him to his posterity at the close of the thirteenth century, seems, at the present moment, to totter to its base: yet the personal character of Selim III. is treated respectfully by writers of all denominations: a degree of energy, proportioned to the difficulty of the crisis, is, however, certainly wanting. The ferocity and martial habits of this race of Tartars, have not declined in the lap of luxury; but the discipline and tactics of their European neighbours are improved, whilst theirs have continued stationary; and the successful rebellion of a popular leader, founded on, and supported by the disaffection of the Janizaries, affords to the distant Pachas a dangerous proof of the weakness of the Porte. The Turkish crescent is on the wane; but whether its disappearance will be accelerated by foreign invasion or internal rebellion, time alone can discover.

Art. VI. *Political Recollections relative to Egypt:* Containing Obfervations on its Government under the Mamalucs; its Geographical Pofition; its Intrinfic and Extrinfic Refources; its relative Importance to England and France; and its Dangers to England in the Poffeffion of France; with a Narrative of the ever-memorable Britifh Campaign in the Spring of 1801. By George Baldwin Efq. late his Majefty's Conful-General in Egypt, and attached to the Commander in Chief during the above glorious Campaign. 8vo. pp. 227. Cadell. 1801.

Were the ability requisite for pursuing political investigations always commensurate with the opportunities for prosecut-

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ing them with advantage, the political recollections of Mr Baldwin would challenge no common interest. This gentleman has spent much of his life in the isles of the Grecian Archipelago, visited Syria, and, during ten years, (from 1786 to 1796), held the important situation of Consul-General at Cairo. The effect of his recal, at the latter period, was such, says Mr Baldwin, 'as to bereave me of my strength, and of every faculty to attend to any earthly concern.' In this frame of mind, he was 'happily landed on the island of Patmos, in the grotto of the Revelation.' From thence he proceeded to Naples, and, at Sir Ralph Abercrombie's request, accompanied the expedition against Egypt, of which he witnessed the dawning success. With such opportunities of procuring accurate intelligence, the interesting topics stated for discussion in the title-page, might be expected to receive considerable illustration from the pen of Mr Baldwin. But, whether it proceeds from a singular modification of modesty, which, while it permits him to boast, in strong terms, of the services he performed, has suppressed every particle of information on the subjects he professes to discuss, we will not attempt to determine.

The apparent severity of these strictures may require a few extracts for their justification: fortunately, a few will suffice, and will cost little trouble in the research. 'Egypt,' says Mr Baldwin, 'communicates with the coasts of Arabia Felix, of the gulfs of Persia and Bengal, the eastern coasts of Africa, Madagascar, and the Cape of Good Hope, in forty days.' What, with all those countries, some near, and some very remote, precisely in forty days! By such observations, our author illustrates its geographical position. But the anomalous situation of the foreign militia, who, with the name of slaves, exercise and abuse the functions of government in Egypt, has, doubtless, been traced and explained by the English Consul-General. We insert his brief account of the Mamalucs.

'The Mamalucs, a ſet of ſwineherds, vagabonds, any thing; kidnapped in the mountains of Mingrelia, Circaſſia, Georgia, and brought young into Egypt; ſold, circumciſed, and trained to the career of glory; their road to honour, apoſtaſy; their title to power, aſſaſſination, and contempt of death; no ſtability, no order, no character among them, but a conſtant thirſt and jealouſy of command.'

'An essay on the plague' occupies a considerable portion of this publication, in which Mr Baldwin speaks with confidence of the efficacy of anointing the body with olive oil, both as a means of preservation and cure. This discovery he was led to, by a very singular process of induction. 'What is the plague? A violent effervescence in the humours of the body. Then, what causes effervescences? All acids, mixed with another body called alkalis, will make a violent effervescence. Then, I conclude, the cause of the

disorder called the plague must be an acid! The effect of acids is inflammation. The plague has this character. Flame delights in oils; and its necessary cause, its companion, its parent, can have no aversion from them.' Hence our author infers, 'that the pestilential humour, which causeth the disease called the plague, is an acid, and that it will quit the human body to fly to the oil, which it prefers.' Gout, also, Mr Baldwin informs his readers, is occasioned by an acid; he has relieved its most violent paroxysms by dipping his foot in olive oil; and is persuaded, that the 'frothing and hissing it occasioned, were the effects of the acid leaving the inflamed part, to coalesce with the oil, and producing thereon, by its action, this evident fermentation.' Those who might be inclined to doubt this fact, will probably be relieved from their scepticism by the following decisive experiment: 'In a glass,' says Mr Baldwin, 'I put some pure olive oil, and over it, on the glass, at the distance of half an inch at least, I put a *lemon*, perfect, and almost mature. In a few hours, I had the satisfaction to see the acid of the lemon trickling down the glass, and mixing with the oil; and, in eight days, the lemon had almost exhausted itself of every drop of its juice. I have always succeeded in this experiment. This settles the affinity of acids and oils, of course, in the most satisfactory manner.

Our author states the Greeks and Turks to have been ready to unite with the French in overturning their present government; and thinks the Sublime Porte utterly incapable of acquiring vigour sufficient to resist the first attack it may experience from without. On this account, he questions the policy of restoring Egypt to a Sovereign unable to defend it, whilst it presents an easy and rich prey to the cupidity of European states. Mr Baldwin explains the facility with which the Emperor relinquished so large a portion of Italy, subsequent to the battle of Marengo, by his hopes of acquisition in the downfal of the Turkish power. Other positions, no less curious, might be selected for the amusement of our readers; but we conceive our preceding observations will convey a competent idea of this performance.

Art. VII. *An Inquiry into the Causes and Effects of Emigration from the Highlands and Western Islands of Scotland;* with Obfervations on the Means to be employed for preventing it. By Alexander Irvine, Minifter of Ranoch. 1802.

THE opportunities which this clergyman must possess of local information, induced us to expect instruction on a very interesting topic in the political economy of Scotland. But the

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reverend author has preferred fine writing to inquiry; and his reader, who looks for facts, will in vain peruse a tedious volume of eloquence, that may not be altogether agreeable to his taste. For ourselves, we must confess, that we could not help feeling some degree of impatience, while we dutifully laboured through his toilsome declamation. But now that the task is over, we dismiss all irritation from our mind; and we not only can willingly forgive the honest, but mistaken, desire of giving delight and of gaining fame, but we feel ourselves likewise bound to pay our tribute of applause to that ardent patriotism which breathes throughout this piece of composition. We might not perhaps, without a little hesitation, adopt the expressions, or participate the wonder of Mr Irvine, when he speaks of emigration from the Highlands, as 'a singular phenomenon in the history of Britain, that so many citizens should leave *the most favoured* province.' But we acknowledge the eloquence at least of his remark, that, 'in a freeborn mind, of the Celtic cast, there is *some quality* that glories to struggle and overcome adversity.' Being natives of a Lowland district, we must be excused by the local proprieties of our own patriotism, if we venture to doubt, whether he would prove successful in the issue of the following challenge: 'If you except Switzerland and the Valais, before the French revolution, I defy the most renowned kingdoms of Europe to adduce one province, that competes with the Highlands in point of national felicity.' We cannot, however, dissemble our admiration of the pious simplicity and gratitude of the following passage:

'It is well known that the Highlanders, ſcattered through our fleets and armies, arreſt the admiration, and excite the aſtoniſhment of the world. Patient of hunger and fatigue, ready to obey, and as able to execute, they are ſelected for the moſt arduous and deſperate enterprizes, and uniformly cover themſelves with glory, though not always crowned with victory. Who can read the hiſtory of the diſſenſions, regarding the ſucceſſion of the Queen of Hungary to the Imperial dignity —the war for the admiſſion of the French and Ruſſians into Germany— the conteſts for the independence of America—the defence of the Britiſh ſettlements in India—and the late ſtruggles with the French Republic—without thanking Providence that he was born a Highlander? Who can then learn, without regret, that thoſe firſt in aſſault, and laſt in retreat, abandon their native country, and abandon its defence?' &c.

From the manner in which the subject is treated in this pamphlet, we have no proper opportunity of entering into any general remarks on the emigrations from Scotland. If it should be presented to us in a more manageable form, we shall seize the occasion with pleasure. The history of the Highland emigrations is intimately connected with that of the agricultural improvements

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of the island: and our interest is at present heightened, by the temporary effects that result from the recent cessation of hostilities. These consequences, indeed, are not confined to the Highlands. The general subject, considered as an article of political philosophy, might be illustrated by present examples from every district of the country, and from every department of industry. And the description of that conduct, which an enlightened government will pursue, with regard to emigration, would involve some of the most important principles of national policy, and some of the most sacred privileges of mankind.

ART. VIII. *Thalaba, the Destroyer:* A Metrical Romance. By Robert Southey. 2 vol. 12mo. London.

POETRY has this much, at least, in common with religion, that its standards were fixed long ago, by certain inspired writers, whose authority it is no longer lawful to call in question; and that many profess to be entirely devoted to it, who have no *good works* to produce in support of their pretensions. The catholic poetical church, too, has worked but few miracles since the first ages of its establishment; and has been more prolific, for a long time, of Doctors, than of Saints: it has had its corruptions and reformation also, and has given birth to an infinite variety of heresies and errors, the followers of which have hated and persecuted each other as cordially as other bigots.

The author who is now before us, belongs to a *sect* of poets, that has established itself in this country within these ten or twelve years, and is looked upon, we believe, as one of its chief champions and apostles. The peculiar doctrines of this sect, it would not, perhaps, be very easy to explain; but, that they are *dissenters* from the established systems in poetry and criticism, is admitted, and proved indeed, by the whole tenor of their compositions. Though they lay claim, we believe, to a creed and a revelation of their own, there can be little doubt, that their doctrines are of *German* origin, and have been derived from some of the great modern reformers in that country. Some of their leading principles, indeed, are probably of an earlier date, and seem to have been borrowed from the great apostle of Geneva. As Mr Southey is the first author, of this persuasion, that has yet been brought before us for judgment, we cannot discharge our inquisitorial office conscientiously, without premising a few words upon the nature and tendency of the tenets he has helped to promulgate.

The disciples of this school boast much of its originality, and seem to value themselves very highly, for having broken loose from the bondage of antient authority, and reasserted the independence

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of genius. Originality, however, we are persuaded, is rarer than mere alteration; and a man may change a good master for a bad one, without finding himself at all nearer to independence. That our new poets have abandoned the old models, may certainly be admitted; but we have not been able to discover that they have yet created any models of their own; and are very much inclined to call in question the worthiness of those to which they have transferred their admiration. The productions of this school, we conceive, are so far from being entitled to the praise of originality, that they cannot be better characterized, than by an enumeration of the sources from which their materials have been derived. The greater part of them, we apprehend, will be found to be composed of the following elements: 1. The antisocial principles, and distempered sensibility of Rousseau—his discontent with the present constitution of society—his paradoxical morality, and his perpetual hankerings after some unattainable state of voluptuous virtue and perfection. 2. The simplicity and energy (*horresco referens*) of Kotzebue and Schiller. 3. The homeliness and harshness of some of Cowper's language and versification, interchanged occasionally with the *innócence* of Ambrose Philips, or the quaintness of Quarles and Dr Donne. From the diligent study of these few originals, we have no doubt that an entire art of poetry may be collected, by the assistance of which, the very *gentlest* of our readers may soon be qualified to compose a poem as correctly versified as Thalaba, and to deal out sentiment and description, with all the sweetness of Lambe, and all the magnificence of Coleridge.

The authors, of whom we are now speaking, have, among them, unquestionably, a very considerable portion of poetical talent, and have, consequently, been enabled to seduce many into an admiration of the false taste (as it appears to us) in which most of their productions are composed. They constitute, at present, the most formidable conspiracy that has lately been formed against sound judgment in matters poetical; and are entitled to a larger share of our censorial notice, than could be spared for an individual delinquent. We shall hope for the indulgence of our readers, therefore, in taking this opportunity to inquire a little more particularly into their merits, and to make a few remarks upon those peculiarities which seem to be regarded by their admirers as the surest proofs of their excellence.

Their most distinguishing symbol, is undoubtedly an affectation of great simplicity and familiarity of language. They disdain to make use of the common poetical phraseology, or to ennoble their diction by a selection of fine or dignified expressions. There would be too much *art* in this, for that great love of nature with which they are all of them inspired; and their

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sentiments, they are determined shall be indebted, for their effect, to nothing but their intrinsic tenderness or elevation. There is something very noble and conscientious, we will confess, in this plan of composition; but the misfortune is, that there are passages in all poems, that can neither be pathetic nor sublime; and that, on these occasions, a neglect of the embellishments of language is very apt to produce absolute meanness and insipidity. The language of passion, indeed, can scarcely be deficient in elevation; and when an author is awanting in that particular, he may commonly be presumed to have failed in the truth, as well as in the dignity of his expression. The case, however, is extremely different with the subordinate parts of a composition; with the narrative and description, that are necessary to preserve its connexion; and the explanation, that must frequently prepare us for the great scenes and splendid passages. In these, all the requisite ideas may be conveyed, with sufficient clearness, by the meanest and most negligent expressions; and, if magnificence or beauty is ever to be observed in them, it must have been introduced from some other motive than that of adapting the style to the subject. It is in such passages, accordingly, that we are most frequently offended with low and inelegant expressions; and that the language, which was intended to be simple and natural, is found oftenest to degenerate into mere slovenliness and vulgarity. It is in vain, too, to expect that the meanness of those parts may be redeemed by the excellence of others. A poet, who aims at all at sublimity or pathos, is like an actor in a high tragic character, and must sustain his dignity throughout, or become altogether ridiculous. We are apt enough to laugh at the mock-majesty of those whom we know to be but common mortals in private; and cannot permit Hamlet to make use of a single provincial intonation, although it should only be in his conversation with the grave-diggers.

The followers of simplicity are, therefore, at all times in danger of occasional degradation; but the simplicity of this new school seems intended to ensure it. *Their* simplicity does not consist, by any means, in the rejection of glaring or superfluous ornament,—in the substitution of elegance to splendour, or in that refinement of art which seeks concealment in its own perfection. It consists, on the contrary, in a very great degree, in the positive and *bonâ fide* rejection of art altogether, and in the bold use of those rude and negligent expressions, which would be banished by a little discrimination. One of their own authors, indeed, has very ingenuously set forth, (in a kind of manifesto that preceded one of their most flagrant acts of hostility), that it was their capital object 'to adapt to the uses of poetry, the ordinary language of conversation among the middling and lower orders

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of the people." What advantages are to be gained by the success of this project, we confess ourselves unable to conjecture. The language of the higher and more cultivated orders may fairly be presumed to be better than that of their inferiors: at any rate, it has all those associations in its favour, by means of which, a style can ever appear beautiful or exalted, and is adapted to the purposes of poetry, by having been long consecrated to its use. The language of the vulgar, on the other hand, has all the opposite associations to contend with; and must seem unfit for poetry, (if there were no other reason), merely because it has scarcely ever been employed in it. A great genius may indeed overcome these disadvantages; but we can scarcely conceive that he should court them. We may excuse a certain homeliness of language in the productions of a ploughman or a milkwoman; but we cannot bring ourselves to admire it in an author, who has had occasion to indite odes to his college bell, and inscribe hymns to the Penates.

But the mischief of this new system, is not confined to the depravation of language only; it extends to the sentiments and emotions, and leads to the debasement of all those feelings which poetry is designed to communicate. It is absurd to suppose, that an author should make use of the language of the vulgar, to express the sentiments of the refined. His professed object, in employing that language, is to bring his compositions nearer to the true standard of nature; and his intention to copy the sentiments of the lower orders, is implied in his resolution to make use of their style. Now, the different classes of society have each of them a distinct character, as well as a separate idiom; and the names of the various passions to which they are subject respectively, have a signification that varies essentially, according to the condition of the persons to whom they are applied. The love, or grief, or indignation of an enlightened and refined character, is not only expressed in a different language, but is in itself a different emotion from the love, or grief, or anger of a clown, a tradesman, or a market-wench. The things themselves are radically and obviously distinct; and the representation of them is calculated to convey a very different train of sympathies and sensations to the mind. The question, therefore, comes simply to be—which of them is the most proper object for poetical imitation? It is needless for us to answer a question, which the practice of all the world has long ago decided irrevocably. The poor and vulgar may interest us, in poetry, by their *situation*; but never, we apprehend, by any sentiments that are peculiar to their condition, and still less by any language that is characteristic of it. The truth is, that it is impossible to copy their diction or their sentiments correctly, in a serious composition; and this, not

merely because poverty makes men ridiculous, but because just taste and refined sentiment are rarely to be met with among the uncultivated part of mankind; and a language, fitted for their expression, can still more rarely form any part of their ordinary conversation. The low-bred heroes, and interesting rustics of poetry, have no sort of affinity to the real vulgar of this world; they are imaginary beings, whose characters and language are in contrast with their situation; and please those, who can be pleased with them, by the marvellous, and not by the nature of such a combination. In serious poetry, a man of the middling or lower order *must necessarily* lay aside a great deal of his ordinary language; he must avoid errors in grammar and orthography; and steer clear of the cant of particular professions, and of every impropriety that is ludicrous or disgusting: nay, he must speak in good verse, and observe all the graces in prosody and collocation. After all this, it may not be very easy to say how we are to find him out to be a low man, or what marks can remain of the ordinary language of conversation in the inferior orders of society. If there be any phrases that are not used in good society, they will appear as blemishes in the composition, no less palpably, than errors in syntax or quantity; and, if there be no such phrases, the style cannot be characteristic of that condition of life, the language of which it professes to have adopted. All approximation to that language, in the same manner, implies a deviation from that purity and precision, which no one, we believe, ever violated spontaneously.

It has been argued, indeed, (for men will argue in support of what they do not venture to practise), that as the middling and lower orders of society constitute by far the greater part of mankind, so, their feelings and expressions should interest more extensively, and may be taken, more fairly than any other, for the standards of what is natural and true. To this, it seems obvious to answer, that the arts that aim at exciting admiration and delight, do not take their models from what is ordinary, but from what is excellent; and that our interest in the representation of any event does not depend upon our familiarity with the original, but on its intrinsic importance, and the celebrity of the parties it concerns. The sculptor employs his art in delineating the graces of Antinous or Apollo, and not in the representation of those ordinary forms that belong to the crowd of his admirers. When a chieftain perishes in battle, his followers mourn more for him, than for thousands of their equals that may have fallen around him.

After all, it must be admitted, that there is a class of persons (we are afraid they cannot be called *readers*), to whom the representation of vulgar manners, in vulgar language, will afford much entertainment. We are afraid, however, that the ingenious

writers who supply the hawkers and ballad-singers, have very nearly monopolized that department, and are probably better qualified to hit the taste of their customers, than Mr Southey, or any of his brethren, can yet pretend to be. To fit them for the higher task of original composition, it would not be amiss if they were to undertake a translation of Pope or Milton into the vulgar tongue, for the benefit of those children of nature.

There is still another disagreeable effect of this affected simplicity, which, though of less importance than those which have been already noticed, it may yet be worth while to mention: This is, the extreme difficulty of supporting the same tone of expression throughout, and the inequality that is consequently introduced into the texture of the composition. To an author of reading and education, it is a style that must always be assumed and unnatural, and one from which he will be perpetually tempted to deviate. He will rise, therefore, every now and then, above the level to which he has professedly degraded himself; and make amends for that transgression, by a fresh effort of descension. His composition, in short, will be like that of a person who is attempting to speak in an obsolete or provincial dialect; he will betray himself by expressions of occasional purity and elegance, and exert himself to efface that impression, by passages of unnatural meanness or absurdity.

In making these strictures on the perverted taste for simplicity, that seems to distinguish our modern school of poetry, we have no particular allusion to Mr Southey, or the production now before us: On the contrary, he appears to us, to be less addicted to this fault than most of his fraternity; and if we were in want of examples to illustrate the preceding observations, we should certainly look for them in the effusions of that poet who commemorates, with so much effect, the chattering of Harry Gibbs' teeth; tells the tale of the one-eyed huntsman 'who had a cheek like a cherry;' and beautifully warns his studious friend of the risk he ran of 'growing double.'

At the same time, it is impossible to deny that the author of the 'English Eclogues' is liable to a similar censure; and few persons, we believe, will peruse the following verses (taken almost at random from the Thalaba), without acknowledging that he still continues to deserve it.

> 'At midnight Thalaba started up,
> For he felt that the ring on his finger was moved.
> He called on Allah aloud,
> And he called on the Prophet's name.
> Moath arose in alarm,
> "What ails thee, Thalaba?" he cried,
> "Is the robber of night at hand?"

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"Dost thou not see," the youth exclaimed,
"A spirit in the Tent?"
Moath looked round, and said,
"The moon-beam shines in the Tent,
'I see thee stand in the light,
'And thy shadow is black on the ground."
Thalaba answered not.
"Spirit!" he cried, "what brings thee here?" &c.

WOMAN.

. . . . Go not among the Tombs, Old Man!
There is a madman there.

OLD MAN.

Will he harm me if I go?

WOMAN.

Not he, poor miserable man!
But 'tis a wretched sight to see
His utter wretchedness.
For all day long he lies on a grave,
And never is he seen to weep,
And never is he heard to groan,
Nor ever at the hour of prayer
Bends his knee, nor moves his lips.
I have taken him food for charity,
And never a word he spake;
But yet so ghastly he looked
That I have awakened at night,' &c.

Now, this style, we conceive, possesses no one character of excellence; it is feeble, low, and disjointed; without elegance, and without dignity; the offspring, we should imagine, of mere indolence and neglect; or the unhappy fruit of a system that would teach us to undervalue that vigilance and labour which sustained the loftiness of Milton, and gave energy and direction to the pointed and fine propriety of Pope.

The *style* of our modern poets, is that, no doubt, by which they are most easily distinguished: but their genius has also an internal character; and the peculiarities of their taste may be discovered, without the assistance of their diction. Next after great familiarity of language, there is nothing that appears to them so meritorious as perpetual exaggeration of thought. There must be nothing moderate, natural, or easy, about their sentiments. There must be a 'qu'il mourut,' and a 'let there be light,' in every line; and all their characters must be in agonies and ecstasies, from their entrance to their exit. To those who are acquainted with their productions, it is needless to speak of the fatigue that is produced by this unceasing summons to admiration, or of the compassion which is excited by the spectacle of these

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eternal strainings and distortions. Those authors appear to forget, that a whole poem cannot be made up of striking passages; and that the sensations produced by sublimity, are never so powerful and entire, as when they are allowed to subside and revive, in a slow and spontaneous succession. It is delightful, now and then, to meet with a rugged mountain, or a roaring stream; but where there is no sunny slope, nor shaded plain, to relieve them—where all is beetling cliff and yawning abyss, and the landscape presents nothing on every side but prodigies and terrors—the head is apt to grow giddy, and the heart to languish for the repose and security of a less elevated region.

The effect even of genuine sublimity, therefore, is impaired by the injudicious frequency of its exhibition, and the omission of those intervals and breathing-places, at which the mind should be permitted to recover from its perturbation or astonishment; but where it has been summoned upon a false alarm, and disturbed in the orderly course of its attention, by an impotent attempt at elevation, the consequences are still more disastrous. There is nothing so ridiculous (at least for a poet) as to fail in great attempts. If the reader foresaw the failure, he may receive some degree of mischievous satisfaction from its punctual occurrence; if he did not, he will be vexed and disappointed; and, in both cases, he will very speedily be disgusted and fatigued. It would be going too far, certainly, to maintain, that our modern poets have never succeeded in their persevering endeavours at elevation and emphasis; but it is a melancholy fact, that their successes bear but a small proportion to their miscarriages; and that the reader who has been promised an energetic sentiment, or sublime allusion, must often be contented with a very miserable substitute. Of the many contrivances they employ to give the appearance of uncommon force and animation to a very ordinary conception, the most usual is, to wrap it up in a veil of mysterious and unintelligible language, which flows past with so much solemnity, that it is difficult to believe it conveys nothing of any value. Another device for improving the effect of a cold idea, is, to embody it in a verse of unusual harshness and asperity. Compound words, too, of a portentous sound and conformation, are very useful in giving an air of energy and originality; and a few lines of scripture, written out into verse from the original prose, have been found to have a very happy effect upon those readers to whom they have the recommendation of novelty.

The qualities of style and imagery, however, form but a small part of the characteristics by which a literary faction is to be distinguished. The subject and object of their compositions, and the principles and opinions they are calculated to support, constitute a far more important criterion, and one to which it is usually

altogether as easy to refer. Some poets are sufficiently described as the flatterers of greatness and power, and others as the champions of independence. One set of writers is known by its antipathy to decency and religion; another, by its methodistical cant and intolerance. Our new school of poetry has a moral character also; though it may not be possible, perhaps, to delineate it quite so concisely.

A splenetic and idle discontent with the existing institutions of society, seems to be at the bottom of all their serious and peculiar sentiments. Instead of contemplating the wonders and the pleasures which civilization has created for mankind, they are perpetually brooding over the disorders by which its progress has been attended. They are filled with horror and compassion at the sight of poor men spending their blood in the quarrels of princes, and brutifying their sublime capabilities in the drudgery of unremitting labour. For all sorts of vice and profligacy in the lower orders of society, they have the same virtuous horror, and the same tender compassion. While the existence of these offences overpowers them with grief and confusion, they never permit themselves to feel the smallest indignation or dislike towards the offenders. The present vicious constitution of society alone is responsible for all these enormities: the poor sinners are but the helpless victims or instruments of its disorders, and could not possibly have avoided the errors into which they have been betrayed. Though they can bear with crimes, therefore, they cannot reconcile themselves to punishments; and have an unconquerable antipathy to prisons, gibbets, and houses of correction, as engines of oppression, and instruments of atrocious injustice. While the plea of moral necessity is thus artfully brought forward to convert all the excesses of the poor into innocent misfortunes, no sort of indulgence is shown to the offences of the powerful and rich. Their oppressions, and seductions, and debaucheries, are the theme of many an angry verse; and the indignation and abhorrence of the reader is relentlessly conjured up against those perturbators of society, and scourges of mankind.

It is not easy to say, whether the fundamental absurdity of this doctrine, or the partiality of its application, be entitled to the severest reprehension. If men are driven to commit crimes, through a certain moral necessity; other men are compelled, by a similar necessity, to hate and despise them for their commission. The indignation of the sufferer is at least as natural as the guilt of him who makes him suffer; and the good order of society would probably be as well preserved, if our sympathies were sometimes called forth in behalf of the former. At all events, the same apology ought certainly to be admitted for the wealthy, as for the needy offender. They are subject alike to the overruling influ-

ence of necessity, and equally affected by the miserable condition of society. If it be natural for a poor man to murder and rob, in order to make himself comfortable, it is no less natural for a rich man to gormandize and domineer, in order to have the full use of his riches. Wealth is just as valid an excuse for the one class of vices, as indigence is for the other. There are many other peculiarities of false sentiment in the productions of this class of writers, that are sufficiently deserving of commemoration. But we have already exceeded our limits in giving these general indications of their character, and must now hasten back to the consideration of the singular performance which has given occasion to all this discussion.

The first thing that strikes the reader of Thalaba, is, the singular structure of the versification, which is a jumble of all the measures that are known in English poetry, (and a few more), without rhyme, and without any sort of regularity in their arrangement. Blank odes have been known in this country about as long as English sapphics and dactylics; and both have been considered, we believe, as a species of monsters, or exotics, that were not very likely to propagate, or thrive, in so unpropitious a climate. Mr Southey, however, has made a vigorous effort for their naturalization, and generously endangered his own reputation in their behalf. The melancholy fate of his English sapphics, we believe, is but too generally known; and we can scarcely predict a more favourable issue to the present experiment. Every combination of different measures is apt to perplex and disturb the reader who is not familiar with it; and we are never reconciled to a stanza of a new structure, till we have accustomed our ear to it by two or three repetitions. This is the case, even where we have the assistance of rhyme to direct us in our search after regularity, and where the definite form and appearance of a stanza assures us that regularity is to be found. Where both of these are wanting, it may be imagined that our condition will be still more deplorable; and a compassionate author might even excuse us, if we were unable to distinguish this kind of verse from prose. In reading verse, in general, we are guided to the discovery of its melody, by a sort of preconception of its cadence and compass; without which, it might often fail to be suggested by the mere articulation of the syllables. If there be any one, whose recollection does not furnish him with evidence of this fact, he may put it to the test of experiment, by desiring any of his illiterate acquaintances to read off some of Mr Southey's dactylics, or Sir Philip Sydney's hexameters. It is the same thing with the more unusual measures of the antient authors. We have never known any one who fell in, at the first trial, with the proper rythm and cadence of

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the *pervigilium Veneris*; or the choral lyrics of the Greek dramatists. The difficulty, however, is virtually the same, as to every new combination; and it is an unsurmountable difficulty, where such new combinations are not repeated with any degree of uniformity, but are multiplied, through the whole composition, with an unbounded license of variation. Such, however, is confessedly the case with the work before us; and it really seems unnecessary to make any other remark on its versification.

The author, however, entertains a different opinion of it. So far from apprehending that it may cost his readers some trouble to convince themselves that the greater part of the book is not mere prose, written out into the form of verse, he is persuaded that its melody is more obvious and perceptible than that of our vulgar measures. ' One advantage,' says Mr Southey, ' this metre *assuredly* possesses; the dullest reader cannot distort it into discord: he may read it with a *prose mouth*, but its flow and fall will still be perceptible.' We are afraid, there are duller readers in the world than Mr Southey is aware of. We recommend the following passages for experiment.

" The Day of the Trial will come,
' When I shall understand how profitable
' It is to suffer now."

' Hodeirah groaned and closed his eyes,
As if in the night and the blindness of death
He would have hid himself.'

" Blessed art thou, young man,
" Blessed art thou, O Aswad, for the deed!
' In the day of visitation,
' In the fearful hour of judgment,
' God will remember thee!"

" It is the hour of prayer, ..
' My children, let us purify ourselves
' And praise the Lord our God!"
The boy the water brought;
After the law they purified themselves,
And bent their faces to the earth in prayer.'

' Azure and yellow, like the beautiful fields
Of England, when amid the growing grass
The blue-bell bends, the golden king-cup shines,
In the merry month of May!

' But Thalaba took not the draught,
For rightly he knew had the Prophet forbidden
That beverage the mother of sins.'

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'The blinded multitude
Adored the Sorcerer,
And bent the knee before him,
And shouted out his praise,
"Mighty art thou, the Bestower of joy,
'The Lord of Paradise!"'

'Dizzy with the deafening strokes,
In blind and interrupted course,
Poor beast, he struggles on;
And now the dogs are nigh!
How his heart pants! you see
The panting of his heart;
And tears like human tears
Roll down, along the big veins——'

———————— 'they perished all,
All in that dreadful hour: but I was saved
To remember and revenge.'

'Like the flowing of a Summer gale he felt
Its ineffectual force;
His countenance was not changed,
Nor a hair of his head was singed.'

"Aye! look and triumph!" he exclaimed,
'This is the justice of thy God!
'A righteous God is he, to let
His vengeance fall upon the innocent head!
'Curse thee, curse thee, Thalaba!"'

'With what a thirst of joy,
He should breathe in the open gales of heaven!'

'Vain are all spells! the Destroyer
Treads the Domdaniel floor.'

"Thou hast done well, my Servant!
'Ask and receive thy reward!"'

Mr Southey must excuse us for doubting, whether even *a poet's mouth* could turn these passages into good verse; and we are afraid, the greater part of his readers will participate in our scepticism.

The subject of this poem is almost as ill chosen as the diction; and the conduct of the fable as disorderly as the versification. The corporation of magicians, that inhabit 'the Domdaniel caverns, under the roots of the ocean,' had discovered, that a terrible *destroyer* was likely to rise up against them from the seed of Hodeirah, a worthy Arab, with eight fine children. Immediately the murder of all those innocents is resolved on; and a sturdy assassin sent with instructions to destroy the whole family

(as Mr Southey has it) 'root and branch.' The good man, accordingly, and seven of his children are despatched: But a cloud comes over the mother and the remaining child; and the poem opens with the picture of the widow and her orphan, wandering, by night, over the deserts of Arabia. The old lady, indeed, might as well have fallen under the dagger of the Domdanielite; for she dies without doing any thing for her child, in the end of the first book; and little Thalaba is left crying in the wilderness. Here he is picked up by a good old Arab, who takes him home, and educates him like a pious mussulman; and he and the old man's daughter fall in love with each other, according to the invariable custom in all such cases. The magicians, in the mean time, are hunting him over the face of the whole earth; and one of them gets near enough to draw his dagger to stab him, when a providential *simoom* lays him dead on the sand. From the dead sorcerer's finger, Thalaba takes a ring, inscribed with some unintelligible characters, which he is enabled to interpret by the help of some other unintelligible characters that he finds on the forehead of a locust; and soon after takes advantage of an eclipse of the sun, to set out on his expedition against his father's murderers, whom he understands (we do not very well know how) he has been commissioned to exterminate. Though they are thus seeking him, and he seeking them, it is amazing what difficulty they find in meeting: they do meet, however, every now and then, and many sore evils does the Destroyer suffer at their hands. By faith and fortitude, however, and the occasional assistance of the magic implements he strips them of, he is enabled to baffle and elude their malice, till he is conducted, at last, to the Domdaniel cavern, where he finds them assembled, and pulls down the roof of it upon their heads and his own; perishing, like Samson, in the final destruction of his enemies.

From this little sketch of the story, our readers will easily perceive, that it consists altogether of the most wild and extravagant fictions, and openly sets nature and probability at defiance. In its action it is not an imitation of any thing; and excludes all rational criticism, as to the choice and succession of its incidents. Tales of this sort may amuse children, and interest, for a moment, by the prodigies they exhibit, and the multitude of events they bring together: but the interest expires with the novelty; and attention is frequently exhausted, even before curiosity has been gratified. The pleasure afforded by performances of this sort, is very much akin to that which may be derived from the exhibition of a harlequin farce; where, instead of just imitations of nature and human character, we are entertained with the transformation of cauliflowers and beer-barrels, the ap-

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parition of ghosts and devils, and all the other magic of the wooden sword. Those who can prefer this eternal sorcery to the just and modest representation of human actions and passions, will probably take more delight in walking among the holly griffins and yew sphinxes of the city gardener, than in ranging among the groves and lawns which have been laid out by a hand that feared to violate nature, as much as it aspired to embellish her; and disdained the easy art of startling by novelties, and surprising by impropriety.

Supernatural beings, though easily enough raised, are known to be very troublesome in the management, and have frequently occasioned much perplexity to poets and other persons, who have been rash enough to call for their assistance. It is no very easy matter to preserve consistency in the disposal of powers, with the limits of which we are so far from being familiar; and when it is necessary to represent our spiritual persons as ignorant, or suffering, we are very apt to forget the knowledge and the powers with which we had formerly invested them. The antient poets had several unlucky rencounters of this sort with Destiny and the other deities; and Milton himself is not a little hampered with the material and immaterial qualities of his angels. Enchanters and witches may, at first sight, appear more manageable; but Mr Southey has had difficulty enough with them; and cannot be said, after all, to have kept his fable quite clear and intelligible. The stars had said, that the Destroyer might be cut off in that hour when his father and brethren were assassinated; yet he is saved by a special interposition of heaven. Heaven itself, however, had destined him to extirpate the votaries of Eblis; and yet, long before this work is done, a special message is sent to him, declaring, that, if he chooses, the Death-angel is ready to take him away instead of the sorcerer's daughter. In the beginning of the story, too, the magicians are quite at a loss where to look for him; and Abdaldar only discovers him by accident, after a long search; yet, no sooner does he leave the old Arab's tent, than Lobaba comes up to him, disguised and prepared for his destruction. The witches have also a decoy ready for him in the desart; yet he sups with Okba's daughter, without any of the sorcerers being aware of it; and afterwards proceeds to consult the simorg, without meeting with any obstacle or molestation. The simoom kills Abdaldar, too, in spite of that ring which afterwards protects Thalaba from lightning, and violence, and magic. The Destroyer's arrow then falls blunted from Lobaba's breast, who is knocked down, however, by a shower of sand of his own raising; and this same arrow, which could make no impression on the sorcerer, kills the magic bird of Aloadin, and pierces the rebel

lious *spirit* that guarded the Domdaniel door. The whole infernal band, indeed, is very feebly and heavily pourtrayed. They are a set of stupid, undignified, miserable wretches, quarrelling with each other, and trembling in the prospect of inevitable destruction. None of them even appears to have obtained the price of their self-sacrifice in worldly honours and advancement, except Mohareb; and he, though assured by destiny that there was one death-blow appointed for him and Thalaba, is yet represented, in the concluding scene, as engaged with him in furious combat, and aiming many a deadly blow at that life on which his own was dependent. If the innocent characters in this poem were not delineated with more truth and feeling, the notoriety of the author would scarcely have induced us to bestow so much time on its examination.

Though the tissue of adventures through which Thalaba is conducted in the course of this production, be sufficiently various and extraordinary, we must not set down any part of the incidents to the credit of the author's invention. He has taken great pains, indeed, to guard against such a supposition; and has been as scrupulously correct in the citation of his authorities, as if he were the compiler of a true history, and thought his reputation would be ruined by the imputation of a single fiction. There is not a prodigy, accordingly, or a description, for which he does not fairly produce his vouchers, and generally lays before his readers the whole original passage from which his imitation has been taken. In this way, it turns out, that the book is entirely composed of scraps, borrowed from the oriental tale books, and travels into the Mahometan countries seasoned up for the English reader with some fragments of our own ballads, and shreds of our older sermons. The composition and harmony of the work, accordingly, is much like the pattern of that patchwork drapery that is sometimes to be met with in the mansions of the industrious, where a blue tree overshadows a shell-fish, and a gigantic butterfly seems ready to swallow up Palemon and Lavinia. The author has the merit merely of cutting out each of his figures from the piece where its inventor had placed it, and stitching them down together in these judicious combinations.

It is impossible to peruse this poem, with the notes, without feeling that it is the fruit of much reading, undertaken for the express purpose of fabricating some such performance. The author has set out with a resolution to make an oriental story, and a determination to find the materials of it in the books to which he had access. Every incident, therefore, and description,—every superstitious usage, or singular tradition, that appeared to him susceptible of poetical embellishment, or capable of picturesque representation, he has set down for this purpose,

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and adopted such a fable and plan of composition, as might enable him to work up all his materials, and interweave every one of his quotations, without any extraordinary violation of unity or order. When he had filled his commonplace book, he began to write; and his poem is little else than his commonplace book versified.

It may easily be imagined, that a poem constructed upon such a plan, must be full of cumbrous and misplaced description, and overloaded with a crowd of incidents, equally unmeaning and ill assorted. The tedious account of the palace of Shedad, in the first book—the description of the Summer and Winter occupations of the Arabs, in the third—the ill-told story of Haruth and Maruth—the greater part of the occurrences in the island of Mohareb—the paradise of Aloadin, &c. &c.—are all instances of disproportioned and injudicious ornaments, which never could have presented themselves to an author who wrote from the suggestions of his own fancy; and have evidently been introduced, from the author's unwillingness to relinquish the corresponding passages in D'Herbelot, Sale, Volney, &c. which appeared to him to have great capabilities for poetry.

This imitation, or admiration of Oriental imagery, however, does not bring so much suspicion on his taste, as the affection he betrays for some of his domestic models. The former has, for the most part, the recommendation of novelty; and there is always a certain pleasure in contemplating the *costume* of a distant nation, and the luxuriant landscape of an Asiatic climate. We cannot find the same apology, however, for Mr Southey's partiality to the drawling vulgarity of some of our old English ditties. Here is what he has been pleased to present to his readers (in a note), as 'one of the most beautiful of our old ballads, so full of beauty.' The heroine is an old *mare* belonging to John Poulter.

> 'At length old age came on her
> And she grew faint and poor,
> Her master he fell out with her
> And turned her out of door,
> Saying, if thou wilt not labour,
> I prithee go thy way,—
> And never let me see thy face
> Until thy dying day.
> These words she took unkind,
> And on her way she went,
> For to fulfil her master's will
> Always was her intent.
> The hills were very high,
> The vallies very bare,
> The Summer it was hot and dry—
> It starved Old Poulter's mare.'

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There are three stanzas more; but we shall only add the last. Old Poulter repents, and sends his man Will to bring the mare back. Will, at first, cannot find her; but, as he is thinking of giving up the search,

> He went a little farther
> And turned his head aside,
> And just by goodman Whitfield's gate
> Oh there the Mare he spied.
> He asked her how she did,
> *She stared him in the face,*
> *Then down she laid her head again,*—
> *She was in wretched case.*'

These three last lines, Mr Southey seriously considers as the *ne plus ultra* of purity and pathos.

The text certainly is not, by any means, so bad as might have been expected from such a note; though there are some passages, in which a patriotic zeal for neglected English authors has made him copy their style a little too faithfully. Could the great master of *Namby Pamby* have lisped out his repetitions in blank verse, with more amiable simplicity than in the following passage? The author is describing a certain spring, that, he says, 'tossed and heaved strangely up and down.'

> 'And yet the depths were clear,
> And yet no ripple wrinkled o'er
> The face of that fair Well.
>
> And on that Well so strange and fair
> A little boat there lay,
> Without an oar, without a sail;
> One only seat it had, one seat
> As if for only Thalaba.
> And at the helm a Damsel stood,
> A Damsel bright and bold of eye;
> Yet did a maiden modesty
> Adorn her fearless brow.
> She seemed sorrowful, but sure
> More beautiful for sorrow.'

From the extracts and observations which we have hitherto presented to our readers, it will be natural for them to conclude, that our opinion of this poem is very decidedly unfavourable; and that we are not disposed to allow it any sort of merit. This, however, is by no means the case. We think it written, indeed, in a very vicious taste, and liable, upon the whole, to very formidable objections: But it would not be doing justice to the genius of the author, if we were not to add, that it contains passa-

ges of very singular beauty and force, and displays a richness of poetical conception, that would do honour to more faultless compositions. There is little of human character in the poem, indeed; because Thalaba is a solitary wanderer from the solitary tent of his protector: But the home group, in which his infancy was spent, is pleasingly delineated; and there is something irresistibly interesting in the innocent love and misfortunes, and fate of his Oneiza. The catastrophe of her story is given, it appears to us, with great spirit and effect, though the beauties are of that questionable kind, that trespass on the border of impropriety, and partake more of the character of dramatic, than of narrative poetry. After delivering her from the polluted paradise of Aloadin, he prevails on her to marry him before his mission is accomplished. She consents with great reluctance; and the marriage feast, with its processions, songs, and ceremonies, is described in some joyous stanzas. The book ends with these verses:

> ' And now the marriage feast is spread,
> And from the finished banquet now
> The wedding guests are gone.
>
> ---
>
> Who comes from the bridal chamber?
> It is Azrael, the Angel of Death.'

The next book opens with Thalaba lying distracted upon her grave, in the neighbourhood of which he had wandered till ' the sun, and the wind, and the rain, had rusted his raven locks;' and there he is found by the father of his bride, and visited by her ghost, and soothed and encouraged to proceed upon his holy enterprize. He sets out on his lonely way, and is entertained the first night by a venerable dervise: As they are sitting at meal, a *bridal procession* passes by, with dance, and song, and merriment. The old dervise blessed them as they passed; but Thalaba looked, ' and breathed a low deep groan, and hid his face.' These incidents are skilfully imagined, and are narrated in a very impressive manner.

Though the *witchery* scenes are in general but poorly executed, and possess little novelty to those who have read the Arabian Nights' Entertainments, there is, occasionally, some fine description, and striking combination. We do not remember any poem indeed that presents, throughout, a greater number of lively images, or could afford so many subjects for the pencil.

The introductory lines have a certain solemn and composed beauty:

> ' How beautiful is night!
> A dewy freshness fills the silent air;
> No mist obscures, no little cloud
> Breaks the whole serene of heaven:

In full-orbed glory the majestic moon
Rolls thro' the dark blue depths.
Beneath her steady ray
The desert circle spreads,
Like the round ocean, girdled with the sky.
How beautiful is night!'

There are many fine sketches of tropical scenery in the description of Aloadin's Paradise. The following verses breathe the true spirit of Oriental poetry.

'And oh! what odours the voluptuous vale
Scatters from jasmine bowers,
From yon rose wilderness,
From clustered henna, and from orange groves
That with such perfumes fill the breeze,
As Peris to their Sister bear,
When from the summit of some lofty tree
She hangs, encaged, the captive of the Dives.

They from their pinions shake
The sweetness of celestial flowers,
And as her enemies impure
From that impervious poison far away
Fly groaning with the torment, she the while
Inhales her fragrant food.
Such odours flowed upon the world,
When at Mohammed's nuptials, word
Went forth in heaven to roll
The everlasting gates of Paradise
Back on their living hinges, that its gales
Might visit all below; the general bliss
Thrilled every bosom, and the family
Of man, for once, partook one common joy.'

The picture of Maimuna sitting by a fire in a solitary cavern, and singing 'a low, sweet, unintelligible song' as she spun, reminds us of the appearance of Calypso in the Odyssey.

———την δ' ενδοθι τετμεν εουσαν.
Πῦρ μεν επ' εσχαροφιν μεγα καιετο, τηλοθι δ' οδμη
Κεδρυ τ' ευκεατοιο, θυυ τ' ανα νησον οδωδει,
Δαιομενων· η δ' ενδον ἀοιδιαυσ' οπι καλη,
'Ιστον εποιχομενη, χρυσειη κερκιδ' υφαινεν.

Maimuna's figure is very striking, too, when she goes up to read the stars.

'Lo! on the terrace of the topmost tower
She stands; her darkening eyes,
Her fine face raised to heaven,

> Her white hair flowing like the silver streams
> That streak the northern night.'

The little episode of Laila is one of the most pleasing passages in the whole poem; though it is quite in the style of a fairy tale, and borders on silliness throughout. In the midst of a desart of snow, Thalaba descries a distant light, and finds, on his approach, that it proceeds from

> '——a little lowly dwelling place,
> Amid a garden, whose delightful air
> Felt mild and fragrant, as the evening wind
> Passing in Summer o'er the coffee-groves
> Of Yemen, and its blessed bowers of balm.
> A Fount of Fire that in the centre played,
> Rolled all around its wonderous rivulets,
> And fed the garden with the heat of life.'

He enters, and finds a damsel sleeping, who afterwards informs him that she was placed there by her father, who 'saw a danger in her horoscope,' and hid her in that solitude.

> '——he made this dwelling, and the grove,
> And yonder fountain-fire; and every morn
> He visits me, and takes the snow, and moulds
> Women and men, like thee; and breathes into them
> Motion, and life, and sense, .. but to the touch
> They are chilling cold, and ever when night closes
> They melt away again, and leave me here
> Alone and sad.'

She then tells him, that her father had also constructed a guardian of the garden; which, when he asks to see,

> 'She took him by the hand,
> And thro' the porch they past.
> Over the garden and the grove,
> The fountain streams of fire
> Poured a broad light like noon;
> A broad unnatural light
> That made the Rose's blush of beauty pale,
> And dimmed the rich Geranium's scarlet blaze.
> The various verdure of the grove
> Now wore one undistinguishable grey,
> Chequered with blacker shade.'

The guardian was a brazen figure, grasping a thunderbolt. As soon as Thalaba appeared,

> 'The charmed image knew Hodeirah's son,
> And hurled the lightning at the dreaded foe.'

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His ring saves him; but the Old Magician comes and tells the Destroyer, that he must either kill that innocent maid, or die himself.

> Around her father's neck
> Still Laila's hands were clasped.
> Her face was turned to Thalaba;
> A broad light floated o'er its marble paleness,
> As the wind waved the fountain fire.
> Her large dilated eye, in horror raised,
> Watched his every movement.

Thalaba refuses to stain his hands in the blood of innocence. The Magician, exulting, draws his dagger.

> 'All was accomplished. Laila rushed between,
> To save the saviour Youth.
> She met the blow, and sunk into his arms,
> And Azrael, from the hands of Thalaba,
> Received her parting soul.'

There is some very fine poetry in the two concluding books, from which we would willingly make some extracts, if we had not already extended this article to an unusual length, and given such a specimen of the merits and defects of this performance, as will probably be sufficient to determine the judgment of our readers.

All the productions of this author, it appears to us, bear very distinctly the impression of an amiable mind, a cultivated fancy, and a perverted taste. His genius seems naturally to delight in the representation of domestic virtues and pleasures, and the brilliant delineation of external nature. In both these departments, he is frequently very successful; but he seems to want vigour for the loftier flights of poetry. He is often puerile, diffuse, and artificial, and seems to have but little acquaintance with those chaster and severer graces, by whom the epic muse would be most suitably attended. His faults are always aggravated, and often created, by his partiality for the peculiar manner of that new school of poetry, of which he is a faithful disciple, and to the glory of which, he has sacrificed greater talents and acquisitions, than can be boasted of by any of his associates.

ART. IX. *Discourses on Various Subjects.* By Thomas Rennel, D.D. Master of the Temple. Rivingtons, London.

We have no modern sermons in the English language, that can be considered as very eloquent. The merits of Blair

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(by far the most popular writer of sermons within the last century) are plain good sense, a happy application of scriptural quotation, and a clear harmonious style, richly tinged with scriptural language. He generally leaves his readers pleased with his judgement, and his just observations on human conduct, without ever rising so high as to touch the great passions, or kindle any enthusiasm in favour of virtue. For eloquence, we must ascend as high as the days of Barrow and Jeremy Taylor: And even there, while we are delighted with their energy, their copiousness, and their fancy, we are in danger of being suffocated by a redundance which abhors all discrimination; which compares till it perplexes, and illustrates till it confounds.

To the *Oases* of Tillotson, Sherlock, and Atterbury, we must wade through many a barren page, in which the weary Christian can descry nothing all around him, but a dreary expanse of trite sentiments, and languid words.

The great object of modern sermons, is to hazard nothing: Their characteristic, is decent debility; which alike guards their authors from ludicrous errors, and precludes them from striking beauties. Every man of sense, in taking up an English sermon, expects to find it a tedious essay, full of commonplace morality; and if the fulfilment of such expectations be meritorious, the clergy have certainly the merit of not disappointing their readers. Yet it is curious to consider, how a body of men so well educated, and so magnificently endowed as the English clergy, should distinguish themselves so little in a species of composition to which it is their peculiar duty, as well as their ordinary habit, to attend. To solve this difficulty, it should be remembered, that the eloquence of the Bar and of the Senate force themselves into notice, power, and wealth—that the penalty which an individual client pays for choosing a bad advocate, is the loss of his cause—that a prime minister must infallibly suffer in the estimation of the public, who neglects to conciliate eloquent men, and trusts the defence of his measures to those who have not adequate talents for that purpose: whereas, the only evil which accrues from the promotion of a clergyman to the pulpit, which he has no ability to fill as he ought, is the fatigue of the audience, and the discredit of that species of public instruction; an evil so general, that no individual patron would dream of sacrificing to it his particular interest. The clergy are generally appointed to their situations, by those who have no interest that they should please the audience before whom they speak; while the very reverse is the case in the eloquence of the Bar, and of Parliament. We by no means would be understood to say, that the clergy should owe their promotion principally to their eloquence, or that eloquence ever could, consistently with the

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constitution of the English Church, be made a common cause of preferment. In pointing out the total want of connexion between the privilege of preaching, and the power of preaching well, we are giving no opinion as to whether it might, or might not, be remedied; but merely stating a fact. Pulpit discourses have insensibly dwindled from speaking to reading; a practice, of itself sufficient to stifle every germ of eloquence. It is only by the fresh feelings of the heart, that mankind can be very powerfully affected. What can be more ludicrous, than an orator delivering stale indignation, and fervour of a week old; turning over whole pages of violent passions, written out in German text; reading the tropes and apostrophes into which he is hurried by the ardour of his mind; and so affected at a preconcerted line, and page, that he is unable to proceed any farther!

The prejudices of the English nation have proceeded a good deal from their hatred to the French; and, because that country is the native soil of elegance, animation, and grace, a certain patriotic solidity, and loyal awkwardness, have become the characteristics of this: so that an adventurous preacher is afraid of violating the antient tranquillity of the pulpit: and the audience are commonly apt to consider the man who tires them less than usual, as a trifler, or a charlatan.

Of British education, the study of eloquence makes little or no part. The exterior graces of a speaker are despised; and debating societies (admirable institutions, under proper regulations) would hardly be tolerated, either at Oxford or Cambridge. It is commonly answered to any animadversions upon the eloquence of the English pulpit, that a clergyman is to recommend himself, not by his eloquence, but by the purity of his life, and the soundness of his doctrine; an objection good enough, if any connexion could be pointed out between eloquence, heresy, and dissipation: But, if it be possible for a man to live well, preach well, and teach well, at the same time; such objections, resting only upon a supposed incompatibility of these good qualities, are duller than the dullness they defend.

The clergy are apt to shelter themselves under the plea, that subjects so exhausted are utterly incapable of novelty; and, in the very strictest sense of the word *novelty*, meaning that which was never said before, at any time, or in any place, this may be true enough, of the first principles of morals: but the modes of expanding, illustrating and enforcing a particular theme, are capable of infinite variety; and, if they were not, this might be a very good reason for preaching commonplace sermons, but is a very bad one for publishing them.

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We had great hopes, that Dr. Rennel's Sermons would have proved an exception to the character we have given of sermons in general; and we have read through his present volume, with a conviction, rather that he has misapplied, than that he wants, talents for pulpit eloquence. The subjects of his sermons, fourteen in number, are, 1. The consequences of the vice of gaming: 2. On old age: 3. Benevolence exclusively an evangelical virtue: 4. The services rendered to the English nation by the Church of England, a motive for liberality to the orphan children of indigent ministers: 5. On the grounds and regulation of national joy: 6. On the connexion of the duties of loving the brotherhood, fearing God, and honouring the King: 7. On the guilt of bloodthirstiness: 8. On atonement: 9. A visitation sermon: 10. Great Britain's naval strength, and insular situation, a cause of gratitude to Almighty God: 11. Ignorance productive of atheism, anarchy, and superstition: 12. 13. 14. On the sting of death, the strength of sin, and the victory over them both by Jesus Christ.

Dr. Rennel's first sermon, upon the consequences of gaming, is admirable for its strength of language, its sound good sense, and the vigour with which it combats that detestable vice. From this sermon, we shall, with great pleasure, make an extract of some length.

'Farther, to this sordid habit, the gamester joins a disposition to fraud, and that of the *meanest* cast. To those who soberly and fairly appreciate the real nature of human actions, nothing appears more inconsistent than that societies of men, who have incorporated themselves for the express purpose of gaming, should disclaim fraud or indirection, or affect to drive from their assemblies those among their associates whose crimes would reflect disgrace on them. Surely this, to a considerate mind, is as solemn and refined a banter as can well be exhibited. For when we take into view the vast latitude allowed by the most upright gamesters; when we reflect that, according to their precious casuistry, every advantage may be legitimately taken of the young, the unwary, and the inebriated, which superior coolness, skill, address, and activity can supply, we must look upon pretences to honesty as a most shameless aggravation of their crimes. Even if it were possible that, in his own practices, a man might be a FAIR GAMESTER, yet, for the result of the extended frauds committed by his fellows, he stands deeply accountable to God, his country, and his conscience. To a system necessarily implicated with fraud; to associations of men, a large majority of whom subsist by fraud; to habits calculated to poison the source and principle of all integrity, he gives efficacy, countenance, and concurrence. Even his *virtues* he suffers to be subsidiary to the cause of vice. He sees, with calmness, depredation committed daily and hourly in his company, perhaps under his very roof. Yet [illegible] of

this description declaim (so desperately deceitful is the heart of man) against the very knaves they cherish and protect, and whom, perhaps, with some poor sophistical refuge for a worn-out conscience, they even initate. To such, let the Scripture speak with emphatical decision— "*When thou sawest a thief, then thou consentedst with him.*"

The reader will easily observe, in this quotation, a command of language, and a power of style, very superior to what is met with in the great mass of sermons. We shall make one more extract.

'But in addition to fraud, and all its train of crimes, propensities and habits of a very different complexion enter into the composition of a Gamester: a most ungovernable FEROCITY OF DISPOSITION, however for a time disguised and latent, is invariably the result of his system of conduct. Jealousy, rage, and revenge, exist among gamesters in their worst and most frantic excesses, and end frequently in consequences of the most atrocious violence and outrage. By perpetual agitation, the malignant passions spurn and overwhelm every boundary which discretion and conscience can oppose. From what source are we to trace a very large number of those murders, sanctioned or palliated indeed by custom, but which stand at the tribunal of God precisely upon the same grounds with every other species of murder?—From the gaming table, from the nocturnal receptacles of distraction and frenzy, the Duellist rushes with his hand lifted up against his brother's life!—Those who are as yet on the threshold of these habits, should be warned, that however calm their *natural* temperament, however meek and placable their disposition, yet that, by the events which every moment arise, they stand exposed to the ungovernable fury of themselves and others. In the midst of fraud, protected by menace on the one hand, and on the other, of despair; irritated by a recollection of the meanness of the artifices and the baseness of the hands by which utter and remediless ruin has been inflicted; in the midst of these feelings of horror and distraction, it is, that the voice of brethren's blood "*crieth unto God from the ground*"—"*and now art thou cursed from the earth, which hath opened her mouth to receive thy brother's blood from thy hand.*" Not only THOU who actually sheddest that blood, but THOU who art the artificer of death—thou who administerest incentives to these habits—who disseminatest the practice of them—improvest the skill in them—sharpenest the propensity to them—at THY hands will it be required, surely, at the tribunal of God in the next world, and perhaps, in most instances, in his distributive and awful dispensations towards thee and thine here on earth.'

Having paid this tribute of praise to Dr Rennel's first sermon, we are sorry so soon to change our eulogium into censure, and to blame him for having selected for publication, so many sermons touching directly and indirectly upon the French Revolution. We confess ourselves long since wearied with this

kind of discourses, bespattered with blood and brains, and ringing eternal changes upon atheism, canibalism, and apostasy. Upon the enormities of the French Revolution, there can be but one opinion; but the subject is not fit for the pulpit. The public are disgusted with it to satiety; and we can never help remembering, that this politico-orthodox rage in the mouth of a preacher, may be profitable as well as sincere. Upon such subjects as the murder of the Queen of France, and the great events of these days, it is not possible to endure the draggling and the daubing of such a ponderous limner as Dr Rennel, after the ethereal touches of Mr Burke. In events so truly horrid in themselves, the field is so easy for a declaimer, that we set little value upon such declamation; and the mind, on such occasions, so easily outruns ordinary description, that we are apt to feel more, before a mediocre oration begins, than it ever aims at inspiring.

We are surprised that Dr Rennel, from among the great number of subjects which he must have discussed in the pulpit, (the interest in which must be permanent and universal), should have published such an empty and frivolous sermon, as that upon the victory of Lord Nelson; a sermon good enough for the garrulity of joy, when the phrases, and the exultation of the Porcupine, or the True Briton, may pass for eloquence or sense; but utterly unworthy of the works of a man who aims at a place among the great teachers of morality and religion.

Dr Rennel is apt to put on the appearance of a holy bully, an evangelical swaggerer, as if he could carry his point against infidelity by big words and strong abuse, and kick and cuff men into Christians. It is a very easy thing to talk about the shallow impostures, and the silly ignorant sophisms of Voltaire, Rousseau, Condorcet, D'Alembert, and Volney, and to say that Hume is not worth answering. This affectation of contempt will not do. While these pernicious writers have power to allure from the Church great numbers of proselytes, it is better to study them diligently, and to reply to them satisfactorily, than to veil insolence, want of power, or want of industry, by a pretended contempt; which may leave infidels and wavering Christians to suppose that such writers are abused, because they are feared; and not answered, because they are unanswerable. While every body was abusing and despising Mr Godwin, and while Mr Godwin was, among a certain description of understandings, increasing every day in popularity, Mr Malthus took the trouble of refuting him; and we hear no more of Mr Godwin. We recommend this example to the consideration of Dr Rennel, who seems to think it more useful, and more pleasant, to rail than to fight.

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After the world has returned to its sober senses upon the merits of the ancient philosophy, it is amusing enough to see a few *bad heads* bawling for the restoration of exploded errors, and past infatuation. We have some dozen of plethoric phrases about Aristotle, who is, in the estimation of the Doctor, *et rex et sutor bonus*, and every thing else; and to the neglect of whose works, he seems to attribute every moral and physical evil under which the world has groaned for the last century. Dr Rennel's admiration of the ancients is so great, that he considers the works of Homer to be the region and depositary of natural law, and natural religion. * Now, if, by natural religion, is meant the will of God collected from his works, and the necessity man is under of obeying it: it is rather extraordinary that Homer should be so good a natural theologian, when the divinities he has painted, are certainly a more drunken, quarrelsome, adulterous, intriguing, lascivious set of beings, than are to be met with in the most profligate court in Europe. There is, every now and then, some plain, coarse morality in Homer; but the most bloody revenge, and the most savage cruelty in warfare, the ravishing of women, and the sale of men, &c. &c. &c. are circumstances which the old bard seems to relate as the ordinary events of his times, without ever dreaming that there could be much harm in them; and if it be urged that Homer took his ideas of right and wrong from a barbarous age, that is just saying, in other words, that Homer had very imperfect ideas of natural law.

Having exhausted all his powers of eulogium upon the times that are gone, Dr Rennel indemnifies himself by the very novel practice of declaiming against the present age. It is an *evil age*—an *adulterous age*—an *ignorant age*—an *apostate age*—and *a foppish age.* Of the propriety of the last epithet, our readers may perhaps be more convinced, by calling to mind a class of fops not usually designated by that epithet—men clothed in profound black, with large canes, and strange amorphous hats—of big speech, and imperative presence—talkers about Plato—great affecters of senility—despisers of women, and all the graces of life—fierce foes to common sense—abusive of the living, and approving no one who has not been dead for at least a century. Such fops, as vain, and as shallow as their fraternity in Bond-street, differ from these only as Gorgonius differed from Rusillus.

In the ninth Discourse, (p. 226.), we read of St Paul, that he had 'an heroic zeal, directed, rather than bounded, by the nicest discretion—a conscious and commanding dignity, softened by the meekest and most profound humility.' This is intended for a fine piece of writing; but it is without meaning: for, if

* P. 318.

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words have any limits, it is a *contradiction in terms*, to say, of the *same* person, at the *same* time, that he is nicely discreet, and heroically zealous; or that he is profoundly humble, and imperatively dignified: and if Dr Rennel means, that St Paul displayed these qualities at different times, then could not any one of them direct or soften the other.

Sermons are so seldom examined with any considerable degree of critical vigilance, that we are apt to discover in them sometimes a great laxity of assertion: such as the following—

'Labour to be undergone, afflictions to be borne, contradictions to be endured, danger to be braved, interest to be despised in the best and most flourishing ages of the Church, are the perpetual badges of far the greater part of those who take up their cross and follow Christ.'

This passage, at first, struck us to be untrue; and we could not immediately recollect the afflictions Dr Rennel alluded to, till it occurred to us, that he must undoubtedly mean the eight hundred and fifty actions which, in the course of eighteen months, have been brought against the clergy for non-residence.

Upon the danger to be apprehended from Roman Catholics in this country, Dr Rennel is laughable. We should as soon dream, that the wars of York and Lancaster would break out afresh, as that the Protestant religion in England has any thing to apprehend from the machinations of Catholics. To such a scheme as that of Catholic emancipation, which has for its object, to restore their natural rights to three or four millions of men, and to allay the fury of religious hatred, Dr Rennel is, as might be expected, a very strenuous antagonist. Time, which lifts up the veil of political mystery, will inform us if the Doctor has taken that side of the question which may be as lucrative to himself, as it is inimical to human happiness, and repugnant to enlightened policy.

Of Dr Rennel's talents as a reasoner, we certainly have formed no very high opinion. Unless dogmatical assertion, and the practice (but too common among theological writers) of taking the thing to be proved, for part of the proof, can be considered as evidence of a logical understanding, the specimens of argument Dr Rennel has afforded us, are very insignificant. For putting obvious truths into vehement language; for expanding and adorning moral instruction; this gentleman certainly possesses considerable talents: and if he will moderate his insolence, steer clear of theological metaphysics, and consider rather those great laws of Christian practice, which must interest mankind through all ages, than the petty questions which are important to the Chancellor of the Exchequer for the time being, he may live beyond his own days, and become a star of the third or fourth magnitude in the English Church.

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ART. X. *Voyage dans le Departements de la France*, par une Société d'Artistes et Gens de Lettres; enrichi de tableaux geographiques, & d'estampes. 9 tomes. 8vo. Paris. 1792 à 1801.

A STATISTICAL Survey of France, in its modern divisions, would be a work eminently calculated to attract, and to repay, the attention of the politician, and of the public at large. The publication before us, though it comprehend a part of the subjects now generally denominated Statistics, yet embraces so many other topics, as to furnish but a very superficial view of those which we consider as the most important.

In the year 1792, Citizen La Vallée, formerly an officer in the army, accompanied by the Messieurs Brion, began their journey through the different departments. Their work appeared in Numbers, of which one was published every month, comprehending the account of one department, accompanied by a small map, with designs of the principal towns and most striking scenery. In this manner, they have visited and described, successively, all the departments which composed the kingdom of France; to which are added, Savoy, Geneva, and Corsica—in short, all which now constitute the Republic, excepting the Austrian Netherlands, and the countries on the Rhine. The designs are entitled to little praise, and the maps are by no means executed with neatness, by the Messrs Brion.

M. La Vallée, to whom the composition of the work was entrusted, is the author of a variety of publications, none of which, we believe, have attained much celebrity. He lays claim, however, to the admiration of future ages; and, with a modesty almost peculiar to his countrymen, professes his confidence, that, by posterity, he will be classed as a philosopher of no mean distinction.

After describing the towns, and the general appearance of the country through which he travels, M. La Vallée details the principal events of which they were the theatre, from the earliest authentic records, to the downfal of the monarchy; and adds a biographical account of the most conspicuous characters which they produced, or who resided in them. By these means, the historical anecdotes occupy above three fourths of the whole work, and leave little space for more material information, had the author been qualified to furnish it, which we are rather disposed to doubt.

Yet this plan would have had its attractions, if impartiality had guided the pen of the author! But to this essential qualification of an historian, M. La Vallée has the candour not even to pretend; and confesses, that his indignation at tyranny, and hatred for superstition, prevents him from viewing, dispassionately, the actions of kings and priests. The manifest object of the publi-

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cation, indeed, is to render odious to the French nation, every thing which had been held sacred by their ancestors; and unfortunately the civil wars, which so long devastated that country, with the profound ignorance of rational religion, which, during the middle ages, prevailed over all Europe, might have furnished our author with very ample materials for sarcasm, without having recourse to misrepresentation. But, merely to confirm opinions already prevalent, would have been an undertaking unworthy the zeal of M. La Vallée, in the cause of liberty. That Louis XI. and Charles IX. were tyrants, is a truth which requires no corroboration. It is the mild benevolence of Louis XII. the munificence of Francis I. the valour and magnanimity of Henry IV. and the dazzling splendour of Louis XIV. which are dangerous, and which cannot be rendered unpopular, but by talents of a superior description. To traduce these princes, consequently, is an object never lost sight of in the course of the performance.

A number of the anecdotes are amusing, and well related; the superstitious practices of the Catholic clergy, their grotesque processions, and artful devices to enrich the Church, at the expense of the laity, are ridiculed with some humour; but the too faithful description of the horrors perpetrated during the civil and religious wars, stamps a character of atrocity on the work, which destroys the amusement derived from scenes merely ridiculous. We were particularly struck with the singular sensibility M. La Vallée never fails to discover: He seldom approaches a city without bursting into tears, at the recollection of the oppressions it underwent under the feudal system; and it is remarkable, that his philanthropy never blazes so violently, as during the government of Robespierre. At that period, he never spares his readers a single barbarity committed during the old regime; and only forgets to mention, that the scenes passing before his eyes, exceeded in horror, all that the history of France could furnish during the lapse of so many ages.

This publication affords a singular proof of the prodigious depreciation of assignats. One Number originally cost three livres; from this it gradually rose to 120 livres; and when the assignats were totally decried, the price was fixed at two livres, in money.

Art. XI. *The General Diffusion of Knowledge, one great Cause of the Prosperity of North Britain:* With an Appendix, containing a Proposal for Improving the present Mode of Teaching the Greek Language. By Alexander Christison, one of the Masters of the High School of Edinburgh, and F. R. S. Edin. 1802.

We have here some judicious observations, and some very melancholy facts, on a most interesting subject, the dif-

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fusion of knowledge among the lower orders of Scotland, by the parochial seminaries of education. It is indeed deeply afflicting, and will ever stain the memory of the present age, that after that institution had been proved, by the experience of a whole century, to have a most beneficial influence upon the intelligence, the industry, and the morals of our people, it should have been suffered to sink into inefficiency, either from negligence, from a beggarly spirit of economy, or from motives of a still more illiberal description. Of the progress of this evil, we have long been ashamed; but we were not aware that its extent was already so great as it is described by the author of this tract, whose statements appear to have been derived from very accuratè inquiries.

'The wretched income of some established teachers, particularly parish schoolmasters, is becoming every day worse. Many of them do not earn half so much as a journeyman mason. The unhappy old men who are in the profession, must continue in it, as they are too old to learn any other; but many of them, unless the income be rectified, will have no successors. This event has taken place already. There are many parish schools vacant: because no man will accept of them with so small a reward for severe labour.'

'Accounts have been received from 427 parishes. The average income, for each schoolmaster, seems to be between 23l. and 24l. a year. The amount of the income of the schoolmaster, in each of the 427 parishes, was taken from his own affidavit, sworn before a justice of the peace. There is good reason to think, that, when the list shall be completed for the whole of North Britain, the average will be still lower. Of the 427 parishes, the income of six is less than 10l. a year each. One is 6l. 18s. 10d. Several of the schoolmasters say, that they could not live without the aid of their relations. A journeyman mason can earn 30l. a year.'

The arguments, on which Mr Christison founds the necessity of directing the attention of the Legislature to this public calamity, are not distinguished by novelty, because the topic has been long since exhausted, to the satisfaction of all enlightened men. He has sometimes impaired the force of his observations, by an injudicious ambition of elegance; but, in the following passage, there is a truth and warmth of description, which must have been caught from immediate feelings, and which more correct composition does not always preserve.

'I do not think there is any thing more interesting on this globe, than a boy of genius, in the lower rank of life, generous, elevated, virtuous; resisting the allurements of his play-fellows, retiring to his books and meditations; with a scanty education, no director of his studies, few books, and those frequently ill chosen; overlooked by the rich, worn out by toil, and sometimes dissuaded from his pursuits by

by a weak adviser; sifting and doubting, and comparing; puzzled with a difficult passage in some author one day, and enlightened the next; hoping that he may, in consequence of his acquisitions, reach the highest degree of happiness which a man of virtue can attain in this world, become useful to his country, and repay his parents and relations, for all their toils, and care, and tenderness.'

We have understood from public report, that a bill is to be introduced next Session of Parliament, to adjust the salaries of parochial schoolmasters. As several attempts of the kind have already proved abortive, and were indeed prosecuted with a languor which scarcely merited success, we shall not subject ourselves to the chance of another disappointment, by indulging a very sanguine expectation of the measure, or bestowing any portion of praise by anticipation. If such a proposal shall be brought forward, we can only wish that it may be prosecuted in earnest, and with simplicity; and that, all idea being rejected either of artificial modification or of mischievous controul, the means of education may be opened with liberality to the lower orders, and the national institution fixed on a permanent and respectable footing.

In the Appendix to this pamphlet, Mr Christison proposes, that the study of the Greek language should be united with that of Latin, in the course of education which boys receive at the High School of Edinburgh. We have not the least doubt that this is a practicable improvement, and would greatly enhance the utility of that respectable seminary. There are few literary men in Scotland, who do not come to regret that unclassical negligence which almost excludes Greek literature from our present system of education. At a mature period of life, we are at length forced to suspend severer and more important studies, in order to acquire, very imperfectly, what might have been secured, with ease, at an earlier age.

Art. XII. *Reflections at the Conclusion of the War*: Being a Sequel to Reflections on the Political and Moral State of Society at the Close of the Eighteenth Century. The Third Edition, with Additions. By John Bowles, Esq.

If this peace be, as Mr Bowles asserts, the death-warrant of the liberty and power of Great Britain, we will venture to assert, that it is also the death-warrant of Mr Bowles's literary reputation; and that the people of this island, if they verify his predictions, and cease to read his books, whatever they may lose in political greatness, will evince no small improvement in critical acumen. There is a political, as well as a bodily hypo-

[illegible], and there are empirics always on the watch to make their prey, either of the one, or of the other. Dr Solomon, Dr Brodum, and Mr Bowles, have all commanded their share of the public attention: But the two former gentlemen continue to flourish with undiminished splendour; while the patients of the latter are fast dwindling away, and his drugs falling into disuse and contempt.

The truth is, if Mr Bowles had began his literary career, at a period when superior discrimination, and profound thought, not vulgar violence, and the eternal repetition of rabble-rousing words, were necessary to literary reputation, he would never have emerged from that obscurity to which he will soon return. The intemperate passions of the public, not his own talents, have given him some temporary reputation; and now, when men hope and fear with less eagerness than they have been lately accustomed to do, Mr Bowles will be compelled to descend from that moderate eminence, where no man of real genius would ever have condescended to remain.

The pamphlet is written in the genuine spirit of the Windham and Burke school; though Mr Bowles cannot be called a servile copyist of either of these gentlemen, as he has rejected the logic of the one, and the eloquence of the other, and imitated them only in their headstrong violence, and exaggerated abuse. There are some men who continue to astonish and please the world, even in the support of a bad cause. They are mighty in their fallacies, and beautiful in their errors. Mr Bowles sees only one-half of the precedent; and thinks, in order to be famous, that he has nothing to do but to be in the wrong.

War, eternal war, till the wrongs of Europe are avenged, and the Bourbons restored, is the master-principle of Mr Bowles's political opinions, and the object for which he declaims through the whole of the present pamphlet.

The first apprehensions which Mr Bowles seems to entertain, are of the boundless ambition and perfidious character of the First Consul, and of that military despotism he has established, which is not only impelled by the love of conquest, but interested, for its own preservation, to desire the overthrow of other states. Yet the author informs us, immediately after, that the life of Buonaparte is exposed to more dangers than that of any other individual in Europe, who is not actually in the last stage of an incurable disease; and that his death, whenever it happens, must involve the dissolution of that machine of government, of which he must be considered not only as the sole director, but the main spring. Confusion of thought, we are told, is one of the truest indications of terror; and the panic

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of this alarmist is so very great, that he cannot listen to the consolation which he himself affords: for it appears, upon summing up these perils, that we are in the utmost danger of being destroyed by a despot, whose system of government, as dreadful as himself, cannot survive him, and who, in all human probability, will be shot or hanged, before he can execute any one of his projects against us.

We have a good deal of flourishing, in the beginning of the pamphlet, about the effect of the moral sense upon the stability of governments; that is, as Mr Bowles explains it, the power which all old governments derive from the opinion entertained by the people, of the justice of their rights. If this sense of antient right be (as is here confidently asserted) strong enough ultimately to restore the Bourbons, why are we to fight for that which will be done without any fighting at all? And, if it be strong enough to restore, why was it weak enough to render restoration necessary?

To notice every singular train of reasoning into which Mr Bowles falls, is not possible; and, in the copious choice of evils, we shall, from feelings of mercy, take the least.

It must not be forgotten, he observes, that 'those rights of government, which, because they are ancient, are recognized by the moral sense as lawful, are the only ones which are compatible with civil liberty.' So that all questions of right and wrong, between the governors and the governed, are determinable by chronology alone. Every political institution is favourable to liberty, not according to its spirit, but in proportion to the antiquity of its date; and the slaves of Great Britain are groaning under the trial by jury, while the free men of Asia exult in the bold privilege transmitted to them by their fathers, of being trampled to death by elephants.

In the 8th page, Mr Bowles thinks that France, if she remains without a king, will conquer all Europe; and, in the 19th page, that she will be an object of Divine vengeance till she takes one. In the same page, all the miseries of France are stated to be a judgment of heaven for their cruelty to the king; and, in the 33d page, they are discovered to proceed from the perfidy of the same king to this country in the American contest. So that certain misfortunes proceed from the maltreatment of a person, who had himself occasioned these identical misfortunes before he was maltreated; and while Providence is compelling the French, by every species of affliction, to resume monarchical government, they are to acquire such extraordinary vigour, from not acting as Providence would wish, that they are to trample on every nation which cooperates with the Divine intention.

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In the 60th page, Mr Bowles explains what is meant by Jacobinism; and, as a concluding proof of the justice with which the character is drawn, triumphantly quotes the case of a certain R. Mountain, who was tried for damning all kings and all governments upon earth; for, adds R. Mountain, 'I am a Jacobin.' Nobody can more thoroughly detest and despise that restless spirit of political innovation, which, we suppose, is meant by the name of Jacobinism, than we ourselves do; but we were highly amused with this proof, *ab ebriis sutoribus*, of the prostration of Europe, the last hour of human felicity, the perdition of man, discovered in the crapulous eructations of a drunken cobler.

This species of evidence might certainly have escaped a common observer: But this is not all; there are other proofs of treason and sedition, equally remote, sagacious, and profound. Many good subjects are not very much pleased with the idea of the Whig Club dining together; but Mr Bowles has the merit of first calling the public attention to the alarming practice of singing after dinner at these political meetings. He speaks with a proper horror of tavern dinners,

'—where conviviality is made a ſtimulus to diſaffection—where wine ſerves only to inflame diſloyalty—where toaſts are converted into a vehicle of ſedition—and where the powers of harmony are called forth in the cauſe of Diſcord, by thoſe hireling ſingers, who are equally ready to invoke the Divine favour on the head of their King, or to ſtrain their venal throats, in chaunting the triumphs of his bittereſt enemies.'

All complaint is futile, which is not followed up by appropriate remedies. If Parliament, or Catarrh, do not save us, Dignum and Sedgwick will quaver away the King, shake down the House of Lords, and warble us into all the horrors of republican government. When, in addition to these dangers, we reflect, also, upon those with which our national happiness is menaced, by the present thinness of ladies petticoats (p. 78.), temerity may hope our salvation, but how can reason promise it?

One solitary gleam of comfort, indeed, beams upon us in reading the solemn devotion of this modern Curtius to the cause of his King and country—

'My attachment to the Britiſh monarchy, and to the reigning family, is rooted in my "heart's core."—My anxiety for the Britiſh throne, pending the dangers to which, in common with every other throne, it has lately been expoſed, has embittered my choiceſt comforts. And I moſt ſolemnly vow, before Almighty God, to devote myſelf, to the end of my days, to the maintenance of that throne.'

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Whether this patriotism be original, or whether it be copied from the Upholsterer in Foote's Farces, who sits up whole nights watching over the British constitution, we shall not stop to inquire; because, when the practical effect of sentiments is good, we would not diminish their merits, by investigating their origin. We seriously commend in Mr Bowles, this future dedication of his life to the service of his King and country; and consider it as a virtual promise that he will write no more in their defence. No wise or good man has ever thought of either, but with admiration and respect. That they should be exposed to that ridicule, by the forward imbecility of friendship, from which they appear to be protected by intrinsic worth, is so painful a consideration, that the very thought of it, we are persuaded, will induce Mr Bowles to desist from writing on political subjects.

ART. XIII. *Adresse aux Vrais Hommes de bien, à ceux qui Gouvernent comme à ceux qui sont Gouvérnes.* Par J. Herrenſchwand. Londres. 8vo.

'I Sow these seeds of truth,' says the author of this publication in his preface, 'in the beginning of a new century; and they will bear fruit when it pleases Providence.' It is impossible to dispute this: But we flatter ourselves, that the seed M. Herrenschwand has sown may long be permitted to lye among the rocks and dry places upon which he seems conscious that it has fallen.

The truths he has set himself to demonstrate, are the three following: 1. 'That in the general design of the universe,' (we translate literally his own inimitable expressions), 'the race of man was destined to develop the earth in all its different capabilities, and, at the same time, to develop in itself all the faculties with the germs of which it had been provided by nature: 2. That there ought to have been no rulers in the world, but for the purpose of promoting this double development: and 3. That all the sovereigns that have ever existed, so far from fulfilling this august destination, have never once failed, either through error or depravity, to be the scourges of mankind, and the *sole* authors of the miseries that have afflicted the world.'

From this proposition of the subject, we will confess, we did not know very well what to expect, and had read, indeed, very nearly to the end of the book, before we could attain any clear conception of the author's design in composing it. This indocility, which we do not pretend to dissemble, was considerably

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assisted by the novelty of the jargon in which the work is composed, and the singular tardiness with which the parts of the argument are made to follow one another. These difficulties, however, we have at length surmounted, or imagine, at least, that we have surmounted, and are enabled to inform our readers, that this address contains the author's view of the natural progress of human society to opulence and refinement, and his own infallible recipe for maintaining it in this progress with uninterrupted prosperity for ever.

There are few works, upon the merits of which it is so easy to decide, as this which is now before us: Whatever is just or true in it, has been already laid before the public in a much more intelligible manner by many preceding writers; whatever is new and original is, in the highest degree, extravagant and absurd. Of the first sort, is all that speculation which traces man's inventions to his necessities, and shows the dependence of his improvement on his wants, and all the reasoning that relates to the variations of price, and the natural causes by which production and consumption are adapted to each other: Of the latter, are most of the author's applications of these sound principles, and, in a peculiar manner, that great discovery, for the sake of which the whole book seems to have been written, which reveals the inseparable connexion between the prosperity of a people, and the profuse expenditure of their rulers.

It would be altogether intolerable to pursue this author through the melancholy mazes of his argument, in the first half of the volume. The substance of it is, that societies subsisting by hunting or pasturage, 'are *monsters* that dishonour man and the earth, and are proscribed by the general design of the universe:' That every society, which is not monstrous, must be composed of husbandmen, manufacturers, and independent consumers: That the more men work, the more sources of enjoyment they will possess; and that there is no way to keep their genius and their industry constantly upon the increase, but to provide for a constant increase of ready money in the hands of the independent consumers. He then crosses himself in devout astonishment, that this great discovery should have been reserved for J. Herrenschwand; and that, in the innumerable crowd of those who have hitherto guided the earth by their counsels, no one should have been found, who was capable of reducing the science of human prosperity to this simple problem. We cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of transcribing the succeeding paragraph, as it stands in the original before us: It contains a succinct view of the author's whole doctrine; and we are per-

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suaded, that no one can read it through, without acknowledging that it is impossible for any translation to do it justice.

'Car falloit-il' (says our modest author) 'une si grande penétration pour juger que nul peuple ne pourroit multiplier son bien-être physique dans une progression non-interrompue sans la multiplication non-interrompue du travail de ses agriculteurs et de ses manufacturiers; que ses agriculteurs et ses manufacturiers ne pourroient multiplier leur travail dans une progression non-interrompue, sans la multiplication non-interrompue de la consommation de ses consommateurs indépendans; et que ses consommateurs indépendans ne pourroient multiplier leur consommation dans une progression non-interrompue, sans la multiplication non-interrompue des métaux précieux en monnoies dans leurs mains?'

Such is the style we have to encounter in every page: But the matter begins to be too interesting to be neglected.

The whole wisdom of the politician being thus reduced to the determination of a single problem, viz. By what means is it possible to multiply to infinity the current money of the consumer? the author sets himself about the resolution of it, with suitable formality and precision. Before disclosing his grand secret, indeed, he is mischievous enough to trifle with our impatience, through fifty pages of dreadful preparation, and takes an infinite deal of pains to enumerate the various sources, from which it is certain that this supply *cannot* be derived: He demonstrates to our perfect satisfaction, that this inexhaustible and swelling stream of riches cannot possibly be supplied by the labours of the husbandman—nor by those of the merchant or manufacturer—nor, finally, by the exertions of the independent consumer himself. At this stage of the argument, we naturally feel our hearts sink in despair within us, and are ready to give up all for lost: for our infallible author had already defined a legitimate society, to be that which consisted of husbandmen, manufacturers, and independent consumers; and if all of these together could not help the latter to a constantly increasing supply of money, it seemed inevitable that the 'designs of the universe' must be frustrated, and difficult to know where else to look for assistance. In the midst of this perplexity, however, our author comes most opportunely to our relief, with a body of chosen auxiliaries, whom he introduces by the name of '*consommateurs independans par excellence*;' and dispels all our fears in a moment, by assuring us, that these gentlemen have it in their power to put as much coined money in the pockets of the other independent consumers, as the glory of the universe may require. He does not condescend, at this time, to give any sort of explanation of the grounds of this assurance; but parades his *consommateurs independans par excellence* in triumph, through ma-

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ny weary pages, and expatiates, with much complacency, upon the felicity and importance of the invention. After asserting, again and again, that they alone have the power of increasing their expenditure at pleasure, and repeating, ten times over, all that had been said from the beginning of the book, about *consumption*, and *development*, and *physical good*, and *the universe*, he concludes the chapter in the following words, which we beg leave to lay before our readers in the original, from the same inability to furnish them with an adequate translation, which was the apology for a former quotation.

'Car posez dans un peuple l'augmentation de la consommation de ses consommateurs indépendans par excellence, et vous poserez aussi nécessairement l'augmentation de sa consommation générale; posez l'augmentation de sa consommation générale, et vous poserez aussi nécessairement l'augmentation du travail de ses agriculteurs et de ses manufacturiers; posez l'augmentation du travail de ses agriculteurs et de ses manufacturiers, et vous poserez aussi nécessairement l'augmentation des revenus annuels de ses consommateurs indépendans ordinaires; enfin posez l'augmentation des revenus annuels de ses consommateurs indépendans ordinaires, et vous poserez aussi nécessairement l'augmentation de sa consommation générale, et par conséquent de sa prospérité.

'Il est donc de toute évidence, que la consommation des consommateurs indépendans par excellence est le principe actif et le ressort principal du mécanisme de l'économie politique de la terre, tel que l'univers l'a lui-même arrêté dans son dessein général. Ainsi, gouverner la terre dans les vues de l'univers, et la combler de gloire et de bonheur, n'a dû définitivement exiger rien de plus, que de savoir seulement bien ménager dans chaque peuple la consommation des consommateurs indépendans par excellence; puisque c'est de cette consommation seule qu'a dû dépendre le sort entier des peuples.'

All this time, the reader is left to guess what manner of persons these *consommateurs par excellence* may be, or by what means they are to be enabled to work so many wonders. It is not till after he has groped his way through thirty more pages of chaotic dissertation, that he is let into the first of these secrets, and given to understand, that the *consommateurs par excellence* in every society, are the *governors* in that society; and that for this good reason, that truly they require an infinitude of articles of manufacture, both for their own accommodation, and for the public service; and that their consumption being unlimited, they are therefore perfectly qualified to develop the prosperity of any nation, by occasioning a constant increase of its industry and production!

The grand secret, then, for ensuring the happiness of a people is, for its rulers to spend as much as possible; and the *one*

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duty which the *universe* has imposed on a sovereign is, to take care that his expenditure increases annually, with an uninterrupted progression! The governors of the world, we believe, will make no violent opposition to this doctrine; and if this be the rule of their duty, we cannot think that they have, in fact, very generally deserved all that reprobation which M. Herrenschwand has bestowed upon them, for their ignorance or neglect of it.

After having told us who these *consommateurs par excellence* are, our author has still to inform us of the means by which they are enabled, not only to increase their own expenditure to infinitude, but also to increase, in the same proportion, the quantity of money in the pockets of all the other independent consumers in the community. To disclose this secret, seems indeed to have been the great object of the book; but it is of too much importance to be disclosed precipitately; and we have still to render ourselves worthy of receiving it, by listening to a tedious harangue against foreign trade, and the establishment of public banks. From the author's decided antipathy to the latter, we certainly did not expect, that his scheme for the boundless multiplication of riches in a community, should have rested on the basis of public credit, and a paper circulation. Such, however, is the case; and though the elements are vulgar and ordinary enough in themselves, it must be confessed, that his disposition of them is altogether original.

We will not afflict our readers, by copying out any part of the indigested detail into which the author finds it necessary to enter. They will be enabled to form a judgement of the whole plan from the following short sketch of it.

Having already demonstrated, in his own way, that a regular and constant increase in the expenditure of the government, was the only true means of ensuring a constant progression in the intelligence and enjoyment of the people; the next step was, to furnish the governors with the means of this boundless expenditure, and to provide an adequate supply for this continual and increasing waste. *Public credit*, he says, offers such a supply; and it is only by the grossest abuse that it has hitherto been prevented from affording it. His scheme for ensuring the benefit of it, is simply as follows: Whenever government shall think it necessary to stimulate the genius and exertions of the country, by an additional demand for employment, it has no more to do, than to issue as much paper money as may be necessary to set it in motion; and, in order to prevent the depreciation of this paper, and to ensure its free circulation, it must take care to provide for its due payment and realization in specie. For this purpose, it must previously deposit gold and silver

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to the amount of *one twenty-fifth* part of the whole issue in paper, and repeat the deposite in the beginning of each of the twenty-four succeeding years; so that one twenty-fifth part may be regularly called in, paid, and destroyed, every year. By making the deposition in the *beginning* of every year, the fullest security is afforded, of course, for the termly payment; and the credit of the circulating paper can never be subjected to any kind of suspicion. To ensure its currency still more effectually, it is further proposed, that it shall bear interest at the rate o ½ *per cent.* from the time of its being issued; and the payment of this interest shall also be provided for by a previous depositation of the precious metals; the funds for making these termly payments being raised by a rated income-tax upon the people. Thus, continues our author, if the government finds it necessary to support the progressive advancement of the nation by the expenditure of twenty millions, it has only to deposit one million in specie, and issue the twenty in paper—every year it repeats this deposite, and pays off one twenty-fifth part of the whole, with the interest of what remains in circulation. It repeats this issue of paper, on the same conditions, as often as the condition of the country requires it; and thus, without increasing the contributions of the people, it multiplies its own revenues more than twenty fold; and employs the whole of them in the maintenance of domestic industry!—'Such,' exclaims our author, 'such is the infinite simplicity of the mechanism, by which the rulers of the world may realize all the good and the glory that was intended for this planet, by the general design of the universe!'

It would require a volume, almost as long and as tedious as that we are now considering, to point out all the errors and absurdities that compose this new system of finance. We do not think it necessary to engage in a task so disgusting; and shall satisfy ourselves with observing, in a very few words, 1st, that it is impracticable, and, 2d, that if it were practicable, it would be utterly useless.

In the first place, this scheme for the unlimited issue of government paper for circulation, takes it for granted, that there must always be an unlimited demand for a medium of this nature, and that the channel of circulation can never be so full as to admit of no farther addition. If there is any fact, however, in all this branch of science, that is demonstrably certain, it is the very opposite of this, which M. Herrenschwand has assumed, without argument or hesitation. The demand for money of any sort, but especially for paper money, must at all times be limited by the number and rapidity of the exchanges which it is employed to facilitate; and as soon as this purpose is sufficiently

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provided for, no more money can possibly be forced into the circulation. It may, indeed, be issued from the mint and the stamp-office; but the coin will be melted down or exported, and the paper will return with a stream exactly equal to that in which the redundancy was issued. If there be at the time, therefore, a sufficiency of money in the country, the twenty millions of government paper, instead of being absorbed, and continuing to circulate for twenty-five years, will all return immediately, or be depreciated to a considerable degree, if payment be peremptorily refused. If this happen with the first issue, it is easy to conceive what must be the fate of the thousand additional ones that are to follow, with a progressive increase of their amount, in the course of the boundless development of the earth and its inhabitants. The *bonus* of *one-half per cent.* interest, will not mend the matter: When government paper, bearing *three per cent.* is not saleable at a discount of more than thirty, we may imagine, that a stock bearing *one half per cent.* would not find many purchasers *at par*.

All these, however, are slight errors and omissions, when compared with some others that are included in the very plan and conception of the system: for though it is the very essence and object of the whole contrivance, to increase and multiply the riches and resources of the government, and so to enable it to spend a great deal more than it raises from the people; yet nothing can be more evident, than that it accomplishes no part of this object; and that, after granting all the impossibilities for which our author contends, the people will, upon this new plan of finance, be still obliged to contribute, in gold and silver, the whole sum and quantity which the government issues to them in paper. However extraordinary or incredible it may appear, that a man should have composed a long and elaborate work in explanation of this new system of economy, without being aware of a fallacy so obvious and fundamental, it is not the less certain that it exists, and may be made evident to the most careless inquirer, in a very few words.

The object of the whole system, is to maintain a constantly increasing expenditure on the part of the government; and this, our author alleges, may be accomplished by means of public credit, without any pressure on the people. To us it is very evident, that it is accomplished entirely by the contributions of the people; and that he derives less assistance from public credit than any artificer in finance that ever employed it as an instrument. The author has supposed, that the government issues twenty millions of paper, and pays it off in twenty-five years, by levying an annual tax of one million upon the people. If this were the whole fact, it would be plain, that the people paid

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twenty-five millions in gold and silver, for the privilege of using twenty millions of government paper for a certain limited time; and it might fairly be argued, that it would have been much better to have issued their own gold and silver to them at once, in larger quantity, and at a cheaper rate. The only advantage that can possibly be ascribed to this scheme, is, that it enables the governors to anticipate their revenue a little, and to spend in one year what it will take them upwards of twenty to repay. Sound politicians will doubt whether this be an advantage: At any rate, it is an advantage by no means peculiar to this system, since the ordinary device of borrowing and funding possesses it in a far greater degree.

This, however, is by no means the just view of the case: The expenditure of the government is constantly to increase; and it is evident, that if they issue twenty millions in one year, they must issue at least as many the year after, instead of withdrawing one of those millions from the circulation. If they issue none the year after, it is evident, that they diminish their expenditure by twenty millions; and by twenty-one millions, if they redeem one of the preceding issue. It is necessary, therefore, to answer the conditions of our author's own problem, that the government continue every year to issue at least as large a sum as it began with issuing; and the consequences of this proceeding are pretty decisive as to the merit of M. Herrenschwand's discovery. In order to liquidate a twenty-fifth part of the first issue, the people must contribute one million annually in specie, and that for twenty-five years. For the second issue, they must make a similar contribution; and for the third, and the fourth, and all the succeeding issues, in the same proportion. In the first year, therefore, they must bring into the treasury one million in gold and silver; in the second, two millions; in the third, three; and so on in proportion, till, at the twenty-fifth year, they will be obliged to make payment of no less than twenty-five millions in specie. As the first issue of paper will now be completely redeemed, the charge will not mount any higher; but it will continue at this rate till some variation takes place in the annual quantity of paper that is issued, with which it will rise and fall in proportion: And thus, upon the whole, the people, after the elapse of the first twenty-five years from the establishment of this system, will have to raise an annual sum of *twenty-five millions* in gold and silver, in return for an annual distribution of *twenty millions* of government paper! The conclusion follows with the certainty of a demonstration from the author's own premises, and certainly affords a satisfactory specimen of his powers of reasoning, and the singular texture of his understanding.

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With these observations we joyfully take our leave of the system of J. Herrenschwand. The puerilities with which his volume concludes, are less calculated to excite ridicule, than compassion; and we willingly leave his admirers to enjoy the spectacle of a perfidious minister making progresses through the country, in a moveable pillory, with a label on his breast (p. 180.), and all the other melancholy machinery of his Utopia, without censure or molestation.

Of the style of this performance it will be unnecessary to say any thing, after the specimens we have already exhibited. It is certainly quite original in the department of literature, and reads exactly like a deed of conveyance, or an indictment for a libel, with all the *inuendos* filled up. The author has uniformly *overlaid* his meaning with words, and taken so much unfortunate pains to avoid being misunderstood, that he cannot be comprehended without the greatest exertion.

To such of our readers as may think themselves entitled to an apology, for having been so long detained on an article of this description, we beg leave to intimate, that M. Herrenschwand is a very old offender; that he has already been guilty of several quartos on the subject of political economy; and that no less an authority than Mr Arthur Young has announced him to the world, as 'one of the greatest political geniuses of the age.'

ART. XIV. *The Utility of Country Banks considered.* London, 1802. pp. 86.

These eighty-six pages, of which not more than twenty are employed on the subject of country Banks, afford an amusing specimen of plagiarism. The anonymous author appears to have met with Hume's Political Discourses, and Smith's Inquiry, a short time, probably, before the date of his pamphlet, which is made up of unacknowledged extracts from those works, mutilated both in composition and argument, and thrown together into a shapeless mass. By a diligent study of those excellent models, for a certain number of years, he may perhaps qualify himself to understand such disquisitions; and, by the improvement at least of his taste, be prevented from violating, as he has done, the property of others.

In the following extract, our readers will easily recognize the fragments of a passage in Smith's chapter on the wages of labour; but they will also acknowledge, how much the tame sketches of one artist may be improved, when a new tone of colouring is imparted by the hand of a greater master.

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'All animals multiply, naturally, in proportion to their means of subsistence; and no species can ever multiply beyond it. In civilized society, the scantiness of subsistence among the lower ranks of the people, sets a limit to the multiplication of the human species, by destroying a great part of the children produced by their fruitful marriages. When labour is to be had, and is liberally rewarded, the lower orders are enabled to provide better for their children. A greater number is consequently reared, and added to the national stock of population. It necessarily does this, too, as nearly as possible in the proportion which the demand for labour requires. In this point of view, we may consider the institutions which tend to set it in motion: The *manufactures* of a country are, *inventions for the* multiplication of the human species, and *the propagation of intellectual beings; they are the creative powers of thought, happiness, and moral existence.* Without such fostering establishments, life would decay, and society wither at its root. With such aid, the demand for man increases, and the reward of labour necessarily encourages the marriages and multiplication of labourers; so that a continual increasing demand is supplied by a continually increasing population. An increase of wealth produces the liberal reward of labour, which is the cause of increasing population. To complain of it, is to lament over the necessary cause and effect of the greatest public prosperity.'

The manner in which the principles of the Wealth of Nations are mistated, is almost as ludicrous as this debasement of its composition. After copying the instances which Smith gives, of the various commodities that, in a rude state of commerce, perform the functions of money, our author adds the following example.

'We may add another, hitherto unnoticed, though not so clearly a species of exchange, which is manure, that children and poor persons gather on the post-roads in Yorkshire, and in the north, where, for the excellence of its quality, it is valuable to the farmer; and I am told that it is a very common practice for poor persons to exchange it for coals, or other necessaries; thus making horse dung a species of money.'

In another part of the pamphlet, we are promised the 'explanation of some phenomena which have surprised the reasoners on finance.' One of these phenomena is 'the increasing prosperity of the nation, during a long and expensive war.'—For the solution of which, he deems it quite enough to transcribe several pages, still without acknowledgment, of those reasonings by which Mr Smith shows that the expenses of foreign war may be defrayed by the exportation of the finer manufactures. What was, in fact, a particular mode of national expenditure, our pamphleteer conceives to have been an accession to the national wealth; and he explains 'the increasing

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prosperity of the nation, during a long and expensive war,' by a series of observations, which lead Smith himself to the very different conclusion, 'that manufactures may flourish amidst the ruin of their country, and begin to decay upon the return of its prosperity.'

Lest our readers should be misled, by us, to suppose that the whole of this tract is transcription, without any attempts at original composition, we have selected one or two passages, which we do not remember to have seen, either in the Wealth of Nations, or in the Political Discourses of Mr Hume.

'As grand political machines, moving the great levers of the empire, and raising the ponderous powers of war, National Banks may be contemplated as national bulwarks, towers of strength, and edifices of defence.'

'Building, though considerably checked during the war, has in many parts of the country proceeded with vigour; and houses, streets, and towns have been raised, as substantially, on paper currency, as brick or stone, cemented by gold or silver, could have built them.'

'If it be objected, that gold, the sight of which so gratifies the human eye, is now seldom to be seen, let it be remembered, that it is invisibly performing its magic effects on the commerce of the nation. We may be assured, that every guinea, though unseen, is actively employed for the good of the community; its paper representative is not intended to supply its place, that it may sleep in idleness; on the contrary, it goes forth to seek new adventures: The Chrysal of the day is not bred up in idleness; he seldom sleeps long in the iron chests of bankers.'

'When we consider the effects of an extended commerce, we may trace the twenty shilling note of a Glasgow bank, from its embarkation in the Clyde, in its form of manufacture, through the West or East Indies, till it returns, in the suite of a Nabob, who fixes it in a palace which he builds in the neighbourhood of his native city, on his return from Asia, whither he himself was probably first sent by the operation of paper currency.'

ART. XV. *Bread; or, the Poor.* A Poem. By Mr Pratt, Author of Sympathy, Gleanings, &c. Quarto. Longman and Rees, and Becket.

THE author of this poem professes to instruct, as well as amuse the public; to interest their humanity, by an account of the sufferings of the poor, and enlighten their understandings by this profound lesson of political œconomy, that scarcity is occasioned entirely by monopoly, and lately took place after most

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plentiful harvests. We must confess, we did not expect that a poem, written professedly on that system, would add much to the present stock of knowledge: We, however, persevered in reading it, in hopes that the excellence of the poetry would make some amends for the absurdity of the doctrine; and were perfectly disposed to forget the fallacy of Mr Pratt's arguments, in the fire of his numbers. After an attentive perusal of the whole work, however, Mr Pratt's poetry and philosophy seemed to us so much on a par, that we thought it extremely probable that both would be entirely forgotten before the First Number of this publication could issue from the press. As we profess to confine our criticisms to works which are likely to engage some portion of public attention, we did not feel ourselves called upon to quote metaphors which seemed doomed to quiet repose in a snuff shop, or comment on similes which would be known only to the pastry cook.

In this idea, we have been so much mistaken, that we ought to be more cautious how we indulge such conjectures in future. A second edition was announced some time ago, and the public was, at the same time, informed, that, on account of the great variety of valuable information which the work contained, the title was changed from 'Bread, or, The Poor,' to 'The Poor, or, Bread.' If a work was passed over, which, in the course of a few months, has received so strong a mark of public approbation, it might justly be attributed to the obscurity of the Reviewers, not of the poem; and where so much solicitude is displayed in the adjustment of a title, it may be supposed that the author has bestowed no common portion of labour in the composition of the work.

The poem opens, as might be expected, with earnest invocations to spirits of Pity, Benevolence, and the 'blest muse of Sympathy.' In the midst of these, Mr Pratt introduces himself and his subject in the following lines—

> 'I sing the Poor! for them invite the lyre,
> For them alone I ask the poet's fire;
> For them, at hours forbade to touch the string,
> Late from the grave escap'd, I yearn to sing.'

It must be confessed, that Mr Pratt has made a valuable addition to all former descriptions of modern bards, by this interesting portrait of himself. We admit, that there is great spirit in Pope's description of the poet

> —'Who, locked from ink and paper, scrawls
> With desp'rate charcoal round his darkened walls;
> Or he who, high in Drury Lane,
> Lulled by soft zephyrs through the broken pane,
> Rhymes ere he wakes, and prints before term ends.'

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But the situations of both these poets are certainly less picturesque than that of our author, 'yearning to sing,' after having recently made his escape from the grave, and touching the string at forbidden hours. Mr Pratt, after indulging his yearnings for about thirty or forty lines, becomes apprehensive lest the reader should have forgotten that he was singing, and also what he was singing about; for, he again informs him,

> 'I sing the Poor! *thy* poor, my native land,
> Erewhile, and not remote, a blithsome band,
> A ruddy, reckless, merry-hearted crew,
> Fresh as their herbage wash'd in morning dew,
> Light, buoyant, airy, as their upland gales,
> Firm as their hills, and teeming as their vales:
> Their lambs less gamesome, when day-labour done,
> They sought the shade, or frolick'd, where the sun
> Threw his last beams on flower-wreath'd casements small,
> Gilt the young leaves, or play'd on cottage wall;
> Less gay the birds that carol'd o'er their heads,
> Built in their bowers, or nested round their sheds.'

This is one of the most splendid exertions of Mr Pratt's muse; we have therefore quoted the whole passage. The images, it must be observed, are rather bold than judicious; they have no sort of connexion with each other, except what the rhymes have accidentally suggested; and the description, taken together, has not the most distant resemblance to any thing that ever existed, far less to the object it refers to. A blithsome band, 'ruddy, reckless, and fresh as herbage wash'd in morning dew,' may be conceived; but that, when this band becomes light as air, firm as hills, teeming as vales—to crown all, more frolicksome than lambs, and gayer than singing birds—such a monstrous assemblage is reared up, as never, perhaps, was brought together, before, by the most distempered imagination. No one feature of it resembles the poor of England, or any other country. To the whole, the words of Horace are so applicable,

> '—isti tabulæ fore librum
> Persimilem, cujus, velut *ægri somnia,* vanæ
> Fingentur species'—

that we cannot help suspecting that the public are indebted to Mr Pratt's 'forbidden hours' for this extraordinary effusion.

After this passage, Mr Pratt gives a long catalogue of the comforts and enjoyments of the poor in former times. Among many other things enumerated, are currant and gooseberry bushes; not merely, as the ignorant reader may suppose, to furnish fruit in Summer, but also to supply the poor with wine in Winter. This is a luxury which we did not imagine the poor had been much

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accustomed to; and we must own, we are so far hard-hearted, that the occasional privation of it does not excite in us any great degree of commiseration.

After an exaggerated account of the comforts the poor formerly enjoyed, Mr Pratt describes the distresses they lately endured; and as they were real, and do not admit of exaggeration, there is little scope afforded for our author's fancy. The investigation of the causes which produced the scarcity, calls forth all his genius. Although it has been ascertained, after the fullest investigation, that there was a deficiency of at least one fourth in two successive crops, Mr Pratt assumes, as an undoubted fact, that there was the most abundant and plentiful harvest. On this foundation, Mr Pratt commences his interrogatories—

> 'Ask we the CAUSE why earth supplies, in vain,
> Th' abundant herbage and luxuriant grain;
> Why, when the golden sheaves like mountains rise—
> Bending, as if in homage to the skies—
> Those golden sheaves refuse their aid to yield
> To such alone as sow and reap the field?'

After some more whys, Mr Pratt concludes with another why and when—

> 'And why, when heav'n has blest the bounteous earth,
> The POOR still find an universal dearth?'

Mr Pratt resolves all these questions, by asserting that the scarcity was produced by the higher order of farmers, whom he calls gentlemen farmers. After giving this solution of the difficulty, Mr Pratt loads that respectable part of the community with every term of abuse which he can collect. In the course of ten lines, the epithets, 'tyrant husbandman,' 'insatiate giant,' the 'scourge and terror of the swains,' 'vain usurper,' and 'village despot,' are brought together to describe the general character of a gentleman farmer. Whole pages are filled with accounts of their extravagance and profligacy; of balls, at which their wives dance awkwardly; and routs, at which they give *noyau.* In one of the notes, Mr Pratt endeavours to rival even Lord Warwick, and tells us of a *knot* of farmers, who drank champagne, claret, and Burgundy, for three days together; and, as a *zest*, soaked bank notes in the wine, like *rusks in chocolate;* which, it must be allowed, was a very expensive substitute for biscuits. Yet, Mr Pratt thinks it necessary to put landlords on their guard against the farmers' intention of purchasing their estates. We shall hardly be accused of paradox, if we affirm, that those who are prodigal and extravagant, rarely accumulate wealth; and a landlord is in no great danger of having his estate

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purchased by a man who, by the common order of events, must be reduced to poverty himself. It may farther be demanded of Mr Pratt, how men, so idle and dissolute, should be able to accomplish the design of which he accuses them? A design, which the most unremitting industry, in possession of immense capital, could hardly accomplish. Mr Pratt overcomes all these difficulties, by supposing that the farmers become monopolists on the days on which they do not hunt.

> 'But the tir'd hunt allows a vacant day;
> Trade takes its turn, and intereſt has its ſway.
> The bold monopoliſt, and jobber ſly,
> Reſum'd—(the farmer-gentleman laid by)'—

Any farther specimens of Mr Pratt's poetry may appear unnecessary. The address to the gentlemen farmers is, however, so animated, that Mr Pratt might think he met with injustice, if no part of it was quoted. A stronger proof of the extent and influence of popular credulity and fury, can hardly be produced, than that such absurd and unmerited abuse has been published by a man who appears to possess some portion of literature, and to have written with good intentions.

> 'Plund'rers abhorr'd! if your dark threats portend
> Another ſeaſon from the poor to rend;
> Ye jobbers vile! or by whatever name
> Ye ſtand recorded on the liſts of ſhame,—
> Ye who ne'er labour on the teeming plain,
> But like dire locuſts, only eat the grain!
> Ye more than ſavage canibals, who feed
> Upon your kind, without the ſavage need,' &c.

This rhapsody, which exhibits every symptom of frenzy, unaccompanied by genius, is continued until the author's imagination becomes exhausted. He then resorts to his favourite appellation of locusts, and commences a new series, with this singular exclamation,

> 'Yes, wanton locuſts of a foodful iſle!'

Such are Mr Pratt's verses, which have been so fortunate as to find admirers; to whom we resign them, without farther commentary. Readers of poetry, of equal discernment, we are informed, were to be found in former times: they therefore reflect no particular discredit on the present age.

> 'Qui Bavium non odit, amet tua carmina Mævi,
> Atque idem jungat vulpes et mulgeat hircos.'

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ART. XVI. *Anniversary Sermon of the Royal Humane Society.* By W. Langford, D. D. Printed for F. and C. Rivington. 1801. 8vo. 40 pages.

AN accident, which happened to the gentleman engaged in reviewing this Sermon, proves, in the most striking manner, the importance of this charity for restoring to life persons in whom the vital power is suspended. He was discovered, with Dr Langford's discourse lying open before him, in a state of the most profound sleep; from which he could not, by any means, be awakened for a great length of time: By attending, however, to the rules prescribed by the Humane Society, flinging in the smoke of tobacco, applying hot flannels, and carefully removing the dis-discourse itself to a great distance, the critic was restored to his disconsolate brothers.

The only account he could give of himself was, that he remembers reading on, regularly, till he came to the following pathetic description of a drowned tradesman; beyond which, he recollects nothing.

'But to the individual himself, as a man, let us add the interruption to all the temporal business in which his interest was engaged. To him indeed, now apparently lost, the world is as nothing: But it seldom happens, that man can live for himself alone: Society parcels out its concerns in various connexions; and from one head issue waters, which run down in many channels.—The spring being suddenly cut off, what confusion must follow in the streams which have flowed from its source? It may be, that all the expectations reasonably raised of approaching prosperity, to those who have embarked in the same occupation, may at once disappear; and the important interchange of commercial faith be broken off, before it could be brought to any advantageous conclusion.'

This extract will suffice for the style of the sermon. The charity itself is above all praise.

ART. XVII. *Poems.* By Mrs Opie. 12mo. London. 1802.

THE anxiety of a young writer, who yields, with trembling hands, the first production of his genius, to the survey of a world, unknown to him in all but this one fearful circumstance, that the praise, of which he is ambitious, and the neglect or scorn which he dreads, are dependent on its voice, whether of judgment or caprice, is a feeling that requires, for compensation, a large share of the fame, which it is probably never to receive; as, however great the multitude who have shared a-

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like the misery of expectation, the happy recompense must belong only to a few. Yet, there is a feeling, perhaps more painful than this first anxiety, when the young writer of a work which has raised him to popularity, submits his powers a second time to criticism, of which he has already exhausted the indulgence, and which now expects to applaud, rather than to forgive. The favour excited by past excellence, is a favour which requires progression in its object; and though, in some, it may be the heedless partiality of friendship, is, in those higher minds that may be considered as representing posterity, more like the interest felt by an upright judge, which, though it allow him to delight in merited acquittal, never induces him to palliate guilt, but rather to consider delinquency as aggravated by the previous character of the culprit. There is, besides, an innocent selfishness, which modifies our opinions by an influence unperceived, and persuades us, that success is more difficult of attainment, because we have ourselves succeeded. It is not so much, however, in this imagined increase of difficulty, as in the actual increase of penalty, that the evil of reputation is felt by the fortunate. It is now no longer a simple, and almost unknown failure, which he has to dread. He has brought a multitude around him by his triumph; and a failure would now have all the disgrace of degradation. There has not been a single voice of applause, that would not add to his remembrance its whole weight of ignominy; and amid the variety of possible sentences, there is thus only one to which he can look with desire, because all those less degrees of praise, which would have satisfied his humbler ambition, must now be accompanied with the mortifying ideas, of disappointment in his readers, and of inferiority in himself.

It was probably with feelings similar to those we have described, that Mrs Opie committed to the world her volume of poems. To a very large number of readers, 'The Father and Daughter' had already made its appearance a promise of much delight. That it has completely satisfied the expectations which her novel had excited *in us*, we will not say. It would be, at best, an ambiguous compliment; and preferring therefore an opinion, which has no reference to the past, we are ready to admit, that her volume of poems has afforded us much pleasure, and that it would have obtained for its author a very considerable reputation, though her former work had been wholly unknown.

But, while we thus express our praise of Mrs Opie's miscellany, we do not wish it to be considered as applicable to the whole, or even to the greater number, of the pieces of which it consists. These are of very various species of composition, and are perhaps still more different, in merit, than in subject. In the tender song of sentiment and pathos, there is uncommon ele-

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gance; but, in pieces of greater length, which require dignity, or even terseness of expression, and an easy development of thoughts, which rise complicated in the moment of fancy, there is a dissimilarity of character, in every respect, which contrasts, without relieving, the sweetness of the simpler pictures. Mrs Opie's mind is evidently more adapted to seize situation, than to combine incidents. It can represent, with powerful expression, the solitary portrait, in every attitude of gentler grief; but it cannot bring together a connected assemblage of figures, and represent each in its most striking situation, so as to give, as it were, to the glance of a moment, the events and the feelings of many years. When a series of reflections is to be brought by her to our view, they must all be of that immediate relation, which allows them to be introduced at any part of the poem, or we shall probably see before us a multitude, rather than a group. She is therefore wholly unfit for that poetry, which endeavours to reason, while it pleases; and, powerful as she is in solitary pathos, we do not think that she is well fitted for bringing before us the connected griefs and characters of the drama. She has, indeed, written a novel; and it is one which excites a very high interest: But the merit of that novel does not consist in its action, nor in any varied exhibition of character. Agnes, in all the sad changes of her fortune, is still the same: and the action, if we except a very few *situations* of the highest excitement, is the common history of every seduction in romance. Indeed, we are almost tempted to believe, that the scene in the wood occurred first to the casual conception of the author, and that, in the design of fully displaying it, all the other events of the novel were afterwards imagined.

But Mrs Opie's novel is not under our criticism; and the character of her powers may be sufficiently ascertained, in the variety which her volume before us presents. She has *attempted* the gay anacreontic; and she has only expressed a very common thought, in a very common manner, p. 47. She has *attempted* the song of sportive humour; and, if things unexisting could be stolen, she might almost be suspected of having pilfered one of the futurities of Vauxhall, p. 105. She has *attempted* a long Ovidian epistle in elegiac verse; and in the dull and feeble detail which it presents, she has made us feel doubly the dull solemnity of the measure, p. 15. She has *attempted* blank verse, p. 135; but with the real music of blank verse she is wholly unacquainted: From its uniformity of pause, it is nothing more than the regular couplet, with a perpetual disappointment of rhyme. The regular heroic couplet she has also *attempted*; but a line of ten syllables is too large for the grasp of her delicate fingers; and she spans her way along, with an awkward and feeble weariness,

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whenever she lays aside the smaller verse. It is in the smaller verse of eight syllables, which requires no pomp of sound, and in the simple tenderness, or simple grief, to which the artlessness of such numbers is best suited, that the power of Mrs Opie's poetry consists: And, unsparing as our friendly criticism may have appeared, in its censure of trials which it deemed injudicious, we are happy that she has enabled us to make atonement, by our just praise of those pieces which accord better with the character of her imagination. The verses of *feeling* on which she must rely for the establishment of her fame, are certainly among the best in our opuscular poetry. As a specimen, we select the following song, which is scarcely surpassed by any in our language—

' Go, youth beloved, in distant glades,
New friends, new hopes, new joys to find!
Yet sometimes deign, midst fairer maids,
To think on her thou leav'st behind.
Thy love, thy fate, dear youth, to share
Must never be my happy lot;
But thou mayst grant this humble prayer,
Forget me not, forget me not!

Yet, should the thought of my distress
Too painful to thy feelings be,
Heed not the wish I now express,
Nor ever deign to think on me:
But, oh! if grief thy steps attend,
If want, if sickness be thy lot,
And thou require a soothing friend,
Forget me not! forget me not!

The first verse of the second stanza is perhaps too much dilated, in expression, and *rather* too feeble in its syllabic flow. But the simple emphasis of the last line of each stanza, and particularly the thought which introduces it at the conclusion of the whole, have a truth of tenderness which will be acknowledged and loved by the rudest, as well as by the most cultivated apprehension.

Mrs Opie, if she have rightly learned her own powers, will forgive us for illustrating, by specimens of an opposite nature, our unfavourable opinion of her heroic verse. The following is a part of ' An Epistle to a Friend on New-Year's Day.'

' But scorn not thou the sorrows of the muse,
A harmless egotist for once excuse,
And from thy brow the rising frown dispel,
On my own sufferings though I've dar'd to dwell:
For, though my filial sorrow can't impart
A sympathetic feeling to thy heart,

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Becaufe thy honoured mother lives to fhare
Thy fond affection, and thy duteous care,—
Reflect, the time may come when thou fhalt feel
The deep regrets my mournful lays reveal;
And thy afflicted breaft may need from me
The kind indulgence which I afk from thee.
But thou muft fcorn the lines that bring to view
The felf-reproach thy bofom never knew:
Thou, who each hour haft by improvement told,
Muft my confeffion with contempt behold.' p. 187.

Of the Duke of Bedford she says, that, had Mr Burke lived a few years longer, he would have changed his contemptuous opinion, and joined in lamenting his Grace's death.

'Thy "few and idle years" no longer fcorn'd,
But as a public lofs thy death be mourn'd.' p. 191.

A very charitable society she thus addresses, with much praise, but with little poetry.

'If Rome to him a civic garland gave,
Who of one citizen the life could fave,
What fhould your grateful country give to you?
What to your patriot fervices is due?
From you, Society true aid derives;
Your timely bounty faves unnumbered lives.' p. 168.

That the lines we have just quoted were written by the author of the preceding song, it would not have been easy for us to believe, if we had not known, that the powers of poetry and prose are not more different, than the powers which enable a writer to excel in the two great classes of poetry; and it is probably because Mrs Opie has not succeeded in verses of dignity and reflection, that she has succeeded in the verses of simple feeling. He whose taste has been long habituated to the full majesty of heroic versification, and to all the rhetorical ornaments of figurative poetry, is, by the very circumstance of the pomp to which he has been accustomed, less fitted for the exhibition of a simple thought in numbers as simple; since the humbleness of phraseology and of sound, which he before despised, is now a perfection, which he must studiously elaborate. Such a thought would be to him, what a Scotish or Irish melody is to a bravura singer: In the execution of the one, we should see poetry rather than pathos; as, in the other, we listen to the voice, rather than to the soul. We own, indeed, that many poets have excelled in both species of verse; but many poets have also excelled in prose. We do not say, that the powers necessary to both species are incompatible; we mean only, that, as in the case of the

volume before us, there may be considerable excellence in the one, with the total want of excellence in the other.

We must not be so partial, however, to the degree of excellence which Mrs Opie has shown, as to say that she has yet attained the full command, even of that style of poetry to which her powers should peculiarly attach her. The true artifice of that poetry, which consists in a happy artlessness, she frequently forgets. There are particularly three great faults; her abuse of *reflection*, of *inversion*, and of *personification*; to which, if she will accept advice, in return for pleasure received, we wish especially to direct her attention.

We remember, that, in 'the Father and Daughter,' we frequently regretted the intrusion of the writer of the tale, when we were wholly occupied with the misfortunes of her heroine. Reflections of anticipation are always injurious to the interest excited, as they diminish curiosity; and reflections on the past are superfluous, and offensive to the reader's vanity, if they state what may naturally be inferred from the circumstances of the tale, and call us away too coldly to reason, when the inference is forced. But, above all, reflection is unnatural, when introduced by a sufferer in the midst of distress. Dear thought! Blest thought! Sad thought! &c. are parentheses which we wish to see banished from poetry. Who pauses, in impassioned soliloquy, to determine the classification of his own feelings?

> 'That guilty child, fo long difown'd,
> Can then, bleft thought! no more offend.'

A repentant and dying daughter would not have used the interjection.

In forced *inversion*, Mrs Opie is often a delinquent, and particularly in her separation of the agent and the action; or, to talk technically, of the nominative case and the verb which it influences. In every other species of poetry, this is admissible, and even requisite; but, in the simple expression of present feeling, it is generally misplaced, because it violates the usual associations of our language. 'I to thy rays prefer deep gloom,' strikes us immediately as an artificial construction; and the *mourner* as immediately becomes a mere poet.

Personification is an ornament so tempting, that the abuse of it is the most frequent, and the most fatal of all errors, in poetry of feeling. There are few pieces in the volume before us, which it has not affected. Guilt of this kind is, indeed, often to be found, even in the coldest productions of age; and more indulgence, therefore, must be given to a young and inexperienced writer: but, still, it is indulgence, and not praise, which it must demand. 'The Despairing Wanderer,' which is, upon the whole, of

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bolder execution than Mrs Opie's usual manner, is altogether vitiated by the excess of this imagined ornament. Pale Terror leading the shadowy scene, and Fancy listening to a sailor's knell, and Thunder rending the ear of Night, and rousing the form of pale Affright, are not the images which pass through the mind of mad Despair. Prosopopœia is more suited to the narrator of such a state, than to the soliloquizer, who will think only of the state of real things, though the things themselves may appear in much brighter colours, or much darker shade. Miserable and happy men, not Misery and Happiness, are the companions of such a mind, even in the wildest of its musings.

Having dwelt so long on the general character of the volume, we have little room for particular criticism; and we must therefore add only a few observations.

It has become a fashion, in modern verse, to make use of the word 'ah!' whenever a syllable is wanting. But 'ah' is not an expletive; it is an interjection of distress; and we see no reason that any one should complain, because, with a pleasure which others have not, he enjoys the moon still more in Winter than in Summer.—p. 2.

In 'the Dying Daughter to her Mother,' with several faults of carelessness, there are many passages of great interest. The lines—

> 'And when thou think'st upon the cause,
> That paleness will have charms for thee.' p. 9.

—presents a very affecting thought, in a very pleasing manner. The phrase, 'in thy good time,' in the last verse, is very objectionable, and must certainly have been introduced for the rhyme's sake. Such a cold reservation might have occurred to a hypocrite, who had been accustomed to repeat, without regard, the phraseology of the pulpit; but it is *immediate* protection for her child, which alone can be present to the wish of a dying mother.

The first of the two pieces, entitled 'the Mourner,' has some real feeling, but more quaintness, particularly in the whole passage about the reverend form of Woe. A mourner is too sad for the fine play of a long metaphor. In the following piece, the situation, at the moment of Henry's death, is too minutely described. It is no *very* great proof of love, to be regardless of thunder without, at such a time. But there is the opposite error, in the representation of herself as tossing away her child *with fury*, which supposes absolute frenzy; and Henry's death was not sudden, as his bloom is said to have *marked* him for the grave. The close, however, is more than atonement—

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'When to my heart my child I fold,
She only deepens every sigh;
I think, while I her charms behold,
How she'd have pleased her father's eye.

And while I from her lisping tongue
Soft childhood's artless accents hear,
I think, with vain remembrance wrung,
How she'd have charmed her father's ear.

I think—but O forbear, fond heart!
From vain regrets to duties turn;—
Yes,—I will act a parent's parent's part,—
I'll tear myself from Henry's urn.

In life I still one charm can see,—
One flower adorns that dreary wild,—
That flower for care depends on *me*.—
O precious charge!—'Tis HENRY'S CHILD.' p. 53.

Of 'The Negro Boy's Tale,' from the happiness with which the circumstances of the scene are imagined, much more ought to have been made. His argument on the natural equality of the Negro, and his sarcasms against those who practise not what they preach, are more in the character of the poet, than of the supposed speaker. Even had they been natural, as addressed to any other person, they certainly are not, as addressed to her who had always been his friend.

The song of a Hindustânî girl is interesting, chiefly from the circumstances of the story on which it professes to be founded. It concludes with the following verse—

'Oh! how fast from thee they tear me!
Faster still shall death pursue:
But 'tis well—death will endear me,
And thou'lt mourn THY POOR HINDOO.'

The two last lines are affecting; but nothing can exceed, in unnatural absurdity, the measurement of the comparative velocity of Death.

In the little song, p. 104, Mrs Opie must surely have suffered much from the wretched necessity of a rhyme, before she submitted to the introduction of so formal a word as 'impart' into verses of easy conversation. To *impart*, and to *confess*, are words of very different meaning.

In the 'Stanzas written under Æolus's Harp,' the thought, in the introductory verses, of each woe finding in the varieties of the music its own appropriate plaint, is good; and, if traced out, might have formed an ode worthy of Collins. The stanzas which follow, are merely of the better order of such verses as are usually addressed to Æolian harps.

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'The Orphan Boy's Tale,' is, in several passages, affecting, by its simplicity. After stating, that he had asked his mother why she called him *orphan*, it is happily again introduced—

> 'Ah! lady, I have learn'd too well
> What 'tis to be an orphan boy.'

But the sudden death of his mother after the question, is, like all sudden grief-strokes, narrative or dramatic, founded on observations so rare in real nature, that, when adopted as poetic incidents, they strike us as made for the poem, rather than as deduced from truth.

'Symptoms of love,' is almost a paraphrase on Mrs Barbauld's song, 'Come here, fond youth;' or, rather, both are derived from Sir John Suckling's song, 'Honest lover whosoever.' The *symptoms* are so very sickly, that they correspond more with the idle fanciful effeminacy of poetic love, which has descended, in exaggerated description, from bard to bard, than with the manly tenderness of real passion.

In the song, p. 157, the thought of the last verse is put too much in the cold form of a syllogism.

> 'Love as the soul of life I view:
> Then, if the soul immortal be,
> My love must be immortal too.'

How different from the lines of Florian, which it imitates!

> 'Si l'âme est immortelle,
> L'amour ne l'est-il pas?'

The same reasoning is delicately implied, without the formality of a logical demonstration.

Of the song, p. 163, the first stanza is light and elegant. The second is spoiled, by the affectation of something more. The conceit of tones binding the soul in fetters, is ridiculously quaint; and the eyes of an expert coquette are certainly not the best in which to trace every feeling as it rises.

The 'Ode to Twilight' is in lyrical blank verse, a style so unsuitable to our language, that, instead of the usual ornament which versification gives to thought, the greatest excellence of imagery is necessary to give ornament to the verse. It is unfortunate to write in the measure of Collins, on a subject so similar to his own.

In passing under our review the contents of this interesting miscellany, though the praise which we have given has been the praise of our judgment, as well as of our gratitude, we own, that a little selfishness has been mixed with our censure; as, in correcting the misapplication of Mrs Opie's powers, we looked forward to the enjoyment which they must afford us, whenever they are

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exerted on their proper objects. By her marriage with a celebrated artist, she may be said to have united, in conjugal rivalry, two of the most elegant of arts: and if, as we trust, she will submit to abandon all idle decoration, and to give her whole fancy to simplicity and tenderness, though the pencil of her competitor should even increase in power, 'ut pictura poesis' will be a compliment, not of flattery, but of truth.

ART. XVIII. *Public Characters of* 1801-1802. Richard Philips, St Paul's. 1 vol. 8vo.

THE design of this book appeared to us so extremely reprehensible, and so capable, even in the hands of a blockhead, of giving pain to families and individuals, that we considered it as a fair object of literary police, and had prepared for it a very severe chastisement. Upon the perusal of the book, however, we were entirely disarmed. It appears to be written by some very innocent scribbler, who feels himself under the necessity of dining, and who preserves, throughout the whole of the work, that degree of good humour, which the terror of indictment by our Lord the King, is so well calculated to inspire. It is of some importance, too, that grown-up country gentlemen should be habituated to read printed books; and such may read a story book about their living friends, who would read nothing else.

We suppose the booksellers have authors at two different prices. Those who do write grammatically, and those who do not; and that they have not thought fit to put any of their best hands upon this work. Whether or not there may be any improvement on this point in the next volume, we request the biographer will at least give us some means of ascertaining when he is comical, and when serious. In the life of Dr Rennell, we find this passage:

'Dr Rennell might well look forward to the higheſt dignities in the Eſtabliſhment; but, if our information be right, and we have no reaſon to queſtion it, this is what he by no means either expects or courts. There is a primitive ſimplicity in this excellent man, which much reſembles that of the firſt prelates of the Chriſtian church, who were with great difficulty prevailed upon to undertake the epiſcopal office.'

ART. XIX. *Essai sur L'Art de rendre les Revolutions utiles.* Par J. E. Bonnet. 2 tom. 8vo. Paris.

FROM the title of this book, we expected nothing but crude and empirical absurdity; and, from the report of its having been published under the auspices of Bonaparte, we certainly looked

for a little republican adulation, and some few suggestions as to the blessings of a military government. Upon the whole, however, we have been agreeably disappointed. The work has evidently been composed with much pains and deliberation. It is written with great candour and impartiality, and contains an animated and succinct account of most of the memorable events that distinguish the French Revolution. The theory and observations, indeed, are for the most part rather dull and insignificant; but they are presented to the reader with a very judicious parsimony; and the subject is so little obtruded on his notice, that it is fortunately very possible to go over the whole work, without ever recollecting that it is an essay on the art of making revolutions useful.

The arrangement of the book is almost as unfortunate as its title. The author has been pleased to distribute it into five sections, of which the four last might very conveniently be spared; and expects his readers to interest themselves in the organization of the Pope's dominions, after having engaged them with the downfal of Louis, and the elevation of Bonaparte. The first section begins with a few trite aphorisms about sovereigns, and old governments, and secretaries of state; and then proceeds to illustrate these *principles* (as they are called) by a rapid and lively sketch of that train of events that brought the revolution in France to a consummation. This review, which is, in reality, the only interesting part of the performance, extends to the middle of the second volume, and makes way for a practical illustration of the preceding doctrines, by the recent disorders and present situation of Rome. This application of revolutionary science, which occupies the remainder of the work, appears to us so strange and injudicious, that we had some difficulty in persuading ourselves that the author had not some concealed meaning, or secret allusion to a more interesting object. What speculator in his senses, indeed, would think of deciding on the merits of any measure of policy, by its effects on a government so anomalous as that of Rome? It has no trade, no army, no navy, no hereditary aristocracy. The allegiance of its subjects depends upon superstition. The sovereign rules in right of St Peter; and all the governors, and most of the governed, are ecclesiastics. The prince is elective; and neither he nor his electors can have any lawful children, or any connexions by affinity. It maintains the rights of an inquisition, and holds out a perpetual encouragement to celibacy and beggary. The idiosyncrasy of such a constitution certainly affords no room for analogical inference, as to any other European government; and to reason from its destiny, as to the utility of revolutions and counter-revolutions, is like judging of the qualities of a drug, by its operation on a para-

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lytic, or an idiot. It is a fact, too, that must affect the analogical argument not a little, that Rome has not really experienced either a revolution or a counter-revolution. It has been subjugated and evacuated by an external enemy; but has never undergone that internal fermentation, from which alone revolutionary principles can arise. We leave the example of Rome, therefore, for those who can more clearly perceive the possibility of its application.

'The art of making revolutions useful,' consists, according to M. Bonnet, in a few very simple observances. We are to wait, it appears, till the mischievous and turbulent have pretty nearly exterminated each other; and the people are satiated with innovation, and quieted by terror;—then we are to wrest the power from the hands of declining factions, to address ourselves to old prejudices, and to conduct every thing with the mildest, gentlest, and steadiest wisdom. We are to restore whatever has been improperly taken away; but, at the same time, to take advantage of the general subversion, to get rid of ancient grievances, and introduce new improvements. 'Who' says M. Bonnet, 'would rebuild a Gothic church by the side of the Pantheon?' It will readily be admitted, that there is no great profundity in these remarks; and that M. Bonnet's maxims are at least as simple as they are salutary.

His recipe for *preventing* revolutions, seems to indicate a bolder practice, however, than his system of cure. It is his leading argument upon this subject, that revolutions have always been occasioned, in monarchical governments, by the sovereign's departure from the prerogatives of his office. The philosophy of modern times has infected the throne itself. Kings tacitly recognize the sovereignty of the people; they subject their councils to their censure; they publish *des comptes rendues;* they forget that their authority depends, in a great measure, upon its bold and uninterrupted exercise; they expose all the reasons and motives of their conduct; they are contented with having the virtues, and the wisdom of their subjects. There is some sagacity, unquestionably, in these observations; but they are evidently adapted to an absolute monarchy, and have but little application to a free constitution. The person of the Sovereign should be inviolable; but where his ministers are responsible, though it may sometimes be wise to act without waiting for the public approbation, the account must be rendered at the long-run; and discontents will be aggravated, instead of being repressed, by any attempts to withhold it. M. Bonnet's maxims, we apprehend, will never do in England; but in his own country, they are probably very judicious; and will serve equally well for its old Monarch, or its new Consul.

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We cannot enter into the details of M. Bonnet's *coup d'œil sur la revolution Française;* not even undertake to present our readers with an analysis of its contents. The greater part of the facts, of course, are very generally known; though new lights are occasionally thrown upon some of them, that might be important, if the author had specified his authorities: and throughout the whole, we meet with a sagacity of observation, that is not to be discovered in the theoretical parts of this production.

He does ample justice to the virtues of Louis XVI, and seems to have formed a pretty correct estimate of his character. He was ruined, he says, by his philosophy, and by an imprudent attempt to reconcile, with the functions of monarchy, some speculative maxims, as to the sovereignty of the people. He was undecisive, also, and inexperienced; and lost the affection of his aristocratic counsellors, without gaining the confidence of the popular party.

'Louis XVI.,' says M. Bonnet, 'was in reality extremely well informed; but conducted himself so unskilfully, that he was generally considered as both ignorant and stupid. Though constitutionally timid, he was by no means a coward; yet his courage partook more of the resignation of a priest, than the bravery of a King; and his death, accordingly, was like that of a holy martyr.'

These defects in the royal character, however, are as far from obscuring the virtues of his heart and disposition, in the estimation of M. Bonnet, as they are from alleviating, in his eyes, the guilt of his murderers.

'The blow,' says he, 'which should be reserved for the enormities of incorrigible tyranny, was brought down upon him, by the goodness of his disposition, by the love he bore to his people, and the detestation he always expressed for profligacy. He was accused of tyranny, precisely because he possessed that excessive lenity of character, that is frequently a defect in a Sovereign, as it so far obliterates the recollection of necessary severities, that faction is enabled to misrepresent them as proofs of unqualified despotism.'

When we combine this warm vindication of the late monarch, with the praise that is lavished throughout the whole work on Bonaparte, and especially with the passage, where M. Bonnet says, that 'the Consul meets with no opposition, except from those who foolishly expect *that every thing can be re-established at once,*' we are naturally tempted to imagine, that he considers the present system of government as a step to the restoration of the Bourbons. It turns out, however, that this is by no means the case. M. Bonnet has dedicated a whole chapter to the discussion of the chances for such a restoration; and concludes, after a

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very cool investigation, that they are now infinitely more desperate than ever. Since the establishment of the republic, a generation has grown up, he says, 'in whose heads the idea of royalty is an *exotic;*' and almost all who lead the armies, or direct the councils of republican France, are interested to resist a restoration that would deprive them of distinction and power. The most zealous partizans of the throne were crushed under its ruins; and the ranks of the noblesse have been thinned in the army of Condé, at Quiberon, and by the various inclemencies of a twelve years exile. The present pretender, too, he observes, was not popular in France; and as he never lived in it with the prospect of reigning, it does not so readily occur, that he should be recalled to reign.

On the other hand, M. Bonnet is most decidedly of opinion, that the executive power should be declared *hereditary* in the family of the First Consul, with a supplementary provision, in case of his having no children. This is a measure, he says, of *absolute necessity* for the concentration of the forces of government, and one which will not only put a stop to hostility, but even to discontent. Of Bonaparte himself, he says, 'that those who know him, must all concur in putting up the most ardent prayers for the undeterminate prolongation of his days,' and 'that fortune has favoured him, throughout, in a manner so remarkable, that it would be flying in the face of Providence, to deny that he was destined by nature for the place he now fills.' This piety and optimism, we verily believe, is perfectly orthodox at the Thuilleries, but will probably be received with some scruples in this country.

Among the passages, in which M. Bonnet pretends to throw new lights on the history of the revolution, one of the most interesting to an English reader, is that in which he makes mention of a project of Danton for saving the life of the King, by the assistance of this country, and of the circumstances that occasioned its miscarriage. We insert the passage at length.

'Soon after the imprisonment of the King, Danton, either wearied of the service of Robespierre, or disgusted with his barbarity, came to the resolution of sacrificing his own popularity, and saving the life of the King, upon certain conditions.

'With this view, he sent a confidential emissary into England, with propositions for the King's deliverance; but they were not listened to. His agent then contrived to communicate his instructions, in a more indirect manner, to a certain French nobleman, whom the King had always considered, with justice, as one of those who were most sincerely attached to him. Those who were to save the king, would, of course, forfeit all influence in France, and be obliged to leave the country. As the price of this double sacrifice, Danton proposed, that a sum of money sufficient to secure the necessary votes, should be deposited in the hands

of a banker in London, payable to the persons whom he should specify, under this express condition, that no part of it should be exigible till the King was in safety in a neutral territory.

'The nobleman to whom this plan was communicated, was bound in honour to give it his countenance and support; and, accordingly, corresponded with several of his friends, in the view of recommending it to the belligerent powers. All, however, was in vain. The death of the King entered into the plans of invasion. One party wished the French to cover themselves with the opprobrium of a regicide and judiciary murder; another pretended that Louis XVI. was himself a democrat, and that his preservation would but injure the cause of royalty: Even among the emigrants, there were some who received the news of his execution as the harbinger of their own triumph!

'The death of Louis XVI. was undoubtedly more of a national crime than that of Charles I. Has France then surpassed England in barbarity? She has cause, indeed, to blush at this memorable act of injustice; but the world ought, at the same time, to know, that the vindictive spirit of Britain, her jealousy, and her envy, concurred in producing it. England was guilty of the King's death, because she deliberately chose to let him perish—because she might have saved him, and did not. Thus, all the wickedness of France was unequal to the guilt of such a murder, without the cooperation of Britain.'

We certainly put no great faith in this anecdote; but we could wish to see it disavowed, as well as discredited, in this country; and have inserted it in that expectation. At the same time, it is amusing to observe the glaring partiality with which M. Bonnet attempts to apologize for his countrymen at the expense of their neighbours. England, it seems, is guilty of the murder of Louis XVI, because she did not bribe his murderers to let him escape. This is a species of constructive murder, we will acknowledge, of which we never heard before; and Austria, Spain, and Russia, are just as guilty of it as England. Nay, according to the same rule, all those countries, and France herself, were accessory to the death of Charles the First, since their united treasures might probably have made some impression upon the guards of the Royal prison, if not upon the upright members of the High Court of Justice itself. If England was guilty of the death of the King, she was equally guilty of all the murders that signalized the dominion of the terrorists, since a much smaller sum could probably have delivered their victims from the guillotine, and enlightened the minds of their revolutionary judges with a proper conviction of their innocence. Neither Robespierre, nor Tinville, however, seem to have thought of pleading this in their vindication.

M. Bonnet's book, upon the whole, does not seem very likely to attract the same attention, in this country, which we understand it to have obtained in France. As a theory, or speculative

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essay, its pretensions to celebrity are certainly extremely slender: As an historical memoir, it has some value, and might have a chance to be remembered for a year or two, if the reader had any means of appreciating the authenticity of what is original in its statements.

ART. XX. *A Thanksgiving for Plenty, and Warning against Avarice.* A Sermon. By the Reverend Robert Nares, Archdeacon of Stafford, and Canon Residentiary of Litchfield. London: Printed for the Author, and sold by Rivingtons, St Paul's Church-yard. 8vo. 24 pages. 1801.

FOR the swarm of ephemeral sermons which issue from the press, we are principally indebted to the vanity of popular preachers, who are puffed up, by female praises, into a belief, that what may be delivered, with great propriety, in a chapel full of visitors and friends, is fit for the deliberate attention of the public, who cannot be influenced by the decency of a clergyman's private life, flattered by the sedulous politeness of his manners, or misled by the fallacious circumstances of voice and action. A clergyman cannot be always considered as reprehensible for preaching an indifferent sermon; because, to the active piety, and correct life, which the profession requires, many an excellent man may not unite talents for that species of composition: But every man who prints, imagines he gives to the world something which they had not before, either in matter or style; that he has brought forth new truths, or adorned old ones; and when, in lieu of novelty and ornament, we can discover nothing but trite imbecility, the law must take its course, and the delinquent suffer that mortification from which vanity can rarely be expected to escape, when it chooses dullness for the minister of its gratifications.

The learned author, after observing, that a large army praying, would be a much finer spectacle than a large army fighting, and after entertaining us with the old anecdote of Xerxes, and the flood of tears, proceeds to express his sentiments on the late scarcity, and the present abundance: then, stating the manner in which the Jews were governed by the immediate interference of God, and informing us, that other people expect not, nor are taught to look for, miraculous interference, to punish or reward them, he proceeds to talk of the visitation of Providence, for the purposes of trial, warning, and correction, as if it were a truth of which he had never doubted.

Still, however, he contends, though the Deity does interfere, it would be presumptuous and impious to pronounce the purposes

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for which he interferes; and then adds, that it has pleased God, within these few years, to give us a most awful lesson of the vanity of agriculture and importation without piety, and that he has proved this to the conviction of every thinking mind.

'Though he interpose not (says Mr Nares) by positive miracle, he influences by means unknown to all but himself, and directs the winds, the rain, and glorious beams of heaven, to execute his judgements, or fulfil his merciful designs.'—Now, either the wind, the rain, and the beams, are here represented to act as they do in the ordinary course of nature, or they are not: If they are, how can their operations be considered as a judgement on sins? and if they are not, what are their extraordinary operations, but positive miracles? So that the Archdeacon, after denying that any body knows *when*, *how*, and *why* the Creator works a miracle, proceeds to specify the *time*, *instrument*, and *object* of a miraculous scarcity; and then, assuring us that the elements were employed to execute the judgements of Providence, denies that this is any proof of a positive miracle.

Having given us this specimen of his talents for theological metaphysics, Mr Nares commences his attack upon the farmers; accuses them of cruelty and avarice; raises the old cry of monopoly; and expresses some doubts, in a note, whether the better way would not be, to subject their granaries to the controul of an exciseman; and to levy heavy penalties upon those, in whose possession corn, beyond a certain quantity to be fixed by law, should be found.—This style of reasoning is pardonable enough in those who argue from the belly, rather than the brains; but in a well fed, and well educated clergyman, who has never been disturbed, by hunger, from the free exercise of cultivated talents, it merits the severest reprehension. The farmer has it not in his power to raise the price of corn; he never has fixed, and never can fix it. He is unquestionably justified in receiving any price he can obtain; for it happens, very beautifully, that the effect of his efforts to better his fortune, is as beneficial to the public, as if their motive had not been selfish. The poor are not to be supported, in time of famine, by abatement of price on the part of the farmer, but by the subscription of residentiary canons, archdeacons, and all men rich in public or private property; and to these subscriptions, the farmer should contribute according to the amount of his fortune. To insist that he should take a less price, when he can obtain a greater, is to insist upon laying on that order of men, the whole burden of supporting the poor; a convenient system enough, in the eyes of a rich ecclesiastic; and objectionable only, because it is impracticable, pernicious, and unjust.

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The question of the corn trade, has divided society into two parts—those who have any talents for reasoning, and those who have not. We owe an apology to our readers, for taking any notice of errors that have been so frequently, and so unanswerably exposed; but, when they are echoed from the bench and the pulpit, the dignity of the teacher may perhaps communicate some degree of importance to the silliest and most extravagant doctrines.

No reasoning can be more radically erroneous, than that upon which the whole of Mr Nares's sermon is founded. The most benevolent, the most christian, and the most profitable conduct the farmer can pursue, is, to sell his commodities for the highest price he can possibly obtain. This advice, we think, is not in any great danger of being rejected: we wish we were equally sure of success, in counselling the Reverend Mr Nares to attend, in future, to practical, rather than theoretical questions about provisions. He may be a very hospitable archdeacon; but nothing short of a *positive miracle* can make him an acute reasoner.

Art. XXI. *The Journal of Frederick Horneman's Travels*, from Cairo to Mourzouk, the capital of the Kingdom of Fezzan, in Africa, in the years 1797–8. London. Nichols. 1802.

It is known to our readers, that, in the year 1788, several public-spirited individuals formed themselves into an Association for the purpose of promoting discoveries in the interior of Africa. From various unfortunate accidents, and partly, no doubt, from deficiency of funds, little progress was for some time made in the pursuit of this very interesting object. But, at the end of the year 1797, Mr Park returned from exploring the course of the Niger, and the territories situated in its vicinity; and, although he failed in his attempts to reach the great towns which lye on the banks of that river, the information afforded by his narrative is, without doubt, extremely important.

The volume now before us, contains an account of the success which has attended the commencement of another expedition, undertaken under the Society's patronage. Frederick Horneman, a native of Germany, united that strength of constitution and enterprizing spirit, which voyages of discovery so eminently require. At the Society's expense, he received the rudiments of Oriental literature in the University of Gottingen. In 1797, he proceeded to Egypt, through France; where he met with every assistance from that liberal and enlightened spirit which has always directed the scientific circles of Paris. After a residence of near twelve months at Cairo, during which he became ac-

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quainted with the language, and, in some degree, habituated to the manners of the Arabs, he was enabled, by the polite attention of Bonaparte, (who was at that time pillaging Egypt, under the treble disguise of a mussulman, a man of science, and a friend of liberty), to join the caravan of merchants and pilgrims on their return, from the East, to the inland kingdoms of Africa. Previous to his departure, he was so fortunate as to engage in his service, Joseph Frendenburg, a countryman of his own, who had, twelve years before, been forced to embrace the Mahometan faith, and had acquired, during that period, from intercourse with the natives, and various journeys to Mecca, a complete knowledge of the language, religion, and customs of the mussulmans in those parts of the East. Assuming the character of a Mahometan merchant, from the northern provinces of the Turkish empire, and accompanied by Frendenburg as his interpreter, Mr Horneman proceeded with the caravan, in a westerly direction, across the great desart which separates Egypt from the rest of Africa; and, after a journey of considerable fatigue, arrived at the Oasis of Siwah; one of those fertile spots, which, situated in the midst of pathless sands, and only approached by the 'ship of the desart,' has presented to the imagination of the Orientals, the resemblance of islands in the ocean. Siwah is a small independent state, nominally in the kingdom of Fezzan, but governed by a number of sheiks, whose contentions are productive of frequent tumult and bloodshed. Dates form the principal part of its produce, and are at once the chief article of exchange with the caravan, and the measure by which all value is regulated in the country: yet money is not unknown among the Siwahans; for we are informed, that 'a large garden is valued at 400 to 600 real-patuacks, or imperial dollars.' p. 15. Something of the same kind is related by Bruce, iv. 406, in his account of Atbara; where, it seems, coarse cloths, of a particular size, manufactured in Zeawa, pass current, although metal coins are also in use.

In Siwah, our traveller did not fail to visit the ruins discovered by Browne, and supposed by Major Rennel to be the remains of the celebrated temple of Jupiter Ammon. But he was prevented from examining this interesting spot, by the jealousy of the natives, who began to suspect that he was an infidel, as soon as they perceived him gratifying his curiosity. Accordingly, his account of the ruins is by no means so accurate or full, as that which has been given by the original discoverer.

After resting in this fruitful territory for some days, the caravan again entered the desart, and proceeded towards Fezzan. But it had not travelled far, when the Siwahans overtook it, for the

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purpose of plundering the merchants, under pretence of assisting them against the Bedoüin Arabs. When this device failed, they accused the merchants of travelling with infidels; and demanded that Mr Horneman and his interpreter should be instantly seized. The latter, whose imprudence had occasioned these suspicions, gave himself up for lost; but Mr Horneman's presence of mind saved them both. He addressed the Siwahans with firmness; upbraided them for their unworthy conduct; and, by reading the Koran, removed all doubts of his being a true mussulman. Unfortunately, during the alarm which this affair occasioned, Frendenburg had buried all the papers in a neighbouring bog, whence they could not afterwards be recovered.

Our travellers now proceeded to Angila; where they remained some time. Their numbers being increased by the merchants of this district, they pursued their journey; and, after suffering extreme fatigue in crossing the Black Harutch, a mountainous tract, known to the ancients by the name of Mons Ater, they reached the territory of Fezzan, passed through some of the smaller towns, and arrived at Mourzouk, the capital, on the 17th of November.

The kingdom of Fezzan, a territory of 300 miles in length, and 200 in breadth, exclusive of the desarts, is thinly peopled by about 70,000 inhabitants, of a short stature, deep brown complexion, and regular features; professing, without exception, the Mahometan religion; and governed by a Sultan, who pays tribute to the Bashaw of Tripoli, but rules in his own dominions with unlimited power. In theory, indeed, we might be apt to imagine that some check is provided to his despotic authority; for the office of Cadi, or head of the law and the church, has, since the commencement of the present race of Sultans, been hereditary in one family; and that minister possesses very great influence with the people. But this anomaly in a government so tyrannical, is immediately explained; for the Sultan has the power of naming the member of the family who shall succeed to the office at each vacancy: And so imperfectly are the limits of the Cadi's power defined, that all the princes of the blood claim the right even of criminal jurisdiction.

The royal revenue arises from the domains of the crown, from a sort of land-tax, and from the arbitrary requisitions which the Sultan continually imposes. Lands are assigned for the support of the princes; but they, too, levy occasional contributions on the people, by armed bodies of their slaves.

The succession to the throne has been vested in the eldest branch of the royal family, apparently in order to avoid the dangers of a minority: but, as might easily be expected, the consequence of this arrangement is, an inevitable appeal to the

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sword, when the Sultan leaves children of sufficient age to govern.

The great officers of state, who are freeborn, have no influence whatever. Here, as in all despotic countries where the prince does not rule by deputy, slavery alone disarms his jealousy; and his confidence is given to the Mamelukes of the court. Our readers will recollect, that in Sennaar a similar preference is constantly bestowed on slaves; insomuch, that Mr Bruce has been led into the strange notion, that slavery is there a situation of envied pre-eminence, and a mark of superior rank. The French travellers in Persia have fallen into a similar mistake; and one of them has not scrupled to assert, that the *title* of Koulam Shah, or royal slave, is equivalent to that of Duke or Marquis in France.

The climate of Fezzan is no less unfavourable to corporeal, than its government is inimical to mental exertion. At no season do the natives enjoy a temperate air. In Summer, the heat is intolerable, even to Africans; and an inhabitant of the North finds the cold of Winter severe.

The indolence and listless inactivity produced by these causes, prevent the soil from receiving that cultivation of which it is susceptible. Dates alone are produced in abundance; grain is imported from the North; and animal food is so scarce, that the description of a wealthy man at Mourzouk is, 'one who eats bread and meat every day.' A scanty subsistence of dates and farinaceous pap, seasoned but rarely with a little rancid oil or fat, contributes to increase the natural languor and debility of this people.

'Even in those parts (says Mr Horneman) where the race may be supposed to be ameliorated by a mixture with the Arabs, there is no energy of character, no industry. Arts and manufactures will of course supply but a poor and scanty chapter, exhibiting few articles, and no ingenuity. Throughout Mourzouk, I could not find one single skilful artificer in any trade or work; indeed, there are no other tradesmen but shoemakers and smiths. The latter work every metal without distinction; and the same man who forges shoes for the Sultan's horse, makes rings for his princesses. The women, indeed, fabricate coarse woollen cloths, called *abbes;* but for the goodness or value of their manufacture, the reader may form his own estimate, when told that the weaver's shuttle is unknown, and that the woof is inserted into the warp thread by thread, and the whole worked solely by the hand.' p. 70.

It may easily be imagined, that a country of this description furnished but few materials for an interesting narrative. Indeed, the only circumstance from which Fezzan derives any importance, is its situation in the centre of the caravan tracks. It thus

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becomes a market where merchants meet, in their passage to different quarters of Africa, and lay in a stock of water and dates, almost the only native commodities of the country. The articles which these caravans bring from the interior, are chiefly slaves, feathers, and gold dust. In return for which, they carry back fire-arms, trinkets, and other goods of European workmanship; together with the more costly productions and manufactures of the East.

Such are the leading features of the general sketch which Mr Horneman has given us of this interesting country. Of Mourzouk, the capital, it is rather singular that he gives no description, although he resided there six months. During this time, he and his interpreter Frendenburg were attacked with the country fever, which proved fatal to the latter. Mr Horneman, after his recovery, went to Tripoli; from whence he transmitted his journal; but unfortunately he has neglected to give any narrative of the journey from Mourzouk to the coast, although this tract of country is as little known as that between Cairo and Fezzan, and can scarcely be less interesting. After remaining some time at Tripoli, he returned to Mourzouk; from whence he transmitted various notices respecting the interior of Africa, derived from the information of different natives and travellers with whom he conversed. In his last letter, dated April 1800, he informs the Society, that he is in perfect health, and on the eve of departing with the caravan for Bournu, where he intends to join the great caravan for Cashna; wisely proposing to avoid the manifold dangers that attend a protracted residence in one place.

Besides the journal of Mr Horneman, and his other communications, the volume now before us contains prefatory matter and an appendix, occupying nearly double the space allotted to the tract which forms the occasion of the publication.

It is not very easy to perceive the utility of a long introduction from the pen of Sir William Young, the secretary and editor; as the *preface* contains every thing that is necessary to be detailed respecting the present publication. This 'Introductory Essay' occupies fifteen pages of laboured and pompous panegyric upon the institution; in the course of which, the author recapitulates the services it has rendered to science; and views, with great complacency, the advantages likely to result from its labours.

In the style of a declamation of this sort, we naturally look for qualities which may be dispensed with in more substantial productions. As it is evidently unnecessary, it should at least have been written with elegance. But the first thing that strikes us, in Sir William Young's essay, is a most oppressive stiffness of style, a

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perpetual affectation of depth, and ludicrous attempt at abstraction; which seems (according to the Baronet's opinion) to consist in a careful suppression of the articles, and a constant substitution of the singular for the plural number. So accurately is this rule observed, that we should have supposed the author to be desirous only of attaining mercantile conciseness in his composition, if the intense obscurity of passages like the following had not convinced us, that he considers the method just mentioned as a simple receipt for philosophical writing.

'Of the further progress of this accomplished traveller, the editor forbears to intimate design or suggestion. The season of mere expectation and conjecture is gone by. It were idle, indeed, at this period of actual discovery, to hazard surmise for future correction on experiment.' p. 13.

With regard to the matter of this performance, upon farther reflection, it occurs to us, that we have rather been too hasty in describing it as an useless eulogium. Possibly it may contain a great deal more than we were aware of. In the following apothegm, for instance, much valuable truth may be concealed; and we lament our inability to obtain a glimpse of it.

'Knowledge actually acquired, demands, in the future display, merely accuracy and precision, as the guides to further success.' p. 14.

It is true, we cannot imagine by what rule of proportion the successful journey of one adventurer is made to discipline another setting out in a different track, and to render the object of his expedition definite and attainable. Yet the Society appears to be possessed of some such method of computation, if we rightly understand the following passage.

'The Society is confirmed in its purpose, and assured of its objects, and of the means of attainment. Its travellers will not, in future, rush on with zealous, but unadvised curiosity, or hesitate in the dark, and on unfounded apprehensions; but, disciplined and educated, proceed, with a spirit corrected and confirmed by knowledge and precaution, towards certain purposes and ends.' p. 12.

And from another passage we learn, that Major Rennell is an adept in this occult science: for he 'hath corrected the map of Africa, with a learning and sagacity which *hath converted conjecture into knowledge*; and, on experience of those who have explored parts of that great continent, given confidence to each future traveller who may visit its remotest regions.'

The Introduction, after a notice of the expense attending the Society's inquiries, concludes with that species of solicitation, which consists in a dignified refusal to solicit.

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'The Society cannot condescend to solicitation; nor is it necessary. It will suffice that, emboldened by success, they suggest to their countrymen, that, under proper patronage, and with the means of extending their researches, *the conclusion will be of advantage to Great Britain, to Africa, and to the world.*' p. 15.

While the Society, instead of leaving its deeds to speak for themselves, continues to sound forth its own praises in studied eulogiums, we must be excused for stopping to examine, a little more nearly, those achievements, to the magnitude of which our attention is thus forcibly turned.

The Secretary is extremely anxious to represent the whole of the Society's proceedings as regular and systematic. All its operations are, according to him, parts of a combined train; and the successful journeys of its agents must be ascribed to the prophetic wisdom of the instructions with which they were furnished. Now, we very much doubt, if any further praise can be allowed to the Association, than that of finding out proper emissaries, and paying their expenses. Nothing can be clearer, than that the present expedition has owed its success entirely to Mr Horneman. We are indeed told, that after Mr Park had designated, what Sir William is pleased to call the 'route of country and of men;' after he had given information of 'the *viaticum* of character and accomplishments necessary to insure the success of future travellers; pointed out the road to districts and cities of greatest interest, and shown the means of securing entrance and hospitable reception:' the Society 'availed itself of this intelligence, and despatched Mr Horneman, who gave the lesson full effect.' But, unhappily, a very obvious anachronism deprives this fine combination of all pretensions to reality; for Mr Park did not return till the very end of December 1797; and Mr Horneman, who had been engaged in the service of the Association early in 1796, left London in July 1797: so that, on Mr Park's arrival, an additional *viaticum* of character and accomplishments must have been despatched after him. But, in fact, there is no reason whatever to believe, that the success of Mr Park's expedition had the slightest connexion with Mr Horneman's, or that the latter gentleman was, in the smallest degree, indebted to the Society's instructions for the progress which he made. His letter of August 31, 1798, contains a full statement of the plan which he had formed, with the reasons which had induced him to adopt it. His arrangements were, indeed, dictated by the situation in which the arrival of the French had placed all Franks in that part of the world. They were influenced by the departure of a caravan for the very regions which he had received general orders to explore. They were recommended, more particular-

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ly, by the recent failure of Mr Browne, who had travelled alone, and undisguised.

But, to whomsoever belongs the merit of the success which has hitherto accompanied Mr Horneman, we can scarcely allow, that his discoveries have been so important, as to justify the vaunting style of the Secretary; or that he has hitherto done more, than give a very fair promise of succeeding in the subsequent part of his expedition. Neither are we extremely sanguine in our expectations of the commercial advantages that may result from the part of his labours which is already terminated. It is difficult to see, in what manner he has 'explored a road, which mercantile adventure will and must enter.' The course of the caravans has been known for ages. Mr Horneman has discovered no new productions, which may excite the speculations of traders; nor has he discovered any easier track, by which the interior of Africa may be approached. The commodities which are exchanged in Fezzan, are also brought to Cairo and Tripoli, where European merchants may obtain them upon more advantageous terms than at Mourzouk. Long journies across the desarts, are little adapted to the constitution and habits of Europeans. But the natives of Africa are inured to the climate, and accustomed, by a life of abstinence and hardships, to the various difficulties and privations which attend such expeditions. Among them, too, the business of the caravan has, for ages, assumed a regular shape: it forms a separate profession, in which particular tribes almost exclusively engage. Thus, the trade to Cairo is in the hands of the Angilans; that to Tripoli is carried on by the Lochna; while the Tibbo and Tuarick have engrossed the commerce of the countries to the south of Fezzan. Nay, so regularly is this system established, that Mr Horneman has pointed out the effects of the caravan life, upon the character of those who are engaged in it; and who, from their earliest years, are trained to its artifices and hardships. It is manifest, therefore, that our merchants would make but an unprofiable exchange, were they to quit their present stations, in order to secure 'a priority of factories, and establishments of trade;' or to supplant those tribes, who now have the carrying trade of the interior in their hands. But, admitting that such an object were desireable, neither the discoveries of Mr Park, nor those of Mr Horneman, have done more than show the various insurmountable obstacles to its attainment. Ages of gradual improvement in arts and civilization must elapse, before any abatement can be expected, of that deadly hatred which, all over Africa, appears to inspire the followers of Mahomet, against every thing connected with Christianity. Nor can Europeans hope to see any rapid improvement in the arts of peace, among nations who are

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engaged in perpetual warfare, by the demands of the slave market. The Secretary of the Association, when he boasts of the benefits which its labours are to confer upon Africa, would do well to consider, how unavailing are his efforts, in this capacity, to promote the civilization of those vast regions, while his zeal, in another place, is devoted to perpetuate their barbarism.

The Appendix is composed of four pieces. The first is, 'A note on Mr Horneman's description of Siwah;' in which Sir William Young points out an error of the traveller, in overrating the dimensions of the Oasis; and endeavours, by a variety of quotations from ancient authors, to show that new evidence has been produced by Mr Horneman's Journal, in support of the opinion, that the ruins at Siwah are those of the temple of Ammon. After all, we think it abundantly clear, that Mr Browne's discoveries furnish the only substantial demonstration of this point. He examined the spot with much greater accuracy than Mr Horneman had an opportunity of doing; and we are indebted to him for three observations, most decisive of the question, but omitted by Mr Horneman, that the proportions of the building are those of the Egyptian temples; that the sculpture contains figures of Isis and Anubis; and that, in the immediate vicinity of the ruins, there flows a fountain alternately hot and cold: (Browne's Travels, p. 24. & 28.) The ancient authorities are fully stated by Major Rennell, in the twentieth section of his Geography of Herodotus. But, as a specimen of the additional light which Sir William Young throws upon this subject, we beg leave to mention the following fine-spun inference. Mr Horneman observed, that the earth, in several places of the area, has been dug up in search of treasure: 'Hence,' says Sir William, 'it may be inferred, that there were formerly *other buildings* within the enclosure.' Then, it appears that, in Ammon, there were temples of Juno and Mercury, as well as of Jupiter, and sometimes the ancients enclosed several temples with one wall—therefore, the temples of Jupiter, Juno, and Mercury, were within the same enclosure—therefore, the broken ground at Siwah is the site of the two last temples—therefore, the ruins which remain are those of Jupiter Ammon. The learned Baronet here supposes that these are remains of buildings, because he supposes that such buildings may once have existed. Such reasoning is too slender, even to satisfy an antiquary.

Having introduced Lucan's description of the temple of Ammon, 'not (he observes) as authority, but for the purpose of inference,' Sir William thinks proper to conclude his commentary, with a translation of Cato's speech to those who advised him to consult the oracle. We have had occasion to remark,

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how different our author's prose is from that in common use. The mere absence of prose, however, does not constitute poetry; and the obscurity in which he delights, is not always a mark of inspiration. So gratuitous a specimen of his talent for writing verses, could only have been justified by their containing something like poetry. Instead of this, we do not meet with either sense or grammar; and, to aggravate the offence, our commentator has chosen, in the wantonness of his inspired moments, to mangle one of the finest parts of the Pharsalia. Not to disgust our readers with a view of all the havock he has made, we shall only give them a glimpse, in the following passage—

> —— ' Me non oracula certum,
> Sed mors certa facit '—

—thus done into bad English by Sir William:

> ' No oracle confirms or moves *my* thoughts—
> Makes nought more sure—I know I am to die;
> And this doth make me sure—of how to live. ' p. 95.

The second article of the Appendix, contains Mr Horneman's notices of African geography, derived from inquiries among the natives of the interior, whom he met with during his residence at Mourzouk; and the third article is Major Rennell's construction of the geography of Mr Horneman's route, with the alterations which his remarks, and those of Mr Browne, have suggested in the map of North Africa. This memoir is drawn up with that patient industry, and unwearied attention to minute circumstances, which must be the guide of the geographer, where his materials are scanty, and rarely consist of actual measurements or observations. It is chiefly from Mr Browne's travels that our author has been enabled to draw his corrections of African geography. Mr Horneman has hitherto furnished little new matter; and, of that little, the greater part seems very questionable. Indeed, Major Rennell himself utterly rejects the idea again brought forward by Horneman, from the concurring testimony of all the travellers with whom he conversed, that the Niger joins the Nile. The position of Mourzouk appears to be the only material variation suggested by Horneman, and admitted by Major Rennell; and we venture, with great deference, to submit, that the evidence on which this rests is not decisive. It seems to be admitted by Major Rennell, that the observation must have been erroneous, by which Mr Horneman determined the latitude of Mourzouk, two degrees to the south of its position, according to all other authorities and computations; and Major Rennell computes, from the Journal, that

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this city is four miles farther from Cairo, than by the accounts of Browne and Ledyard; and twenty-five miles nearer to Cairo, than by the bearings from Mesurata. Our readers will judge, what reliance ought to be placed on the information afforded by Mr Horneman's journal, in a question of such minute variations, when they are aware of the steps which lead Major Rennell to his conclusion. The loss of Mr Horneman's papers, down to the third day after his departure from Siwah, renders the computation of the distance of Siwah, by his journal, so inaccurate, that Major Rennell fixes the situation of this town entirely from Mr Browne's observations. In determining the distance of Angila from Siwah, Major Rennell takes the medium between his computations founded on Mr Horneman's journal, and the distance given by Edrisi: yet it is observed, that the authorities collected by Mr Beaufoy, make this distance greater than Edrisi does; and it should be remembered that Mr Horneman's account of the first twenty-three hours of his journey from Siwah must have been kept from memory, as his papers were not lost until he had travelled nearly three days from Siwah. Lastly, Mr Horneman does not give, in hours, the whole time spent in travelling between Angila and Mourzouk; he inserts nine days in his account: so that a very small error, with respect to the proportion of these days, assumed by Mr Rennell to have been spent in travelling, will produce all the difference in question, of four, or even of twenty-five miles. If, then, the accounts collected by Messrs Browne and Ledyard, render it necessary to place Mourzouk twenty-nine miles to the eastward of its bearing from Mesurata, according to former authorities, it does not appear that any confirmation, and much less any correction of its new position, should be allowed to arise from Mr Horneman's journal. We must again observe, that we entertain the most sanguine hopes of this traveller's success; but, as yet, we have only accompanied him to the point where his course begins; and we regret that the Association has lavished all its expressions of self-gratulation upon the appearance of the blossoms, instead of reserving them in honour of that plentiful harvest of discovery, which the extent of the field, and the singular accomplishments of the labourer, give us every reason to expect.

The last article of the Appendix, is a letter from Mr Marsden to Sir Joseph Banks, on the language of Siwah. From a comparison of the specimen brought home by Mr Horneman, with the language of the Berbers, or Shilha of Mount Atlas, Mr Marsden is led to conclude, that the Siwahan is a mixture of the Berber and Arabic, extending, probably, through the whole breadth of Africa, between the negro dialects on the south, and the Moorish on the Mediterranean. Mr Marsden's inference acquires

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still greater force, from the account of the Siwahans given by the Arabian geographers, viz. that they are a mixture of Berbers and Arabs.

This volume concludes with a list of the ladies and gentlemen who compose the African Association, accompanied by a notice of the mode of applying for seats, and the terms of admission.

Art. XXII. *Voyages from Montreal, on the river St Lawrence, through the Continent of North America, to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans, in the years* 1789 *and* 1793: With a Preliminary Account of the Fur Trade. By Alexander Mackenzie. London. 4to. 1801.

Though this large volume will convey but little important information to the geographer, the naturalist, or the statesman, it will probably be perused with very general interest and satisfaction. There is something in the idea of traversing a vast and unknown continent, that gives an agreeable expansion to our conceptions; and the imagination is insensibly engaged and inflamed by the spirit of adventure, and the perils and the novelties that are implied in a voyage of discovery.

A small band of adventurers, exposed, for months together, in a boat of bark, upon those inhospitable waters, 'which (to use our author's own language) had never before borne any other vessel than the canoe of the savage, and traversing those desarts, where an European had never before presented himself to the eye of its swarthy natives;' exhibit a spectacle that is well calculated to excite our curiosity and attention. They remind us of the romantic expedition of Orellana, and carry back the imagination to those days of enterprize and discovery, when the Genius of Europe broke into all the continents of the world, and performed and discovered wonders, that made the marvellous familiar, and obtained credit even for impossibilities. Though that great harvest, both of invention and discovery, be now over, the gleanings that remain for this later age, are neither few nor inconsiderable; and Mr Mackenzie, who has travelled for them over a large and rugged field, certainly has neither lost his labour nor misemployed it.

He has brought back, indeed, no report of prodigies, either of nature or of art, and has not found, in his way, the materials of those descriptions which animate the narratives of more fortunate travellers. He has discovered, in the wilderness, no traces of ancient civilization, and no indications of surpassing wisdom and virtue among the savages: he has found no pyramids, nor labyrinths, nor deserted cities, nor splendid ruins;

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and neither reasoned with the superb philosophers of El Dorado, nor exercised himself, in gallantry and arms, with the nymphs of an Amazonian community. His adventures, however, have all the interest that sober probability will admit of, or that is consistent with his situation. He followed a painful course, through difficulties and dangers, to an unknown termination; and went steadily forward, without knowing where he was to issue, amidst the roaring of cataracts, and the solitude of mountains; exposed to the daily hazard of shipwreck, and famine, and mutiny; and to the danger of treachery or assault from the melancholy savages that roamed across his course, or reluctantly agreed to direct it. His narrative, if sometimes minute and fatiguing, is uniformly distinct and consistent: his observations, though not numerous, are sagacious and unassuming; and the whole work bears an impression of correctness and veracity, that leaves no unpleasant feeling of doubt or suspicion in the mind of the reader.

The work may properly be said to consist of three parts. The first, and perhaps the most interesting of the whole, is a history of the fur trade, with an account of the natives with whom it is carried on, and the route by which the commodities are transmitted. The second contains the journal of a voyage undertaken in 1789, which terminated in the Frozen Ocean, in north latitude 69. west longitude 134. being about 24 degrees to the westward of the point at which Mr Hearne reached the same sea in 1771. The third, and most considerable, is the journal of the voyage which brought Mr Mackenzie to the shores of the Pacific, in latitude 52. 21. north, and longitude 127. west. The nature of our plan will permit us to make but a very few observations on these three articles.

The fur trade of Canada (which is incomparably more active than that which is in the hands of the Hudson's Bay Company) carries those who are engaged in it to the astonishing distance of *four thousand miles* to the westward of Montreal. It is carried on by the mediation of fifty clerks, seventy-one interpreters, and one thousand one hundred and twenty canoe men, who are commonly attended with a *cortege* of upwards of seven hundred Indian women and children. This northern caravan embarks, every Spring, in different divisions, in slight canoes of bark, upon rivers newly freed from the ice, and proceeds along its weary voyage, through every sort of difficulty and discomfort. In the course of their progress to the westward, the canoes are unloaded, and towed up more than *two hundred rapids*, while the cargoes are conveyed on mens shoulders by land; and the vessels themselves, with their loading, are transported over no less than *one hundred and thirty carrying places*, from twen-

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ty-five paces to thirteen miles in length. The detachment that leaves Montreal in the beginning of May, arrives at the *Grande Portage*, upon Lake Superior, about the middle of June, where they are met by those who had spent the Winter in the remoter establishments, and from whom they receive the furs which had been collected in the course of their Winter traffic. Upwards of twelve hundred men, Mr Mackenzie says, are thus assembled, every Summer, in this remote wilderness, and live together, for a week or two, in a comfortable and convivial manner. After all their accounts are settled, the furs are repacked, and embarked in a part of the canoes for Montreal, where they usually arrive in September; and the remainder proceed, with the articles necessary for carrying on the trade, to the different posts and establishments in the Indian country. At the distance of fifty or sixty miles from Grande Portage, they arrive at the *height of land*, by which the waters that issue into the Atlantic, are separated from those that discharge themselves into Hudson's Bay and the Frozen Ocean. From this point, therefore, the traders proceed to the westward, along with the current; and traverse many a dreary lake, and wind along many a dangerous stream, before they reach their utmost destination at Fort Chepewyan, on the banks of the Lake of the Hills, in longitude 110. W. Little less than seventy pages are dedicated, by Mr Mackenzie, to the description of this route, and the enumeration of the successive lakes, rivers, rapids, and carrying-places, of which it is composed. A distinct map would certainly have conveyed a great deal more information: and a very short memoir, in illustration of it, might have contained all the important intelligence that could not be presented, at once, by the graver, to the eye. There are occasional patches of interesting description, and some characteristic anecdotes of the natives, and the traders who consort with them; but this part of the work is, on the whole, extremely tedious and perplexing, and should have been confined within much narrower limits.

The only stage in all this pilgrimage, which we shall detain our readers with mentioning, is that of Lake Winipic, in longitude 97. west; which seems calculated, from its peculiar situation, to become the grand depot of this traffic, if small-pox and spirituous liquors do not speedily intercept its extension, by the complete extirpation of the Indians. This lake communicates, in a direct and short channel, with the southern shores of Hudson's Bay, by the rivers Severn and Nelson, and is connected with the countries at the head of the Missisippi and Missisouri by the Assiniboin and Red rivers, besides lying in the direct tract from the Saskatchiwine and Athabasca rivers, to Lake Superior and the sources of the St Lawrence. It is by this last channel alone that the North-West

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Company have hitherto been able to transmit the commodities they have collected about Lake Winipic; the jealousy of trade having determined the Hudson's Bay Company to refuse them a passage into that sea by the Nelson or Severn rivers.

Of this jealousy on the part of the Hudson's Bay Company, and the disadvantages and obstructions which it is constantly producing to the Canadian adventurers, Mr Mackenzie speaks throughout the whole work in terms of decided reprobation. Mr Mackenzie, however, is a partner of the Canadian Association; and the members of the rival Company have not been heard in the cause. We will not presume, therefore, to give any opinion, in a question that has been but partially stated; though it does occur to us, that the free navigation of the rivers between Lake Winipic and Hudson's Bay would probably tend, in a very little time, to transfer the whole trade to the borders of that sea, or at least very greatly to diminish the share which Canada now enjoys of it. If the greater part of the furs collected in the Indian country could be sent more readily and cheaply to market, by the route of the Hudson's Bay waters, (which seems to be allowed), it must follow, that the commodities with which the trade is carried on, could also be sent *into* the Indian country, by that route, with the greatest advantage. These commodities, however, are almost all brought from England; and the furs are uniformly carried, in the first instance, to that market. If this be the case, it is difficult to see what share the merchants in Montreal could easily retain in such a traffic. The furs could be carried directly from Hudson's Bay to Great Britain; and the necessary goods, to answer them, directly from Great Britain to Hudson's Bay. It is not possible to conceive, that such a trade could long continue in the hands of persons residing in Montreal, or that the materials of it should be carried nearly a thousand miles out of their course, when such a deviation could be effectually prevented, by an establishment at the York or the Churchill Fort. Though it is very probable, therefore, that the fur trade could be carried on with greater profit and facility by the route of Hudson's Bay, than by that of the St Lawrence, it does not seem to be the interest of those who reside upon the latter, to insist upon forcing it into that channel. If the Hudson's Bay Company have neglected the advantages with which their charter invested them, the Canadian traders have made great profit by the omission; and it really seems a little unreasonable in them to contend, that their rivals should be deprived of their charter altogether, as a punishment for not having made that judicious use of it, which would probably have entirely prevented the existence of a Canadian competition. Exclusive pri-

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vileges are probably of no great benefit to this trade, or to any other; but the consequence of throwing it quite open, would not be, we imagine, to centre it in the merchants of the St Lawrence.

There is another commercial disadvantage in this trade, however, of which Mr Mackenzie complains with more justice. Almost the whole of the furs collected in America, are ultimately destined, it is generally known, for the consumption of the Chinese; those that are sent by the way of London, however, can only be forwarded by the ships of the East India Company; and such is the delay, the weight of the duty, and the difficulty in getting home the produce, that several experiments have been already made, to send the goods to China, directly through the United States, where no such impediments exist; and Mr Mackenzie gives it as his opinion, that unless some indulgence be shown by the East India Company, the whole trade will infallibly fall into that channel, to the great disadvantage of England, and inconvenience of the Canadian adventurer.

To these arbitrary restrictions upon the trade, there is to be added, it seems, the disadvantage under which it labours, from the unusual length of time that is requisite to bring in its returns; which exceeds the ordinary credit upon the expenditure, it is said, by no less than two or three years. We shall insert Mr Mackenzie's own statement of the proceedings. He takes the example of goods that are *paid for* in 1798.

'The orders for the goods are sent to this country 25th Oct. 1796.
They are shipped from London - - - - March 1797.
They arrive in Montreal - - - - - June 1797.
They are made up in the course of that Summer and Winter.
They are sent from Montreal - - - - - May 1798.
They arrive in the Indian country, and are exchanged for
furs the following Winter - - - - - 1798–9.
Which furs come to Montreal - - - - Sept. 1799.
And are shipped for London, where they are sold in
March and April, and paid for in May or June - 1800.'

Notwithstanding all these inconveniences, the trade must still be a profitable one; as it has been constantly increasing for these last twenty years; and is stated by Mr Mackenzie himself, to have '*tripled* its amount in the course of eleven years, with proportionate profits,' &c.

The remainder of this first part of the work is occupied with an account of the native inhabitants, who are divided by Mr Mackenzie into two great families, the *Knisteneaux* and the *Chepewyan*. The former comprehend almost all the tribes that border upon the Atlantic, or upon the colonies of Europe; and are said to be gradually diffusing themselves to the westward,

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and making an easy conquest, for the most part, of the hordes with which they encounter: the fire-arms which they have obtained from the colonies, contribute, it is probable, not a little to their success. The Chepewyans, on the contrary, are evidently in a progress *from* the westward; and are not known to have advanced to the east of longitude 108. They have yielded to the Knisteneaux wherever they have met with them; and seem likely to be incorporated with their conquerors. Those two nations speak different languages; and have some usages and superstitions that are peculiar to each. The basis of the character, however, appears to be the same in both; and the similarity of their external appearance, habits and ways of life, points out, with apparent certainty, the identity of their common origin; though Mr Mackenzie is of opinion, that the Chepewyans are of *Asiatic* origin, and are in the course of a progress from Siberia. Those who have read what Charlevoix, Lafiteau, Adair, and Hearne have written upon the character and manners of the North American savage, will derive but little additional information from the narrative of Mr Mackenzie. It is pleasing, however, to find such a concurrence in the reports of persons whose characters and objects were so different.

There is one remark, which, though by no means new, is irresistibly suggested to us by the perusal of these descriptions;—that those nations have made no sensible progress in civilization or improvement, after an intercourse of little less than two hundred years with the industrious and intelligent colonies of Europe. By the partial use of iron and of gunpowder, we have made their wars more sanguinary than formerly, and provided still more largely for their extermination, by the introduction of rum and the small-pox. Their numbers are wasting away, accordingly, by a yearly and visible diminution; and it appears now to be tolerably certain, that the whole race will be extinct before a single tribe has been reclaimed from the misery and disorders of a barbarous life. Even in the immediate neighbourhood of the colonies, and where every exertion has been made for their improvement that religious zeal and interested policy could dictate, no sensible progress has been effected. The children of a whole tribe have even been carefully educated, in vain. The Algonquins, who have an establishment within thirty miles of Montreal, have the Scriptures explained to them in their own language; and are all taught to read and write, in their youth, by the zeal and attention of their pastors. 'But notwithstanding these advantages,' says Mr Mackenzie, 'and though the establishment is nearly coeval with the colonization of

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the country, they do not advance towards a state of civilization; but retain their ancient habits, language, and customs, and are becoming every day more depraved, indigent, and insignificant.' In another place, he describes the natives around the remoter establishments, as being 'one half of the year starving, and the other half intoxicated:' and adds, 'that through their slothful and dissolute lives, their numbers are in a very perceptible state of diminution.'

There is something, at first sight, very unaccountable in this obstinate indocility of these people. Nations seem formerly to have caught civilization by contact, and to have started forward in the career of improvement, upon the slightest impulse or suggestion. In those instances, however, the distance probably was not so great between the barbarian and his instructors, as it is in this case; and it is possible, after all, that our method of instruction has not been very judicious or consistent. Reading and writing, and the interpretation of the Scriptures, certainly are not the *first* steps by which a savage community is to be seduced from its wild and disorderly habits; and the whole progress may possibly be impeded by such an inversion of its stages. On the other hand, by our demand for furs, we compel them, in a manner, to adhere to the practice of hunting, and thus give a bounty for the preservation of barbarism, while we affect to be seriously engaged in subduing it, by baptisms, and schoolboy tasks of catechisms and grammars.

As a counterpart to the stubborn indocility of the Indians, who resist all the precept and example of the colonists, it is worth while just to mention the facility with which some of the latter assume the manners and character of the savages. Every one who has travelled in the borders of the Indian country, brings back reports of the multitude of white men that are found incorporated in the tribes of the natives, and voluntarily reduced to the same way of life that is natural to those people. Mr Mackenzie informs us, that 'there were very great numbers, who, after accompanying the Indians for a season or two in their expeditions, became so much attached to their mode of life as to lose all relish for their former habits and native homes.' They were called in Canada, *Coureurs des bois*, and seem to have united all the vices of the civilized and savage character. This is no tperhaps very surprising. The condition of a labourer in the lowest rank of society, (to which it is probable that these renegadoes belonged), is scarcely superior, in most civilized societies, to the ordinary life of a savage. Where the character is fundamentally licentious besides, the mere freedom from controul will make amends for many hardships; and the degree of

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favour and consideration in which such a convert would probably be held, would be a new motive for the transition.

Of the second part of this work, which contains Mr Mackenzie's account of his voyage to the Frozen Ocean in 1789, we have but very little to say. It was undertaken in the hope of reaching the Pacific; and it was not till towards its termination, that the author perceived, from the continued northerly course of the river, that it must fall into the ocean in that direction. He set out from Fort Chepewyan on the Lake of the Hills, and passed down the Peace, or Slave River, to the great Slave Lake. This expanse of water he found so much incumbered with ice, in the middle of June, that he was obliged to coast round a great part of it, till he reached its main outlet towards the North-west, in latitude 61. N. The stream on which he was now embarked, carried him forward, for seven and twenty days, with a rapid and safe current, till he was warned of his approach to the sea (in latitude 69. N.) by the action of the tide in the channel and on the shores. The violence of the swell, and the lateness of the season, prevented him from going any farther; and he set out on his return, without having quitted the fresh water, or got clear of the banks of the river.

Neither his adventures nor observations, in this expedition, require much notice. The wind blew violently sometimes, and sometimes the canoe became leaky. The most serious of his perils, however, were from famine; as the subsistence of the whole party depended, almost entirely, upon their daily success in hunting and fishing; and game was not always equally plenty. If their consumption was uniform, indeed, it must have required no ordinary diligence in their purveyors to supply it; for he mentions, incidentally, that the crew, which consisted of ten men and four women, 'despatched two rein-deer, four swans, forty-five geese, and a very considerable quantity of fish, in the course of six days.' The natives with whom he had any intercourse, do not appear to have been different from other savages; they were timorous and turbulent, and full of inconsistency and deceit; skilful and dexterous in snaring game and catching fish, and in the fabrication of their arms, implements and canoes; but ignorant and awkward as to every thing else; and almost totally devoid of curiosity or attention. They are said to have been strangers to the use of tobacco, gun-powder, and spirituous liquors, and to have had no other way of boiling their provisions than by throwing heated stones into baskets containing water. Their language was easily understood by the Indians who accompanied Mr Mackenzie. The tribes that inhabit the lower parts of the river seem to differ little from the rest, except in the hatred they bear towards the Esquimaux, who are always found in possession of the sea-coast, and are accused of be-

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ing cruel, treacherous, and pusillanimous. There is one trait which was scarcely to have been expected among a race so erratic and hardy; they were all perfectly ignorant of the nature of the country, or the course of the rivers, a very few days journey beyond their own haunts; and the fables they told of the dangers of the way, are among the most amusing passages that relate to them. When Mr Mackenzie was within six days journey from the sea, they assured him that it would take several years to arrive at it; and that old age would overtake him before he could hope to return. They described the navigation, too, as being interrupted by impassable cataracts at a very short distance; when, in fact, it was only disturbed, during the whole course, by two very manageable rapids.

Mr Mackenzie is not a naturalist, and had no leisure for minute observations. The most remarkable circumstance he mentions as to the country, relates to the excessive cold that must prevail towards the mouth of the river during the greater part of the year. At the time of his visit, it was about three weeks past Midsummer, and the ground was covered with short grass and a variety of flowers; and yet, at the depth of *four inches* from the surface, he uniformly met with a solid body of ice. It is difficult to conceive how vegetation could proceed in such a situation; and, especially, how trees, and other vegetables, that strike a deeper root, could subsist in it. In another place he mentions it, with great justice, as 'a very curious and extraordinary circumstance, that land covered with spruce, pine, and white birch, when laid waste by fire, should subsequently produce nothing but poplars, where none of that species of tree were previously to be found.' Mr Mackenzie must excuse us for not giving implicit faith to this observation.

The failure of this first expedition, satisfied Mr Mackenzie that the route to the Pacific must be sought for in a more southerly direction; and determined him to explore it, by ascending the stream of the *Unjigah*, or Peace River, and endeavouring to cross the mountains among which it was said to have its sources. As his former miscarriage had gone far to ensure his present success, and had also made him sensible of his deficiencies for such an undertaking, he did not scruple to make a winter voyage to Great Britain, for the express purpose of obtaining the necessary books and information, and returned fully qualified to make a scientific survey of the countries he was to traverse, and to fix his geographical positions with accuracy and precision. As the length of the voyage was altogether uncertain, our author determined to have the benefit of the whole Summer for the prosecution of it; and, accordingly, set out from Fort Chepewyan, in the month of October 1792, with the intention of proceed-

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ing to the remotest establishment of the Company, before the winter set in, and starting from this advanced post as soon as the navigation was practicable in the Spring. Accordingly, in the month following, he arrived at a new built fort (for so all the trading houses in this country are denominated) upon the same river, in lat. 56. N. long. 117. 35. W.; where he spent the winter among a tribe of Chepewyan Indians, and set out upon his perilous expedition on the 9th of May 1793. In this undertaking, he reached the head of the Unjigah, in lat. 54. N. long. 121. W. with great difficulty, on the 13th June, and embarked on the Tacoutche, or Columbia river, whose course he followed in a southerly direction, and through innumerable obstructions, till the 24th of the same month; when he was induced, by the information of the natives, and the difficulty of the navigation, to leave the canoe, and proceed across the land, in a westerly direction, to the sea. After a fatiguing and dangerous journey of twelve days, he again reached a smaller, and less turbulent stream; and was fortunate enough to arrive on the shore of the Pacific Ocean, in lat. 52. 21. long. 128. 2. immediately to the southward of the islands which Vancouver has distinguished by the name of the Princess-Royal Islands. The season was so far advanced, and the conduct of the natives so suspicious, that he scarcely remained longer on the coast than was necessary to complete his observations. He returned by the same route, with comparative facility; and arrived safely at the station from which he had taken his departure, on the 24th of August 1793.

The narrative of this voyage is, upon the whole, extremely interesting; though the interest which it excites is derived rather from the difficulties and dangers of the way, and the intrepidity by which they were surmounted, than from the importance of the object, or the value of the information that is communicated. The only knowledge of his route which Mr Mackenzie possessed at his outset, was derived from a story that had formerly been told him by an old man (who could not now be found) of his having once been at war, on a large river, on the other side of the Rocky Mountains; and who said, that there was a carrying place, of about a day's march, between the head of the southwest branch of the Unjigah and this western river. Upon this hint, Mr Mackenzie determined to proceed; and the uncertainty of his course may be conjectured, from what he says in another place, 'that it was his intention to land where he thought there was *a chance* of discovering the carrying place, and undertake marches of two or three days, in different directions, in search of the other river; and, if unsuccessful in this attempt, to return to the fork, and try the other

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branch in the same manner, with the hope of better fortune.' His constancy was not put to the test; for he accomplished his object without being obliged to return: But he had occasion for all the resolution with which he had armed himself.

The principal difficulties with which Mr Mackenzie had to struggle, arose from the physical situation of the country, and the unmanageable violence of the stream he had undertaken to ascend. For the first ten days, the labour was tolerable, and his progress fully more rapid than he had expected. After he had passed, however, to the westward of long. 120. his course began to be hemmed in among ascending mountains, and the channel to be obstructed by innumerable rapids and cataracts. In surmounting these obstacles, so much toil and danger was to be encountered, as might well have deterred an adventurer of ordinary resolution. At one time, the canoe was towed by men that clambered along the edge of impending precipices, and were forced to pass on the outside of the trees that overhung the torrent: At another, it was pushed forward by the hands of those who tottered upon the lower rocks of the channel, and who were frequently obliged to leap into the vessel, when an impassable precipice prevented their progress by land: On many occasions, the canoe was *carried* along roads, which scarcely any one but a Canadian would have ventured to pass unburdened, and through thickets, where a way had been previously opened by the tedious application of the axe. In one place, it was *warped* up a mountain, by lines fastened successively to the trees with which it was overshadowed: In another, it was hurried down the torrent, and only saved from utter destruction by being broken and entangled among some rocks that formed a shallow on the edge of a fall.

After struggling with these difficulties for upwards of ten days, our adventurers arrived at a part of the river that admitted of their proceeding with the paddles, though the current was still extremely powerful against them; and, at length, on the 1st of June, they reached the last fork of the stream, where one channel presented itself towards the north-west, and another almost directly towards the south. Mr Mackenzie, whose object it was to penetrate to the Western Ocean, acknowledges, that he would certainly have attempted the former, had it not been for the advice he had formerly received from the old warrior, whom we have already mentioned, and who had positively informed him, that the only path across the mountains was in the direction of the southmost branch. This information, by which Mr Mackenzie was then guided, turns out to have been perfectly correct, as the northerly branch has since been accurately surveyed, and is found to terminate in lakes and rapids at

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a very short distance from the fork. After proceeding, till the 8th of the month, through a continuation of the same dangers and disasters, they at length came up with a party of the natives. From these people, he received, at first, the evasive and unintelligible answers that savages are accustomed to give: But, after he had conciliated them with flattery and presents, he at length learned, that they were acquainted with a large river that flowed towards the south, a branch of which was at no great distance from the source of that which they had ascended; that there were three small lakes, and as many short carrying-places between them; but that the southern river did not discharge itself into the sea. Mr Mackenzie prudently set down this last piece of intelligence to the ignorance of the reporter; but placed so much reliance on the former, that he instantly engaged the Indian to conduct him to the banks of the river he had mentioned, and proceeded on the day following under his directions. On the second day of the renewed voyage, they arrived at the first lake that had been spoken of by their conductor, and took the canoe out of it on the other side, in Lat. 54. 24. N. Long. 121. W. This Mr Mackenzie considers as the highest and most southerly source of the Unjigah, or Peace River, which he had now traced from its outlet to its fountains; and proceeded along the height of land, by which the waters that issue into the Pacific, are separated from those that fall into the Northern or Atlantic Seas. The first carrying place was only 817 paces in length, and brought them to another small lake, out of which a stream descended to the south: Another carrying-place brought them to a third lake of the same dimensions; and out of this they passed, with some difficulty, into a small, but rapid stream, obstructed by fallen trees, drift wood, and scattered rocks.

Though Mr Mackenzie, and his associates, had no longer to struggle against an opposing torrent, still their situation had experienced but little improvement. After carrying the canoe past some of the obstacles that have just been mentioned, they met with a disaster, which had very nearly proved the termination of all their perils and exertions. As we have made but few extracts from this publication, we shall present our readers with the narrative of this misadventure, in Mr Mackenzie's own words.

'We accordingly pushed off, and had proceeded but a very short way, when the canoe struck; and, notwithstanding all our exertions, the violence of the current was so great, as to drive her sideways down the river, and break her by the first bar, when I instantly jumped into the water, and the men followed my example; but, before we could set her straight, or stop her, we came to deeper water, so that we were obliged to re-embark with the utmost precipitation. One of the men who

was not sufficiently active, was left to get on shore in the best manner in his power. We had hardly regained our situations, when we drove against a rock, which shattered the stern of the canoe in such a manner, that it held only by the gunwales, so that the steersman could no longer keep his place. The violence of this stroke drove us to the opposite side of the river, which is but narrow, when the bow met with the same fate as the stern. At this moment, the foreman seized on some branches of a small tree, in the hope of bringing up the canoe; but such was their elasticity, that, in a manner not easily described, he was jerked on shore in an instant, and with a degree of violence that threatened his destruction. But we had no time to turn from our own situtation, to inquire what had befallen him; for, in a few moments, we came across a cascade, which broke several large holes in the bottom of the canoe, and started all the bars, except one behind the scooping seat. If this accident, however, had not happened, the vessel must have been irretrievably overset. The wreck becoming flat on the water, we all jumped out; while the steersman, who had been compelled to abandon his place, and had not recovered from his fright, called out to his companions to save themselves. My peremptory commands superseded the effects of his fear, and they all held fast to the wreck; to which fortunate resolution we owed our safety, as we should otherwise have been dashed against the rocks by the force of the water, or driven over the cascades. In this condition, we were forced several hundred yards, and every yard on the verge of destruction; but, at length, we most fortunately arrived in shallow water, and a small eddy, where we were enabled to make a stand, from the weight of the canoe resting on the stones, rather than from any exertions of our exhausted strength. For though our efforts were short, they were pushed to the utmost, as life or death depended on them. This alarming scene, with all its terrors and dangers, occupied only a few minutes; and in the present suspension of it, we called to the people on shore to come to our assistance; and they immediately obeyed the summons. The foreman, however, was the first with us; he had escaped unhurt from the extraordinary jerk with which he was thrown out of the boat; and just as we were beginning to take our effects out of the water, he appeared to give his assistance. The Indians, when they saw our deplorable situation, instead of making the least effort to help us, sat down and gave vent to their tears.'

This disaster disheartened the whole crew so much, that Mr Mackenzie was obliged to make them a speech, to induce them to proceed with him; and they had then to carry the canoe, for upwards of four miles, through a thick wood and a deep morass, when they found themselves, at length, on the banks of a large navigable river, that flowed with a strong current in a southerly direction. Upon this stream they embarked on the 18th of June, in the midst of so thick a fog, that they might have come suddenly upon a rapid, or cascade, before they were

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aware.' They met, however, with no accident on that occasion, but very soon found the navigation obstructed by the usual impediments. On the second day of their progress, they came to a deserted wooden house, built in a solid manner, 30 feet in length, and 20 in breadth; 'the first habitation of the kind,' says Mr Mackenzie, 'that I had seen on this side of Mickilimakina.' A little farther on, he fell in with a party of the natives, whom he had some difficulty in conciliating; but was at last enabled to gather from them, that the river runs a great way towards the mid-day sun, and that white people were said to be building houses at its mouth; that the current was uniformly very violent, and in many places absolutely impassable; and that the inhabitants were extremely cruel and malignant. The iron, &c. which they had, they said they obtained by a shorter route, from the westward, where it was brought by white people, in great canoes. These people differed but little from the Indians of the Rocky Mountains, either in language, manners, or appearance. After proceeding a little farther, and holding a variety of consultations with the natives, Mr Mackenzie was convinced that the navigation of the river would be attended with the greatest dangers, and that the course of it would prove, at any rate, so extensive, as to make it absolutely impossible to return from its mouth in the course of the same season: His ammunition and provisions, too, were very nearly exhausted; and he was assured, by the concurring testimony of all the natives, that, by abandoning the river, and striking across the country to the west, he would be enabled to reach the sea he was in search of by a safe and easy expedition. After a good deal of deliberation, he determined to make trial of this route: and accordingly returned up the river, to the spot from which the natives had offered to conduct him to the westward; and there securing the canoe under a shed, and burying a great part of his provisions and ammunition in the neighbourhood, he set off by land, in Long. 123. Lat. 53. 20.

In this journey, where each of the party carried a load of ninety pounds, besides arms, their difficulties and alarms were at times very great, from the repeated desertion of their guides, and the tumult and disturbance which their appearance produced among the natives. By way of securing the guides, Mr Mackenzie, on two occasions, pressed them to *sleep* with him; and 'though the beaver robe that covered them was a nest of vermin, their hair greased with fish oil, and their bodies smeared with red earth,' he declares he passed a very comfortable night in their society. On their way, they crossed several small rivers that ran towards the south, and probably fell into the stream they had left behind them. The ground, for the

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most part, was rugged, but not very high; though they crossed one ridge which was covered with snow, and saw before them a chain of lofty mountains, that were said to be perpetually in that state. The houses they passed by, were all built of squared timber, and infinitely more commodious and substantial than any dwellings that are reared by the Indians in the interior of the continent. At last, he arrived on the banks of a small river abounding in salmon, and was hospitably received by the inhabitants of an adjoining village. These people subsist entirely upon fish, and have such an aversion to flesh of every species, that one of their dogs having swallowed a part of a bone, was beaten by his master till he disgorged it: Another of the natives, upon seeing one of Mr Mackenzie's people throw a bone into the river, 'instantly plunged in, and brought it out; and, after burning it, proceeded to wash his polluted hands.' The salmon, which are incredibly numerous, they take by means of a weir, or embankment, constructed with much ingenuity across the river; and they appear, indeed, to be considerably superior to their brethren of the interior, in contrivance and understanding.

From this place, our adventurers again proceeded by water, having procured two canoes from the natives, by several of whom they were paddled and escorted. They remained all night at a village, where they were hospitably entertained; and had occasion to observe the traces of improving art and civilization. These people have not only Summer and Winter houses, like the *Yoorts* and *Balagans* of Kamschatka and Siberia, but appear to have made advances in the arts of painting and sculpture, superior to what might have been expected from the inhabitants of so rude a climate. They had boards painted with hieroglyphics, and figures of animals, with a degree of correctness with which Mr Mackenzie was surprised; and had erected, in the centre of the village, something in the nature of a temple, which he describes in these words,

'The ground-plot of it was fifty feet by forty-five; each end is formed by four stout posts, fixed perpendicularly in the ground. The corner ones are plain, and support a beam of the whole length, having three intermediate props on each side, but of a larger size, and eight or nine feet in height. The two centre posts, at each end, are two feet and an half in diameter, and carved into human figures, supporting two ridge poles on their heads, at twelve feet from the ground. The figures at the upper part of this square represent two persons, with their hands upon their knees, as if they supported the weight with pain and difficulty: the others opposite to them stand at their ease, with their hands resting on their hips. In the area of the

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building there were the remains of several fires. The posts, poles, and figures, were painted red and black; but the sculpture of these people is superior to their painting.'

They had among them a great variety of European commodities, especially iron and copper; and several had a quarter-dollar fixed, as an ornament, in the handles of their daggers. From this village, Mr Mackenzie descended the stream to another, from which he had an evening prospect of a narrow arm of the sea, and next day had the happiness of arriving on the beach, in the position that has been already specified. In this situation, he was deserted by his guide and the rest of the natives, and left in a leaky canoe upon this barbarous coast, with scarcely any ammunition, and provisions for no more than four or five days. In the course of the day, he coasted along the Point Menzies of Vancouver, and by the shore of the island named King's Island by that navigator. In this course, they were very much disturbed and alarmed by the conduct of the savages, who followed them in several canoes, and appeared to entertain very serious designs against their property and lives. One, in particular, whom Mr Mackenzie describes as particularly turbulent and insolent, was continually repeating that he had been shot at by a white man, whom he called Macubah, and seemed perfectly disposed to revenge himself upon our adventurer. By a proper mixture of forbearance and resolution, however, Mr Mackenzie escaped this danger; and his persecutors thought proper to withdraw about sunset.

On the 22d of July, Mr Mackenzie completed his observations; and on the day following returned to the mouth of the river; and, after another alarming encounter with the natives, led on by the enemy of *Macubah*, arrived at the village, where they first got sight of the sea, and prepared for their final return. The natives about this salmon river, Mr Mackenzie supposes not to be the permanent inhabitants of its banks, but to repair there for the sake of the summer fishery, and to reside, during the winter, on the sea-coast. They are evidently a stationary people, however, in comparison with the hunting tribes of the interior, and would probably be more easily civilized than any of their brethren; though it is evident enough, from Mr Mackenzie's whole narrative, that they have all the violence, unsteadiness, and inconsistency of the savage character. They seem to acknowledge a higher authority in their chief, than is conceded to him in any other North American community, as he alone appeared to possess, or bestow, the right of fishing at the great weir or embankment, and prevented any one from

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building a house in the village, without his permission. Their language is said to be different from that of the adjoining tribes.

After leaving the uppermost village, Mr Mackenzie and his companions found the way perfectly solitary, till they arrived, after a painful march of nine days, on the banks of the Great River, where they had left their canoe upwards of a month before. At this spot, they found a large encampment of the natives, who were very clamourous and riotous at first, and continued to pilfer little articles from them during all the time of their stay. It was very remarkable, however, that they had not touched any part of the stores that had been left unguarded in their vicinity for the space of a whole month. In the remainder of Mr Mackenzie's homeward route, he retraced exactly the course along which we have already pursued him outwards. He surmounted the cataracts of the Tacoutche, without meeting with any disaster; and, after crossing the height of land, descended the waters of the Peace River with so much celerity, that he accomplished, in six days, a voyage, that had occupied no fewer than thirty-four in his outset; and arrived, on the 18th of August, at the fort, from which he had taken his departure on the 9th of May.

We have now accompanied Mr Mackenzie through the whole of his extensive and laborious route, and willingly bear testimony to the diligence and intrepidity, the temper and perseverance, with which he seems to have pursued it, as well as to the perspicuity and apparent fidelity of the narrative which he has submitted to the public. Of the importance of his geographical discoveries, we do not indeed think very highly. The non-existence of any practicable communication by sea, from the eastern to the western shores of North America, we conceive to have been satisfactorily established, before either the expedition of Mr Mackenzie, or the voyage of Vancouver; and the passage which the former has discovered by land, is such as few people could have doubted to exist, and certainly by no means of a nature to indemnify us for the want of the other. Mr Mackenzie himself, indeed, appears to be of opinion, that the route by which he came, would be altogether unfit for the purposes of trade, and rather points at a communication between the Tacoutche or Columbia River, and the head waters of the Saskatchiwine. It is needless to observe, however, that the existence of such a communication must be established by another voyage of discovery; and that the lower course of the Columbia may present obstacles, of a nature even more formidable than those of which Mr Mackenzie's experience and information have already given us warning.

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The countries which Mr Mackenzie has brought to our knowledge by these expeditions, are certainly the least interesting of any with which modern enterprize has made us acquainted. The barrenness of the soil, the severity of the climate, the remoteness of their position, and the small number and intractable character of their inhabitants, place them very low indeed in the scale of political importance, and reduce their influence upon the rest of the world to a very humble denomination. The believers in perfectibility, expect, of course, to see the whole universe covered with the miracles of polity and art; but these regions will probably be the last to put off their original barbarity; and philosophy will have native apostles among the Mantchew Tartars and New Hollanders, before any progress has been made in the conversion of the Knisteneaux and the Chepewyans.

Mr Mackenzie makes no pretensions to literary attainments; and the merit of his work certainly is not to be estimated by the elegance of its composition. His style is, in general, sufficiently perspicuous; and we willingly pass over its deficiencies in harmony or correctness. There are some expressions, however, which provoke a smile, from their ludicrous simplicity, or strange affectation of refinement. In the introduction, we hear of a trader, 'who eased himself of the importunities of a native;' and are assured, that the Americans are never cannibals, except in those cases of extreme necessity, 'which have been known to impel the most civilized people to eat each other.' In order to inform us, that the Indians, who make no use of combs, are given to scratch their heads, he is pleased to say, 'that they have a small stick hanging by a string,' which they occasionally employ 'to alleviate any itching or irritation in the head.'

Art. XXIII. *The Elements of Optics*, designed for the use of Students in the University. By James Wood, B. D. Second Edition. Cambridge, 1801. Burges. pp. 251.

About five years ago, Mr Vince, the Plumian Professor, and Mr Wood of St Johns, undertook to draw up a series of elementary works, which should comprise the substance of the lectures usually read at Cambridge, upon Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. The volume now before us, forms the sixth and last of this useful course of publications.

Our philosophical readers are acquainted with the two great branches into which the science of Optics is divided; those laws of vision, and properties of light, which are to be investigated by

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experiment, and those that can be deduced, by mathematical reasoning, from the principles which induction has enabled us to establish. Our author has confined himself almost wholly to the mathematical view of the subject; and we are inclined to think, that he has composed this treatise, rather with a view to assist the student of astronomy, than to furnish a complete exposition of all the discoveries which have been made upon the nature of light, and the laws of its action, considered as a separate branch of science. His propositions are chiefly drawn from the 'Lectiones Opticæ' of Sir Isaac Newton; and a very meagre account is given of the wonderful truths unfolded by that philosopher in his 'Optics.'

Of this plan, we cannot entirely approve. Many of the most important discoveries in the theory of light and colours, depend altogether on experiment; and, by the assistance of calculation and geometrical reasoning, lead to other theorems, as well deserving of attention as those which form the subject of the present volume, and resting upon evidence precisely of the same nature. Why, then, should a treatise upon Optics have been confined almost entirely to those topics, where the assistance of mathematical demonstration is required, and the most simple only of the positions founded upon induction are assumed? The truths explained in the second and third books of the 'Optics,' are established by the very same species of proof with that upon which the very first principles of the science are built; and, to undervalue those doctrines which do not require a constant display of mathematical reasoning, is surely to disregard the example, and slight some of the noblest discoveries of that illustrious philosopher, who carried mathematical demonstration farther into the regions of physical science, than any of those that have studied the laws of nature.

Admitting, however, that the plan of this treatise is adapted to teach the most important parts of optical science, we cannot withhold our approbation from the execution. The parts are digested and arranged with great perspicuity; the order in which they succeed each other is, for the most part, natural and easy; the demonstrations are sufficiently neat and concise; and yet the steps of the reasoning are given with such fullness, that any learner may readily follow them, provided he is prepared by a previous acquaintance with the elements of mathematics. In some parts the author has fallen into considerable inaccuracies; chiefly where a reference was necessary to the merely experimental branch of the science. A few of these we shall mention as we go along.

The first section contains a general account of the nature of light, and of those fundamental laws of reflection and refraction,

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which we discover by experience. In considering the Newtonian hypothesis, that light consists of particles of matter, our author says (p. 2.) that the motions of the rays in different mediums, are the same with those of small particles of matter attracted towards, or repelled from, the bodies upon which they are incident. But this presumes, unfairly, the very point in which light differs from all bodies, viz. its refraction *towards* the perpendicular, when it passes from a rarer into a denser medium. Besides, nothing can be produced in the mutual actions of other bodies, similar to the opposite refraction which light undergoes in emerging from a denser into a rarer medium; its inflection and deflection; and that singular property which it exhibits, in passing through several sorts of spar, particularly the Iceland chrystal. There is nothing in the 14th sect. B. 2. of the Principia, which explains this marked difference between the two cases.

The definition of a ray is obscure and inaccurate—'The least portion of light which may be stopped alone, or propagated alone, or do or suffer any thing which the rest of the light doth not, or suffers not.' p. 3.

The second section contains the propositions relating to reflection from plane and spherical surfaces; and these are deduced mathematically from the principles laid down in the first section. The fourth section contains a similar deduction of the refractions of rays by plane and spherical surfaces. The third and fifth sections give the theory of images formed by reflection and refraction, respectively.

It is scarcely necessary to remark, that a great part of those sections which concern the refraction of light, is purely theoretical; and, from the impossibility of finding any pencil or beam of equally refrangible rays, many of the propositions demonstrated upon the hypothesis that the rays are homogeneal, must, in every instance of their application to the substance which we call *light*, as it exists in nature, deviate more or less from truth. Such theorems, are, in fact, demonstrated, not with regard to light, but to an ideal substance.

Section sixth lays down the theory of vision. Section seventh contains an ample detail of the mathematical principles which regulate the construction of optical instruments; and it is on account of this branch of the subject, that the only account which the author gives of the Newtonian theory of light and colours is introduced, as a sort of appendix to the doctrine of Telescopes. The eighth section is devoted, therefore, to the aberrations produced by unequal refrangibility, and by the spherical form of reflecting and refracting surfaces. The leading discovery of Newton is here given; but the decisive experiment

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on which it rests, is omitted, and another inserted, which very imperfectly proves the position. It is the 5th, not the 3d Exp. B. 1. part 1. of the 'Optics,' which is justly esteemed the *experimentum crucis*. Our author, however, adds an experiment, which we are very well assured he never found in the 'Optics.' After quoting the 3d Exp. at length, he says—'By an experiment similar to the former, it may be shown, that common day-light consists of rays which differ in colour and refrangibility; for, if the round hole in the shutter receive only light from the clouds, its image formed by the prism will be oblong and coloured as in the former case:' p. 200. One so averse to induction, and so fond of mathematical reasoning as our author, might have inferred, that the sun's light, reflected from the clouds, or transmitted through them, (which we presume is all that he can mean by the vulgar phrase of *common day-light*), has the same properties with the light transmitted directly from the luminous body. But if he demands experimental proof of this, we can assure him, that when he shall have adjusted his prism at the hole in his window-shutter in a cloudy day, he will look in vain for an oblong and coloured image of the hole: his chart will only present to him the partially coloured images of the clouds, and the spires of the neighbouring colleges, in a distorted camera obscura.

Without entering any farther, than the theory of the construction of glasses requires, into the doctrine of refrangibility and colours, or the resolution and composition of heterogeneous light by refraction; and without touching at all upon the various interesting speculations of Newton and his followers, respecting the attractions of light towards thin and thick plates; our author immediately returns to the continuation of the subject, on account of which alone the theory of colours seems to have been hinted at: and the eighth section concludes with the remainder of the theory of Glasses.

Hitherto, whatever fault we may have found with our author's plan, as materially deficient in parts strictly belonging to the science of which he professes to treat, we have had no objections to urge against his consistency in executing it. But we can scarcely imagine how the whole of the ninth section should be devoted to the explanation of a single phenomenon, belonging to the head of Chromatics—the rainbow. The deduction of the propositions relating to this subject, is no doubt very clear and satisfactory. But one is inclined to ask, how they came here? Why should a whole division of the work be occupied by the explanation of one particular phenomenon, when the theory, of whose synthetical application this doctrine forms a very small part, has been despatched in two propositions, introduced for their subserviency to a totally distinct branch of

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the science? Why, among all the applications of the Newtonian theory, is this the only one that he will admit to deserve a place? Not to mention the second book of the Optics, the majority of the propositions, in the second part of the first book, are employed in applying the brilliant discoveries detailed in the preceding part, to the explanation of natural phenomena. But our author selects one of these; and this one he expands into a whole section, although the theory itself has scarcely been touched upon.

The tenth and last section contains a particular application of the doctrine laid down in the earlier parts of the work, to the theory of Caustics by reflection; and two propositions introductory to the theory of Caustics by refraction, which the author has thought proper to omit. It appears that this section ought to have been incorporated partly with the second or third, and partly with the fourth or fifth sections.

Such are the general outlines of this treatise; such the objections to which, in our apprehension, its plan is liable; and such a few exceptions to the detail, in point of strict consistency with what appears to be the arrangement of the whole.

As this work is written for the perusal of learners, we beg leave to add a single remark upon the inaccuracy with which our author has stated, or rather alluded to some passages of Sir Isaac Newton's Optics, in which the theory of Vibrations is mentioned. No part of that great man's writings has been so generally perverted by ignorant theorists, who, on the supposed authority of his name, have built the most extravagant hypotheses. In p. 13. our author completely mistakes Sir Isaac Newton's meaning. Newton does not *conclude*, from the phenomena of reflection and refraction, that these effects are produced by some power or *medium*, diffused over their surface: he only says, with the modesty peculiar to himself, that the problem is scarce to be solved, otherwise than by supposing that the reflection is produced by some *power of the body* evenly diffused all over its surface, and by which it acts upon the ray *without* immediate contact.—Optics, B. 2. part 3. prop. 8. He then goes on to illustrate this idea, by the analogy of gravitation, inflection, &c.; but never once, in this whole proposition, does he hint at any *medium*. On the contrary, he refers all to those powers of attraction and repulsion; to explain which, the hypothesis of a medium is called in. Again, in page 236. note, our author, after mentioning the Newtonian theory of fits, (which he is pleased to call a supposition, although it is clearly a method of expressing a fact), adds, that Sir Isaac Newton *accounts* for them in the following manner; and then quotes that part of Query 29. in which Sir Isaac alludes to the theory of Vibrations. But nothing can be more evident, than that he is there only giving a vague hypothesis, agreeing with the facts,

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but founded on no induction, and as likely to be false as true. Accordingly, it should be observed, that in the 12th prop. of B. 2. part 3. where the idea is first stated, the philosopher expressly describes it as an hypothesis to which he attached no belief—'What kind of action or disposition this is, whether it consists in a circulating or a vibratory motion of the ray, or of the medium, or something else, I do not here inquire. *Those that are averse from assenting to any new discoveries, but such as they can explain by an hypothesis*, may for the present suppose,' &c. And afterwards—'But whether this hypothesis be true or false, I do not here consider.' The whole hypothesis of a separate ætherial medium is contained in seven of the Queries, (18.–24.) It is given as a mere conjecture, kept carefully by itself, and separated from the rest of a work, whose basis is the strictest induction. We have thought it necessary to detail these things, as a caution against confounding matters so perfectly distinct in themselves: a caution, which the author of the treatise now before us seems not to have kept steadily in view; and the neglect of which, in other writers, has given birth to the most deformed and noxious productions of speculative imagination.

Art. XXIV. *Travels through Sweden, Finland, and Lapland, to the North Cape,* in the years 1798–9. By Joseph Acerbi. 2 vol. 4to. pp. 776. London. Mawman. 1802.

Books of travels are interesting, either from the information which they afford concerning distant countries, or from the picture which they exhibit of the traveller's mind, and of the impressions made upon it by the scenes through which he passed. While some authors in this department of literature, as Volney and Savary, have confined themselves entirely to the former of those subjects—and others, as Southey and Mrs Woolstoncroft, have chiefly turned their reader's attention to the latter—the traveller, whose volumes now lye before us, chooses a middle course; and endeavours to combine a description of the countries which he saw, with the narrative of his own adventures, and the delineation of his feelings. Accounts of this kind are, of all others, the most engaging: it is from such a mixture of incident and discussion, and facts, that the works of Brydone and Moore derive their charms and their value: and, although far inferior in every respect to either of those excellent writers, Mr Acerbi has, by adopting their plan, given to his book an interest, which neither the extent and novelty of his information, nor the profundity of his remarks, nor the elegance and liveliness of his style, could have bestowed.

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Our author is a gentleman from the north of Italy. In his journey through Sweden and Finland, he was accompanied by a countryman of his own; and, in the most difficult part of his undertaking, his journey from Torneâ to the North Cape, he was attended by Colonel Skioldebrand, a Swedish officer, who has favoured the world with several excellent drawings of Scandinavian scenery. One half of the first volume is occupied by Mr Acerbi's remarks upon the climate and government of Sweden, the state of the arts, of literature, and of society in that country, and several details upon its history and antiquities. After the very ample information upon all these points, which we already possess, in the works of Coxe, Catteau, and the still more recent publication of the two French travellers, this part of our author's book may perhaps be regarded as superfluous. His observations are distinguished by no originality or uncommon sagacity; his information, though arranged in chapters, is ill digested, and devoid of lucid order: he directs our attention to subjects either sufficiently known, or too trivial to deserve notice; and passes over various topics, which come strictly within the plan of a general account of Sweden, and have never yet been distinctly treated beyond the limits of that country. Thus, while whole chapters are devoted to uninteresting details upon the state of painting and sculpture in Stockholm, and the merits of its obscure artists, no account whatever is given of the state of agriculture in Sweden, or of the finances of that country, which have, for the last twenty years, been in so singular a situation, and been productive of so many violent measures on the part of the government. The revolution of 1772 has been amply detailed in various publications; more particularly, in the excellent work of Mr Sheridan: But we should have expected from Mr Acerbi, some account of the consummation of that revolution in 1789, and some detail of the proceedings at the diet of Gefle, and of the various interesting anecdotes on both of these topics, which are in the mouth of every well-informed Swede at this day.

Our author tells us, p. 170. vol. i. that it is inconsistent with his plan to give a statistical account of Sweden; but we cannot well imagine a more dry statistical account than that of Gothenburg, and of the islands of Aland. His statistical information upon many of the trading towns on the east side of the Gulf of Bothnia, is minute and useless: it might have been given with equal distinctness, in the concise and luminous form of tables, if it should be thought necessary to detail, in a general work upon Finland, all the minutiæ of customhouse accounts. Mr Acerbi's remarks on the state of polite society in Stockholm, are not very lively, and very far from being good-natured. No *Frenchman*

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could have returned, with more supercilious and captious criticism, the attentions which he received. Our author's account of the Swedish universities, and the system of education, in general, is the most interesting part of the first branch of his work. In his observations upon the literary characters of the capital and of Upsala, we could have wished that he had been less dogmatical and severe in the judgments which he passes—more sparing of his jokes and anecdotes, which can serve no purpose to readers unacquainted with the parties, and must give unnecessary pain to those who are concerned. This is the most delicate part of a traveller's task, in relating his adventures, and describing men, as well as man. Those who, by their exalted station, act in the eyes of all the world, and those who challenge public notice by their conduct, or of their own choice, are fair subjects for the author that would entertain his readers with anecdote and satire. Authors, too, or dilettanti who have pushed themselves into high places in the scientific world, and introduced an aristocratic spirit into the republic of letters, are proper objects of public criticism. But here, the line ought carefully to be drawn; and he that oversteps it, enters the regions of scandal or of gossiping. To justify the severity of our censures, we must take the liberty of noticing the manner in which Mr Acerbi has described several personages, who have neither challenged publicity by their works nor by their lives, and the shade of whose voluntary retirement (we have the authority of Mr Acerbi himself for the remark, p. 132. note) ought always to be deemed inviolable.

In chapter 8. vol. i. Mr Acerbi tells us of one academician, that he is a cypher—and adds a dull joke, made by 'a wag,' upon this idea; of another, that he is an illuminatus and a devotee; of a third, that he serves as a butt to both academies. One man is young in years, as well as in knowledge; another has survived his fame as an operator. Old age seems, with our traveller, to claim neither tenderness nor respect: He laughs (but so heavily, that we imagine he laughs alone) at a baron, who has outlived his eyesight; an oculist, who has survived his fame, and even the recollection of his existence; and a professor, who, in his dotage, has lost the little knowledge that he once possessed.

Most of his anecdotes seem to have contained a little humour or singularity at some distant period; but to have lost all pretensions to these qualities, in passing through Mr Acerbi's memory. Thus, he tells us, that a professor of Upsala, being oppressed with melancholy, so as never to stir from his chamber, sent one day to a friend for some books to amuse him; and his friend, knowing his taste, sent him a chest full of voyages

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and travels. Talking of an admiral, he tells us, that, when stationed at Carlscrona, he used to draw caricatures of all who came to visit him.

In treating of different public characters, he seems extremely eager to pick up every little sarcasm and tale which has been ferreted out by silly curiosity, or invented by malice. In writing a serious work, like the one before us, an author should not too easily give credit and place to the stories which he hears in private circles. When Mr Acerbi thinks it worthy of his page to inform the world, that a financier was punished for his opposition to the distilleries, by having a drunken wife; that a minister of state was persuaded he should in a short time be taken up into heaven, like Elijah, without passing through death; that a bishop (preceptor to his Swedish Majesty) is a man of no learning, but ready to make any sacrifice to his private interest; and that another prelate, high in favour and influence, is a believer *ex officio*, a superstitious zealot, or a hypocrite—we are inclined to think that such reports may have been rashly taken up from the enemies of the persons in question; and to wish that Mr Acerbi had not unnecessarily admitted them into his book. But, when he tells us, seriously, that a man of talents, at the end of the 18th century, has published a demonstration of the existence of the devil in the human body—a classification of devils, and recipes for putting those personages to flight—the hairy devil, for instance, by means of St John's wort—that the ceremony of exorcism was performed at the baptism of the present Prince Royal—that a gentleman of great abilities, accomplishments, and virtue, (to whom, by the way, our author lay under many obligations), firmly believes, that, by the influence of mesmerism, he can transport himself into heaven, hold converse with his deceased relatives, and distinctly perceive their souls clothed in white jackets, (vol. i. cap. 19.);—truly, we are more than half inclined to suspect Mr Acerbi of using *all* the privileges of a traveller; and only regret, that his inventive powers are not of a more amiable or amusing cast. Indeed, he has, in one passage, shown us clearly upon what light grounds he is willing to receive all satirical or malignant stories against men of high station, either in the political or literary world. The silly anecdote which he thinks proper to insert in page 102. vol. i. refers to the worthy President of the Royal Society of London, and is an exaggerated edition of a falsehood contained in the dull writings of a contemptible satirist, whose profligacy of character (the want of genius is not his own fault) should have prevented Mr Acerbi from believing a much less improbable tale upon his authority.

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We have dwelt, perhaps, longer than our readers may think necessary, on this topic: But it must be remembered, that although the names of those persons whom Mr Acerbi has vilified, are quickly forgotten by us, who see them now for the first time brought forward, yet this book must immediately find its way to the circles where the subjects of its sarcasms move; and we know that this imprudence in former travellers, has frequently been productive of very unpleasant consequences, both to the parties themselves, and to succeeding visitors.

In Mr Acerbi's invectives against the government and academies of Sweden, we can neither discover much reason nor consistency. We are told, in p. 86, vol. i. that Gustavus III, so far from supporting the sciences, treated them with neglect, if not contempt: But, in p. 101, the zeal of that monarch for literature and science is admitted; though our author explains it, by saying that it was affected and unnatural. In p. 102, he remarks, that Government directs the academies, and the academies the people; yet, in p. 107, he applies to those bodies the sarcasm of Rousseau—that while the academicians think they are leading the public opinion, three fourths of the kingdom are ignorant of their existence. For our parts, we can scarcely imagine how Mr Acerbi's dislike to the constitution of 1772 can have arisen; when we consider that he cannot be ignorant of the history of Sweden from the death of Charles XII. to the accession of Gustavus III. He calls the Government, during that period, a limited monarchy. We are unwilling to quarrel about a word; but, according to the same nomenclature, the constitution of Venice must be ranged in the same class with that of Great Britain. He tells us, that absolute governments are unfriendly to the growth of genius; but we can scarcely refuse this character to the writers of the Augustan ages either of Rome, or France, or England. He extols the tendency of the Swedish aristocracy to produce great orators, whose talents (he adds) were called forth by the encouragements which the opportunities of selling themselves to foreign powers presented. In the same manner might he praise the very worst governments of Italy or Asia, for their tendency to excite ingenuity in the preparations of poisons, stilettos, and bow-strings. The foreign and domestic events in the Swedish story, during the Seven-years war, may reconcile to the present constitution any one who does not labour under a nervous horror of the mere name of King: And, were we even to admit all that the enemies of Gustavus have alleged, (and his enemies were only to be found in the Senate), we might still approve of the change which he wrought; inasmuch as the worst form of domestic tyranny, is vastly more tolerable than the mildest foreign yoke.

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Our author devotes the remaining part of his first volume to his journey through Finland; a country in many respects extremely interesting, and hitherto little visited by travellers. In this part of his progress, we have followed him with great pleasure. His narrative, though clumsy and monotonous in the style, is sufficiently amusing; and his information, though neither so full as we could have wished, nor so original as might have been expected, is nevertheless of considerable value. We were surprised however to find, that he does not enter into the question, of the very singular affinity which has been remarked between the Finnish and Hungarian languages; and we regret that he has given no account of the system of agriculture practised in the cultivated parts of that extensive territory, and admirably adapted to its humid climate.

Although we can venture to recommend this part of the work to the attention of our readers, we must, at the same time, warn them not to expect greater profundity of observation, than that which distinguishes the remarks on Sweden. We beg leave also to inform them, that Mr Acerbi is afflicted with an antipathy to priests, which, however excuseable in Italy, is extremely ridiculous (to say no more of it) in Scandinavia, where the purity of the clerical character is proportioned to the frugality of the ecclesiastical establishment. Thus, in p. 191, vol. i. he is pleased to insert the anti-clerical remarks of a peasant with whom he conversed, and who turned the clergy into ridicule, says Mr Acerbi, with a very happy vein of humour. If we may judge of the man's humour by the specimen here given, it must have been of a different family from that humour which is allied to mirth. Our author is also subject to very whimsical fits of benevolence. He bewails the poverty of a Finlander who happened to live near a handsome church; and, as a parallel case, he quotes a fact observed by him in Ireland, of a miserable hovel founded (if we rightly comprehend him) upon a dunghill, and supported on one side, by 'the wall, ten feet high, of his Honour's park,' p. 386, vol. i. It is not easy to perceive, how, in the one case, the demolition of the church, for which our author sighs, would improve the fortune of the peasant, unless, indeed, the operation were performed after the French fashion; and it is very obvious, that the Irish cotter would have lost one side of his house, had the landlord chosen to throw down the wall of 'his Honour's park.' But our traveller's benevolence is somewhat more universal than the philanthropy of other men. He is not content with whining over the ills of his own species—hear how he mourns the woes of brutes, p. 281, vol. i.

'This species of sport had not the same attraction for me, as the shooting of other birds. We were obliged to pass the whole night in

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the woods; to listen to the singing of the bird, with the invidious ear of a spy; to skulk and suppress our very breath, in order the better to catch the sound of his voice: and when at last we heard him, it was necessary we should employ all the craft and artifice of a traitor; take advantage even of the sentiment of love in this poor creature; and all this for the base purpose of killing him by surprise. In the chase, as in every thing else, I love plain-dealing; I love to make the birds fly before me; to pursue them, and to declare war before I fire upon them. One single bird killed upon the wing, is worth ten assassinated on the branch of a tree.'

There is something particularly melancholy in the inconsistency which distinguishes the doctrines of a certain class of modern writers. Our readers will observe, that Mr Acerbi has no manner of objection to the cruelty of murdering the defenceless bird; but then, it is treacherous to take it by surprise. He loves to declare war, before he commences hostilities; but he loves also to attack a defenceless enemy. And the reader, who, from the tenor of the preceding passage, should conclude that Mr Acerbi only kills when forced to it by some overruling necessity, would commit a very great mistake; for that gentleman, in the expedition which he has narrated, was the ornithologist and entomologist of the party.

There is one kind of sport which we cannot help thinking as cruel and treacherous as that of shooting by surprise, although men only, and not birds, are its objects. It consists in gaining admittance into literary and private circles; receiving all manner of assistance and polite attention; passing whole nights in such society; listening to the unrestrained converse of the social hours, with the invidious ears of a spy; suppressing the breath of censure, in order to hear the more; taking advantage even of the sentiments of friendship and hospitality: and all this for the base purpose of publishing what has been incautiously told, or taken by surprise. In travelling and in book-making, as in every thing else, we love plaindealing. One single joke or anecdote, that hurts no friend, and turns no virtue into ridicule, is worth ten obtained by indelicacy or ingratitude.

Such being our sentiments, we cannot approve of the manner in which Mr Acerbi has spoken of Baron Silfverhielm * (vol. i. p. 272.), who, although contaminated by the stain of nobility, is a man of talents and virtue, and laid our traveller under many obligations (p. 268-9.) As it is possible to unfrock a parson in Sweden, as well as in Italy, we wish our author had omitted the various anecdotes which he has related

* Mr A. always calls the Baron *Silfverkielm*. There is no such name.

of the poor priest of Muonioniscá (vol. ii. p. 21.); guilty, indeed of being a clergyman, but liberal, hospitable, and well informed (p. 17.); and, though possessed of theological books, yet, according to his own declaration, addicted as little as possible to the vice of reading them (ibid.) Nor should we have been disposed to blame him for indiscriminate praise, had he treated with less asperity and petulance Professor Thunberg and others (vol. i. p. 121.); to whose assistance, academicians though they be, he afterwards informs us (vol. ii. p. 142.) his work is indebted for most of the natural history which it contains.

The third part contains Mr Acerbi's travels from Torneâ across the isthmus of Scandinavia, to Alten Gaard on the Frozen Ocean, and thence to the North Cape. This is the part of his journey in which our traveller endured the greatest hardships, and passed through scenes least explored by strangers. But, from the barren nature of the subject; the uninteresting character of the natives; the perpetual recurrence of the same difficulties and toils— the narrative is less amusing, and the information less valuable and diversified than that which the more beaten track of the Bothnian coast offered in the first volume. As the objects which present themselves become less varied and attractive, it is not to be expected that our author's talent for observation or reflection should improve. Yet, let not the reader stop in disgust, when he meets with such copious disquisitions upon nothing, as that contained in p. 51. vol. ii. After mentioning, at great length, the inconvenience suffered during his dinner, from the attacks of musquitoes, he pauses to meditate and inquire; and gives vent to the ideas that fill his mind, in the following soliloquy.

'I cannot, at this moment, account to myself, why we did not think of setting up our tent, under which we certainly should have enjoyed greater comfort, and have been less tormented by the insects. Perhaps it was, that we did not expect to remain long in this place, and because the erection of our tent always took up some time; or it might be too carefully packed up—or perhaps we had not the means at hand of erecting it. It often happens, that a person does things for which he afterwards can assign no direct reason, though, at the time, he may have had satisfactory grounds for his proceedings.'

The constant occurrence of the musquitoes becomes almost as troublesome and fatiguing to the reader, as they were to the travellers. We have them in every chapter; almost in every page. They meet us in all forms: sometimes in the meat; sometimes as subjects of dissertation; frequently in allegory, as enemies in battle array.

As our author approaches the great end of his toils, he rises to a sublimer tone; but sometimes he sinks a little too suddenly;

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as, for instance, in the following passage, where, after describing the solitary dwelling of a merchant at Havesund, he exclaims,

'Dreadful place to live at! The only attraction in these abodes, is fishing, and the love of gain. The nearer one approaches the North Cape, the more nature seems to frown; vegetation dies, and leaves behind it nothing but naked rocks.'—Vol. ii. p. 110.

We must, however, except from the general censure which we have been obliged to pass on the style of our author's reflections, the following very fine passage, describing the feelings with which he surveyed the scenery of the North Cape, where he arrived exactly at midnight.

'Here every thing is solitary, every thing is steril, every thing sad and despondent. The shadowy forest no longer adorns the brow of the mountain. The singing of the birds, which enlivened even the woods of Lapland, is no longer heard in this scene of desolation. The ruggedness of the dark grey rock is not covered by a single shrub. The only music is the hoarse murmuring of the waves, ever and anon renewing their assaults on the huge masses that oppose them. The northern sun, creeping, at midnight, at the distance of five diameters, along the horizon, and the immeasurable ocean in apparent contact with the skies, form the grand outlines in the sublime picture presented to the astonished spectator. The incessant cares and pursuits of anxious mortals, are recollected as a dream; the various forms and energies of animated nature are forgotten; the earth is contemplated only in its elements, and as constituting a part of the solar system.'—Vol. ii. p. 111.

This is, at once, fine and bold; we believe it to be, also, a just painting of scenery, and a natural transcript of sentiment.

The travels conclude with a brief account of the journey homewards to Uleâborg. Upon the whole, we have little objection to that part of the narrative which properly belongs to Mr Acerbi himself; for it is now fair to observe, that we by no means believe him to be the author of the work, as it appears before the English public. We can discover, in various parts, errors and inaccuracies, which are to be accounted for only upon the supposition, that the traveller has done little more than furnish the materials for these volumes; and that he has been unfortunate in his choice of a redacteur. The errors in the orthography of many proper names—the silliness of various reflections—the indelicacy of many anecdotes and jests (considering that the book is addressed to a father, as a specimen of his son's improvement)—the ignorance of local circumstances in various trifling particulars, which, however, the traveller himself must have known, as in the note of *p.* 8. *Vol. I.*;—these, and other considerations, induce us to divide the censures we have bestowed, between Mr Acerbi and his editor, whose name does not

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appear. At the same time, we must express our unqualified disapprobation of the practice, now so prevalent among travellers, of devolving upon professed authors the important task of speaking for them to the public; a practice, destructive of accurate description, not very favourable to fidelity of narration, and altogether inimical to the interest with which we delight to read the accounts, however unpolished, of actors and eyewitnesses. We had almost forgotten to mention the doggrel English rhymes, with which the editor, taking advantage of Mr Acerbi's ignorance of the language, has thought proper to fill his pages. Nothing in the name of verse was ever presented, with fewer pretensions to merit of any kind.

Besides the travels, the volumes now before us contain a treatise on Lapland, drawn up, chiefly, from the account published by the missionary, Leems, in 1767, Danish and Latin. Indeed, with the exception of a little jesting, at the missionary's expense, and some additional remarks, chiefly on the natural history of the country, this treatise is a translation from Leems. It occupies the greater part of the second volume, and follows the original, section by section. This is the less necessary, since that work is by no means so rare as Mr Acerbi supposes: We believe there is scarcely a library in Europe without a copy of it.

The plates, which accompany Mr Acerbi's travels, are in general good: the winter scene in Stockholm, and the two views in the woods of Finland, strike us as the best. The map prefixed to vol. ii. is very indifferent. The entry upon the gulph of Bothnia at Grislehamn, is wretched; and the Finlandish bath has nothing to recommend it, but the naked accuracy of the representation. The figures of the insects, in vol. ii., are excellent.

The work concludes with specimens of Finnish and Norwegian music, and our author's Itinerary.

ART. XXV. *An Inquiry into the Nature and Effects of the Paper Credit of Great Britain.* By Henry Thornton Esq. M. P. London, 1802. pp. 320.

THE progress of commercial philosophy has been much accelerated by the writings of practical men of business. In that, as well as in the other departments of civil knowledge, it is only from the actual course of affairs that the statesman can derive his maxims of policy, or the speculative inquirer deduce the conclusions of his science: but the habits of both are incompatible with a personal knowledge of detail. It is necessary that the labour of accumulating particular facts, should be separated from the more liberal

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task of generalizing these into principles; and that they, who are qualified to combine larger views, should be furnished, by the minute accuracy of others, with descriptions in which they may confide. In England, which is the native-country of political œconomy, the works, contributed by professional men, form a large deposite of authenticated facts. For these we are primarily indebted to that diffused literature, which multiplies the demand for varied information, and has already liberalized the practitioners in almost every walk of industry. But the greater number of these publications have been suggested by such occasional events, in the fluctuation of our commercial prosperity, as rouse a general interest, and direct the curiosity of the public to that quarter of the great machine, in which the derangement is supposed to have taken place. It is in this manner, that every period of dearth has contributed in some degree to alleviate subsequent years of scarcity, by the instruction which it yielded against popular prejudice. Those numerous tracts, in which alone the detailed history of our foreign commerce can be traced, at least during its earlier progress, appear to have been prompted by the frequent disturbance, which the balance of exchanges suffered, from the alternations of war and peace. The immediate consequences of the South Sea scheme, and of the many wild projects which about the same time excited such a pernicious rage, were somewhat compensated by the more distinct knowledge, which they ultimately furnished, with respect to the bounds of commercial adventure. It was in a similar manner, from the embarrassments, that were occasioned in the reign of King William by the reformation of the coin, that our politicians first derived a clear and steady light on the subject of metallic circulation. And that curious system, by the operation of which the use of precious coin is now almost superseded, had remained in a great measure unknown to all but the bankers and traders of London, until the suspension of cash payments at the Bank of England produced that copious information, which, in various forms, has been communicated to the public.

Of all the publications, which that momentous event has occasioned, the most valuable unquestionably is this of Mr Thornton. With no ostentatious professions, and with no admixture of superfluous matter, it contains the largest portion of new information that has for a long time been offered to those, who, either for the pleasures of speculation, or with a view to public life, are engaged in the researches of political economy. The instruction, however, which may be derived from the work, is not to be obtained by a cursory or passive perusal. The author has so little management in the disposition of his materials, and is frequently so much embarrassed in the explanation of arguments, that his

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reader must undertake the trouble of reducing these to a more precise statement, as well as of digesting the general subject in a more distinct form. Even in point of accuracy, his reasonings are not to be trusted with the same confidence to which his information is entitled; for, if examined with care, they will sometimes be found defective: nor can it excite any surprise, that the same opportunities, by which a person has been eminently instructed in the facts of such a subject, should have proved unfavourable to those speculative habits, which exercise the powers of accurate and comprehensive inference. At the same time, from our own experience, we may caution the reader of Mr Thornton, that he should not too hastily consider as an erroneous deduction, what he may find to be only the confused statement of a just argument. For the work indicates, throughout, an author unpractised in composition. In most of the details separately taken, there is that degree of perspicuity and ease, which shows him to have been fully possessed of the subject; though he rarely attains precision and distinctness of expression. But the various discussions are so unskilfully arranged, that they throw no light on each other, and we can never seize a full view of the plan: so imperfectly is the order of investigation defined, that sometimes an inquiry is prematurely anticipated, sometimes inconveniently postponed; and the author has been frequently constrained, by his consciousness of this imperfection, to repeat the same disquisition in different places. These defects appear to have arisen, in some measure, from his having varied his design, after he was engaged in the execution of the work; for he tells us that his first intention

—' was merely to expose some popular errors which related chiefly to the suspension of the cash payments of the Bank of England, and to the influence of our paper currency on the price of provisions. But in pursuing his purpose, many questions occurred which it seemed important to discuss, partly on account of their having some bearing on the topics under consideration, and partly because they appeared to be of general importance, and had either been left unexplained, or had been inaccurately stated by those English writers who have treated of paper credit. This work has therefore assumed, in some degree, the character of a general treatise.'—*Introd.*

It is to be regretted that it did not receive in every respect the form, as it contains the valuable substance, of a general treatise. Most of the prolixity, and some of the obscurity, which oppress the reader in its present shape, would have been avoided, if the temporary topics, which formed his original object, had been sunk into a subordinate digression, instead of being suffered to interweave themselves with more general inquiries through the whole train of the discourse. Adhering to this distinction, we

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shall attempt an abstract of its principal contents: and that we may observe an order which will both afford a clear view of his doctrine, and admit of such remarks being introduced as we think necessary, we shall consider, *first*, The principles which he has adopted on the general theory of paper credit; *secondly*, His account of that system of credit and of paper-money which is established in this country; *thirdly*, His explanation of the difficulties to which the Bank of England was subjected in 1797; and *fourthly*, His opinion with regard to the influence of our present paper currency upon the present state of prices.

I. Although some general truths, respecting the operations of paper money, have been ascertained, the analysis of that very intricate subject is far from being complete. Even the fundamental principles are still involved in some degree of obscurity, and writers of equal authority have thus been led to vary in many of their deductions. It may be useful, therefore, to present a full view of the opinions which are professed by Mr Thornton. In this, we shall not entirely confine ourselves to the three preliminary chapters, in which he has attempted to arrange his general doctrine; because several of the most important principles are not developed in that sketch, but receive an incidental explanation in the course of his subsequent reasonings.

1. The origin, and the solid foundation of every system of paper-money, Mr Thornton has correctly placed in that credit, which subsists among commercial men with regard to their mercantile transactions. By this mutual trust, they are brought under pecuniary engagements to each other; and it is the expression of these engagements in writing, that creates the first and largest portion of circulating paper. By reducing them to a written form, the insecurity, that attends verbal obligations, is avoided by the creditor; and an advantage is obtained, on the other hand, by the debtor, in having that confidence, which is entertained both of his funds and of his prudence, expressed in a regular and transmissible document. Promissory notes and bills of exchange, as such documents have been called, were soon discovered to be susceptible of a more extended use, than that of recovering debts to the original creditor. They admitted, like other instruments of debt, and more easily than most others, of being transferred; and, in consequence of this facility, they came gradually to circulate as a representative of value, that is, as an effective medium of exchange, in almosst all payments of a large amount. After their utility in this function had been ascertained, it was an obvious improvement to adapt them, by a small change of their form, to those ordinary payments in which the precious metals had always been employed; and to substitute, by this simple contrivance, a very cheap in-

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strument of commerce in the place of a very expensive one. The promissory notes of bankers, which are payable on demand, have accordingly for a long time past performed, in this country, the ordinary purposes of exchange in almost all transactions of a small amount, as well as in settling the small balances of larger transactions.

This description of circulating paper differs, in one material circumstance, from the opinion of Mr Boyd, who, in his recent publication, has expressly denied that bills of exchange, or any other negotiable paper, form a part of the circulating medium. 'The latter (Mr Boyd has said) is the circulator; the former are merely objects of circulation.' This verbal antithesis, it may be remarked, is calculated to suggest a very erroneous principle; for, even in theory, no definite boundary can be marked between the circulating medium and the commodities of which it facilitates the exchange. The language of Mr Thornton is more consistent with a just view of the subject. All negotiable paper is, by its form, the representative of value; and is therefore qualified, more or less perfectly, according to its varieties of form, to serve the purposes of money. It is convertible into cash; and on the faith of this convertibility it passes immediately as cash. The precious metals themselves do not pass as money, except on the faith of their convertibility into commodities. Paper-money, in one form, may circulate less quickly than in another, and may not be so readily convertible into specie; but its essential character is the same. Not to mention those bills drawn upon London, by which all the great payments of our foreign and domestic commerce are effected; a vast number of smaller bills circulate among the traders of the country, who successively indorse them to each other. While some of these are from day to day withdrawn, they are continually replaced by others; and the average number of such bills, floating in the general market at once, forms unquestionably a portion of the circulating medium. By omitting them, we should leave ourselves a very imperfect idea both of the extent, and of the consequential operations, of our paper system.

2. In common with all other writers, Mr Thornton appears to admit, that the convertibility of paper into specie is the basis upon which that system must be founded. He is not indeed quite explicit; and there is much reason to regret, that he has not been at more pains to elucidate this principle, and the limitations with which the statement of it may be qualified. That the immediate convertibility of paper into gold is an indispensable condition of its credit, as we are taught by the language of system, has been disproved by the recent history of the Bank of England; which has happily quieted the apprehensions, to which

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our best-informed politicians yielded, on account of the event of 1797. The maintenance of credit during a short interval of suspended payments, was a case, indeed, which might have been foreseen from theory, and was not wholly unknown to our previous experience. But that a restriction of this kind should have been continued for more than five years, without any depreciation of the paper from a failure of confidence, is a fact which has falsified all reasonable prediction, and forms an exception to the most confident maxims of all former economists. It is incumbent on us, therefore, to consider how far we are required to limit, by the result of this experiment, a principle which had been generalized prematurely. In this, we receive slight assistance from Mr Thornton. *

The convertibility of paper into specie, without delay and without loss, may be necessary in two respects: to maintain the credit of the paper, by precluding that depreciation which proceeds from a failure of confidence; and to preserve the value of the paper from that depreciation, which originates in an excess of circulating medium. The necessity of immediate access to gold, for the credit of the paper, may be superseded, it appears, by a full persuasion on the part of the public that the paper is secured by ample funds. But this can have no effect in restricting the quantity, which is, on the contrary, encouraged by this very confidence of the public. Mr Thornton, accordingly, expresses his opinion, that gold coin is the standard by which the value of all paper money must be regulated; and that, in order to maintain an uniformity between them, there should always be a considerable fund of bullion in the country, and a certain degree of interchange of the paper for precious coin. This principle is so implicated with all the investigations of his treatise, and is of itself so important, that we are sorry he did not think of illustrating it more fully, and of reducing it, if possible, to more specific terms.

3. He has explained, however, with great clearness, another part of the theory of money; the different effects of a quick or a slow circulation. Such of our readers, as have attended to the history of opinions in political science, will recollect that a consideration, which now seems quite obvious, was long overlooked by the most acute and profound inquirers. Montesquieu and Hume fell into several mistakes, from not adverting to the degree in which the representative power of money is augmented, by a more rapid transmission; and although the principle may be alluded to, in a few passages of Smith's work, he appears to have been unaware of its extent. We doubt if even the writers,

* Pp. 70. 187. 258. 279.

by whom it has been more recently urged, have traced all the effects of its operation.

The quantity of money, necessary for performing a certain number of exchanges in a certain time, may be considered as nearly in the inverse ratio of its velocity of circulation. Whatever, therefore, tends to accelerate the general rate, contributes, so long as the number of exchanges remains unaugmented, to economize the necessary quantity. And if, by the operation of any cause, its movement be retarded, the want of an additional quantity will be felt. From the same proposition it likewise follows, that, if one kind of money is susceptible of a more rapid circulation than another, a smaller quantity will be required of the former than of the latter, to carry on a given number of exchanges in a given time.

Mr Thornton has justly observed,* that, in a commercial country, whatever the circulating medium consists of, it is apt to vary in its rate of circulation. A high and prosperous state of mercantile confidence quickens it; and it is apt to be retarded, during the intervals of distrust and alarm. Every merchant, who lies under pecuniary engagements, must not only arrange the punctual fulfilment of these, but must reserve a farther provision against contingencies. During an interval of alarm, he of course makes this reserve rather greater than in ordinary times; and at a period of great confidence, he ventures to keep it rather less. We shall perceive, in the sequel, what application Mr Thornton has made of these deductions.

He has likewise observed,† with regard to paper money in particular, that some kinds of paper circulate more slowly than others. Bills of exchange, for example, bear interest, and become daily more valuable to the holder. Bank notes, on the contrary, like guineas, occasion a daily loss to the possessor, because no interest accrues. There is thus a reason for detaining the one, and for parting with the other as soon as possible. Commercial people will endeavour to keep their necessary provision for future payments, rather in bills, than in bank notes.

4. The most important, perhaps, of all questions respecting the operations of paper money, relates to its effect upon the price of commodities. Mr Thornton admits, in the most explicit manner, that, in this particular, there is no difference between a currency of paper and one consisting of the precious metals; and that in both cases, if the quantity of circulating medium is permanently augmented, without a corresponding augmentation of internal trade, a rise will unavoidably take place in the price of exchangeable articles. Indeed this is a principle, upon which

* P. 47. † P. 41.

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all the writers on commerce, both practical and speculative, are agreed: they have thought it so undeniable, as to require no particular illustration; and have rather assumed it as an obvious truth; than as a proposition which depended on inference. On this idea is founded Mr Hume's well-known argument against banks; and it is equally implied in Smith's satisfactory confutation of that objection: it forms the foundation of those presumptions, from which Mr Boyd has lately inferred an improper increase of Bank of England paper; and it is implicitly admitted likewise by Mr Thornton, one great object of whose book is to persuade the public that there has been no such increase.

Dr Smith, our readers will recollect, has refuted Mr Hume's notion, that paper-money raises prices, by referring to what he considers as a general fact in the theory of circulation; that every addition of paper to the currency displaces an equivalent quantity of gold. From different parts of Mr Thornton's work a few remarks may be collected, which place this principle in a more correct point of view. The language, in which Smith has described the displacement of gold, is not calculated to convey a very distinct conception of the manner in which it really takes place. The quantity of goods in the market (he says) being precisely the same after the paper is issued as before, the same quantity of money will be sufficient to circulate them: the channel of circulation remaining precisely the same, whatever is poured into it beyond the sum that is sufficient to fill it, cannot run in it, but must overflow: the sum that overflows is too valuable to lie unemployed at home; it will therefore be sent abroad, and, as the paper cannot go abroad, the gold will be exported. * If this statement be literally understood, it involves a statement which is contrary to historical fact; for, by what process did the discovery of the American mines operate upon prices, except by causing a much greater quantity of money to run in the channel of circulation, than had previously been sufficient to circulate the same quantity of goods? Mr Thornton has justly remarked, that the channel of circulation can never be said to be full, because employment is still afforded to a larger quantity of circulating medium by means of an advanced price of goods. 'This advanced price of goods is the same thing as a reduced price of coin: the coin, therefore, in consequence of its reduced price, is carried out of the country for the sake of obtaining for it a better market.' † Thus, the immediate effect of an addititition to the paper currency, is a rise of prices, which leads to an exportation of gold. The gold is not immediately displaced, because the circulating medium admits of no aug-

* Wealth of Nations, I. p. 436. † P. 211.

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mentation; nor thrown out of the channel of circulation, because that can hold no more; nor sent abroad, because it would otherwise have been altogether unemployed at home. Dr Smith, it is evident, overlooked the intermediate event; and, because the real explanation did not suggest itself, had recourse to the exceptionable style of metaphorical description.—Mr Thornton has another remark, * which suggests a just correction of that general position, by which we exclude altogether any permanent operation of paper money in raising prices, while there is gold in circulation that may be displaced. The same exportation of gold, which remedies the temporary rise that takes place in the particular country where paper has been issued, has a tendency to increase the supply of precious metal in the general market of the world, and thus to occasion a general rise of prices in which that particular country must participate. The whole quantity of bullion, of which Great Britain has spared the use by adopting a different medium of domestic exchange, is added to the general stock of the mercantile commonwealth, as much as if an equal quantity had been brought additionally from America; and the saving of that annual loss, which would have been occasioned by the waste of British coin, is equivalent to an increase in the annual produce of the mines.—But, on the other hand, it must be remembered, that the use of paper money tends, in some degree, to *lower* the price of commodities. In proportion as the instruments of commerce, or the machinery of manufactures, are of a less expensive construction, the articles, which they contribute to produce, may be afforded at a lower rate. To employ paper money instead of gold, is to substitute a very cheap instrument of commerce in the room of a very expensive one. That system of credit, also, of which the limits are greatly extended by the use of paper, tends, as Mr Thornton has observed, † to reduce prices, both by enlarging competition, and by saving the trouble and expense of weighing, counting, and transporting money. The larger transactions of commerce are, by these means, greatly facilitated; and in this instance, as in every other, it is the true interest of the consumer that merchants should be permitted to adopt their own plans of economy.

Although, with these modifications, he admits the position of Dr Smith, that successive additions of paper to the currency will successively displace equivalent portions of gold, this must evidently cease to be true when the circulating medium already consists almost entirely of paper. In such circumstances the successive augmentations that may take place, are not compensated by any corresponding diminution in another part of the circula-

* P. 304. † P. 315. and p. 17.

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tion; and the rise of prices, that immediately ensues, is not reduced by a subsequent exportation of gold. While the currency remains in this augmented state, without an increase of trade to absorb the excess, prices will remain high; and if the quantity of paper should still be continually increased, the prices of commodities will continue to rise. The price of bullion must be affected in the same manner, as that of every other article. And in a country, where a system of paper currency has gradually supplanted an ancient system of gold coin, the market price of gold bullion may thus come to exceed that price which was adopted, under the ancient system, by the regulations of the mint.

We perfectly agree with Mr Thornton, that, in a country where gold constitutes an indefinitely small portion of the circulating medium, an excessive issue of paper will raise the market price of gold above its mint price. But the manner, in which he has described the process by which this is effected, appears to us so erroneous, that we shall lay before our readers the passage in which he has explained his opinion. It is rather long for an extract: But it forms a detached dissertation complete in itself; and we could not easily have selected a shorter passage, that would have afforded so just a specimen of the author's general manner. It is unnecessary to point out to our readers, by particular references, the familiar perspicuity with which the facts are separately stated, and the perplexity with which they are combined into a train of reasoning.

'I proceed, in the next place, to show in what manner a general rise in the cost of commodities, whether proceeding from an extravagant issue of paper, or from any other circumstance, contributes to produce an excess of the market price above the mint price of gold.

'It is obvious, that, in proportion as goods are rendered dear in Great Britain, the foreigner becomes unwilling to buy them, the commodities of other countries, which come into competition with ours, obtaining a preference in the foreign market; and, therefore, that, in consequence of a diminution of orders from abroad, our exports will be diminished; unless we assume, as we shall find it necessary to do, that some compensation in the exchange is given to the foreigner for the disadvantage attending the purchase of our articles. But, not only will our exports lessen, in the case supposed; our imports also will increase: for the high British price of goods, will tempt foreign commodities to come in, nearly in the same degree in which it will discourage British articles from going out. I mean only, that these two effects (that of a diminished export, and that of an increased import) will follow, provided that we suppose, what is not supposable, namely, that, at the time when the price of goods is greatly raised in Great Britain, the course of exchange suffers no alteration. For the following reason, I have said, that this is not supposable. Under

the circumstances which have been described, of a diminished export, and an increased import, the balance of trade must unavoidably turn against us; the consequence of which must be, that the drawers of bills on Great Britain, in foreign countries, will become more in number than the persons having occasion to remit bills. This disparity between the number of individuals wanting to draw, and of those wanting to remit, as was remarked in a former chapter, must produce a fall in the price at which the overabundant bills on England fell in the foreign market. The fall in the selling price, abroad, of bills payable here, will operate as an advantage to the foreign buyer of our commodities, in the computation of the exchangeable value of that circulating medium of his own country, with which he discharges the debt in Britain contracted by his purchase. It will thus obviate the dearness of our articles: it will serve as a compensation to the foreigner, for the loss which he would otherwise sustain by buying in our market. The fall of our exchange, will therefore promote exportation, and encourage importation. It will, in a great degree, prevent the high price of goods in Great Britain from producing that unfavourable balance of trade, which, for the sake of illustrating the subject, was supposed to exist.

'The compensation thus made to the foreigner, for the high British price of all articles, is necessary, as an inducement to him to take them; somewhat in the same manner as a drawback, or bounty on exportation, is the necessary inducement to take those particular goods, which have been rendered too dear for the foreign market, by taxes laid on them in this country. In each case, the British consumer pays the high price, and the foreigner is spared, because otherwise he will not accept our commodities.

'The fall in our exchange was just now defined to be an advantage gained in the computation of the exchangeable value of that foreign circulating medium with which the foreigner discharges his debt in Great Britain, a debt paid in the circulating medium of this country. It implies, therefore, a high valuation of his circulating medium, and a low valuation of ours; a low valuation, that is to say, both of our paper and of the coin which is interchanged with it.

'Now, when coin is thus rendered cheap, it by no means follows, that bullion is rendered cheap also. Coin is rendered cheap through its constituting a part of our circulating medium; but bullion does not constitute a part of it. Bullion is a commodity, and nothing but a commodity; and it rises and falls in value, on the same principle as all other commodities. It becomes, like them, dear, in proportion as the circulating medium for which it is exchanged is rendered cheap; and cheap, in proportion as the circulating medium is rendered dear.

'In the case, therefore, which has now been supposed, we are to consider coin as sinking below its proper and intrinsic worth, while bullion maintains its natural and accustomed price. Hence there arises that temptation, which was formerly noticed, either to convert back into bullion, and then to export; or, which is the same thing, to export, and then convert back into bullion; or, which is also the

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same thing, to convert back into bullion, and then sell to the Bank, at the price which would be gained by exportation, that gold which the Bank has purchased, and has converted from bullion into coin.

'In this manner, an increase of paper, supposing it to be such as to raise the price of commodities in Britain above the price at which, unless there is some allowance afforded in the course of exchange, they will be received in foreign countries, contributes to produce an excess of the market price above the mint price of gold, and to prevent, therefore, the introduction of a proper supply of it into the Bank of England, as well as to draw out of its coffers, that coin which the directors of the Bank would wish to keep in them.' p. 200.*

Although the whole of this long passage is professedly employed, to explain in what manner an increase of paper produces an excess of the market price of gold above its mint price, a sufficient explanation of that fact is distinctly given in a single sentence of the fifth paragraph: Bullion, like all other commodities, becomes dear in proportion as the circulating medium, for which it is exchanged, is rendered cheap. No other account of the fact can be given; and no farther explanation will be required. Our author, however, has intermingled with this the statement of another very different fact; that fall of the foreign exchange, which might be expected to follow an excessive increase of our paper-money, and of which he seems to have formed an erroneous conception. The mistakes, which are involved in the preceding disquisition, appear to have arisen from his overlooking the distinction, of which in other parts of the work he is aware, between the bullion or general price of goods, and their local price in paper-currency. When the bullion price of our goods rises, that oscillation of the commercial balance, which Mr Thornton has imperfectly described, will certainly be produced, by the tendency of an unfavourable exchange to encourage exports, and by the reciprocal tendency of an increased exportation to restore the equilibrium of exchanges. But it is not the bullion price of goods that is raised by an increase of

* In a subsequent passage, the doctrine is thus summed up—'Let the manner in which an extravagant issue of notes operates, in producing the excess, be recollected. It raises, and probably by slow degrees, the cost of British goods. It thus obstructs the export of them, unless a compensation for the high price is afforded to the foreign buyer, in the rate of exchange; and the variation in our exchange produces a low valuation of our coin, compared with that of bullion. The state of the exchange, then, is the immediate cause of the evil in question.' p. 242. The reader, who may wish to verify our criticisms by examining the original work, will find the same doctrine urged, pp. 271 & 281.

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paper-money; which only occasions a rise in the *paper* or *currency* price, and occasions that sort of rise in the price of bullion as well as in that of all other commodities. The bullion price of these will remain, therefore, precisely the same; and although our goods acquire at home a nominal increase of value, they are not rendered dearer to the foreign merchant, who pays for them ultimately in that bullion which is the common measure of his currency and ours. In this point of view, the increase of paper-money appears to have no effect on the balance of exports and imports. There can be no doubt, however, that it will, notwithstanding, have a considerable effect on the apparent course of exchange. By that increase, our currency sinks in its bullion value, and a given sum of it will no longer purchase the same quantity of bullion: but the foreign currency, which is not supposed to have undergone a change, preserves its own bullion value; and a given sum of that will still purchase the same quantity of bullion as before. The proportion, therefore, of the bullion value of our currency to the bullion value of foreign currency, is altered; and, in order to preserve the same apparent rate of exchange, there ought to be a corresponding alteration of the numerical tables in which that rate is expressed. As long as the ancient mode of computation remains still in use, the apparent or computed rate of exchange will be different from the real one; and, whatever may be the actual state of credit or debt, the exchange will always be calculated so much less in our favour, or so much more against us, in proportion to the depreciation which has taken place in the bullion value of our currency. Our general exchanges might thus appear unprosperous, at the very time that the balance of trade was greatly in our favour; and if the issue of paper continued to increase, the exchange would appear to become more and more unfavourable, although the balance of exports and imports had remained unaltered. The difference, therefore, between the two cases, which Mr Thornton appears to have confounded, is very distinct. When the local rise of the price of goods consists in an actual increase of their bullion price, a real fall of the foreign exchange will generally take place, and will *occasion*, by the demand for bullion to be exported, a fluctuating excess of the market price above the mint price of gold. But when an excessive issue of paper money produces a nominal rise of prices, a nominal fall of the foreign exchange will always take place, and is a *consequence* of that steady excess of the market price of gold above its mint price, which originated immediately in the excessive issue of paper. The importance of the error, into which we imagine Mr Thornton to have fallen, will justify the length of these observations; to which we shall only add, that the operation of an excessive paper-cur-

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rency, upon prices and upon the course of exchange, must be the same as that of a debasement of the coin, either by waste, or by the recent fraud of government *.

5. We shall conclude this first part of our abstract with some criticisms on another passage, in which Mr Thornton has not given a very satisfactory confutation of a popular prejudice, which however prevails so much, that the real fallacy of it ought to be explained.

' Some persons are of opinion, that, when the custom of buying on credit is pushed very far, and a great quantity of individual dealings is in consequence carried on by persons having comparatively little property, the national commerce is to be considered as unsupported by a proper capital; and that a nation, under such circumstances, whatever may be its ostensible riches, exhibits the delusive appearance of wealth.

' It must, however, be remembered, that the practice of buying on credit, in the internal commerce of the country, supposes the habit of selling on credit also to subsist; and to prevail, on the whole, in an exactly equal degree. In respect to the foreign trade of a country, the practice of dealing on credit indicates poverty or riches, in proportion as the credit generally taken is longer or shorter than the credit given. The custom which tradesmen have of selling to the consumers on credit, is also an indication of wealth in the commercial world: the traders must possess a surplus of wealth, either their own or borrowed, which bears an exact proportion to the amount of debts due to them by the consumers. Thus, that practice of trading on credit which prevails among us, so far as it subsists between trader and trader, is an indication neither of wealth nor of poverty in the mercantile body; so far as it respects our transactions with foreign countries, it is an indication of extraordinary wealth belonging to the merchants of Great Britain; and so far as it respects the trade between the retailer and the consumer, implies a deficiency of wealth in the consumers, and a proportionate surplus of it among commercial men. The existing customs imply, that, on the whole, there is among our traders a great abundance of wealth.' p. 18.

This passage has all the formality of analytical reasoning, but furnishes no answer to the objection which the author professes to obviate; for no inference, against that objection, can be derived from the distinctions which he has marshalled in such methodical order. Overlooking, in his attempt to dispel a popular error, the real misconception from which it proceeds, he has unwarily assumed another principle no less fallacious. The credit, which this country gives to foreigners, is unquestionably the consequence of accumulated capital; but we have no proof of the assertion, that the credits of our home trade are equalized; and we are quite unable to understand his inference, that the credit, which traders

* See the Wealth of Nations, II. p. 215.

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allow to the consumers, implies in the latter a deficiency of wealth. But it is unnecessary to examine these positions more closely, because we have no doubt, that the balance of credits would be found, as a measure of national wealth, no less erroneous, and still more unmanageable, than that estimate of the precious metals which was long ago abandoned. At any rate, a more direct mode must be sought of correcting the very false opinion, that a nation, in which the system of commercial credit is established, 'exhibits only a delusive appearance of wealth.'

It is the operation of credit, not directly to augment the national capital, but to distribute it among those who undertake to employ it productively. The actual state of credit, therefore, does not indicate the amount of that capital, but the manner in which it is distributed. At different times, a part of the national capital may be entrusted in the hands of traders more or less qualified to employ it prudently, and in that respect it may occasionally be exposed to a less or greater degree of hazard. During a period of excessive confidence, therefore, instead of considering 'the national commerce as unsupported by a proper capital,' we are to consider a part of the national capital as injudiciously employed. The imprudent investiture of loans, however, is evidently a very different thing from the creation of fictitious capital. The latter cannot be effected by mercantile credit; and the former is an evil, which, though the system is occasionally liable to it, can never be of very long duration. That system is reared up, by the necessities of commerce, for the most effective employment of capital; and those necessities adjust it, with tolerable exactness, between the limits of enterprise and caution. Wherever it has long been established to a great extent, there cannot be a more unequivocal proof, both of the solidity of the national capital, and of the prudence as well as skill with which it is employed.

II. Such, unquestionably, must be the conviction of every person, who puts himself in possession of the information that is contained in Mr Thornton's book, with respect to the present circumstances of our own country. It is upon this branch of the subject, that his communications are most satisfactory. The details might indeed have been rendered still more minute, without violating the consistency of his plan; but students of political philosophy will highly value the sketch, rude as it is, which he has drawn of our established system. While nothing can more immediately contribute, than the publicity of that system, in all its operations, to extend and strengthen the confidence on which it is solidly built: such dissected exhibitions of our commercial economy prepare, with necessary knowledge, those more active citizens who undertake the discussion of the

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national counsels. And the speculative politician, in receiving the legitimate materials of his science, may applaud the diligence that secures, while the original is yet entire, a delineation of that structure, which, after the revolutions of trade, will be seen only in the records of history. We shall attempt no more than a superficial outline of the description that might be formed out of Mr Thornton's materials.

The Bank of England may be considered as the main-spring of that complicated mechanism, by which the commercial payments of this country are transacted; and by which that comparatively small sum of money, with which they are performed, is kept in perpetual and regular circulation. The subordinate parts of this machine consist of about 70 private banking houses in London, and about 386 banks dispersed over the country. By the joint operation of these various money-dealers, almost all large payments, founded on commercial bargains, are ultimately settled in London, with the money which issues from the bank of England. This money consists, in ordinary times, partly of precious coin, partly of bank notes. From its large capital and extended issue of paper, that Bank indirectly supplies the whole kingdom with as much gold as is required for circulation. Its notes are issued in loans, granted either for the accommodation of the public treasury, or for that of merchants by discount of their bills; and in consequence of a common agreement among the bankers, no notes of any private house are current in London. All the large payments of that metropolis are, in this manner, effected by the paper of the Bank of England; and they are chiefly transacted by the private bankers, who, according to a conjectural estimate, make daily payments to the amount of four or five millions, and have probably in their hands a very large proportion of the whole of the notes circulating in the metropolis. *

The commerce of London itself is immense, not only as a seat of populous and luxurious consumption, but as a station of manufactures, and an emporium of maritime trade. The number of payments, occasioned by such various transactions, is farther increased by the dividends which the national creditors receive on the great sum of our public debt. But in addition to all these payments, originating within the capital itself, bills are drawn upon London, and remittances are sent there to provide for them, from all quarters of the kingdom. Even foreign drafts, on account of merchants in the country, are, with scarcely any exceptions, made payable in London. And thus a great proportion of the pecuniary engagements, to which the

* Pp. 60. 74. 154.

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whole commerce of the kingdom gives birth, are ultimately settled there.†

This transference of the country payments to London, has, in some degree, subsisted for a long time; the practice, once begun, was likely, from its great advantages, to be gradually extended; and of late years it seems to have been reduced to a regular and very commodious system. It was much facilitated by the multiplication of country banks, during that period of high prosperity and confidence which immediately preceded the late war. The formation of these, all over the country, was actively encouraged by the private bankers of London; and indeed the existence of a great national bank, which, like that of England, must provide a constant reservoir of gold, naturally suggests the creation of smaller establishments. Upon the formation of such banks in the country, many traders of all descriptions, who had formerly maintained a direct correspondence with merchants in London, fell into the practice of transacting their business with the metropolis, through the banker in their own neighbourhood, with whom they kept their cash. On their account, he drew largely upon a banker in London; who agreed to execute the extensive country business he had thus acquired, at a much lower commission, than what had formerly been paid by the several country traders to their separate correspondents. The rate of commission was reduced, in consequence of the diminished trouble as well as risk: the labour of keeping accounts, writing letters, receiving and paying bills, was now transferred to one house, which had before been divided among many; and a new security was afforded to the transactions between the metropolis and the country, by the interposed credit of wealthy and respectable country banks.*

The establishment of such a system of banks, and the transference of ultimate payments to one particular place, are in the natural course of that progressive subdivision of labour, which extends itself over an opulent and industrious country. The receipt and payment of money, instead of being conducted at home, are transferred, by every trader, to his banker; who devises means both of abridging his own labour, and of economizing the use of money, especially of that costly part of it which consists of specie. By his skill and success in attaining these objects, he manages an important part of trade, at an expense far inferior to what the merchants themselves must have incurred, had they continued to conduct it separately by their own clerks. In proportion, likewise, as the amount and number of payments and receipts is augmented in one particular place, the business of pay-

† P. 59. * Pp. 60. 155. 160.

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ing and receiving is more easily and cheaply transacted: the guineas or bank notes required, though more upon the whole, are fewer in proportion to the sums paid and received. So complete, accordingly, and so systematic is that economy in the use of notes, which long experience has introduced among the London bankers, that the present payments of that metropolis could scarcely be transacted, with due regularity, if the quantity of notes were to suffer any considerable diminution. In this, they are assisted by the fitness of bills of exchange and government securities to supply the place of bank notes: for the interest, that grows on such negotiable paper while it is detained, saves all the loss which the banker would undergo from the detention of coin or notes; and there is a certain sort and quantity of bills, on the conversion of which into money, he may rely almost as confidently as on the changing of a note into guineas, or of a guinea into silver. The ingenuity of these money-dealers, in sparing the circulating medium, is aptly illustrated by a custom which prevails among the city bankers. Each of them sends a clerk, at an appointed hour in the afternoon, to a room provided for their use. Each clerk there exchanges the drafts on other bankers received at his own house, for the drafts on his own house received at the houses of other bankers. The balances of the several bankers are transferred from one to another, in a manner which it is unnecessary to explain in detail, and the several balances are finally wound up by each clerk into one balance. The difference between the whole sum which each banker has to pay to all other city bankers, and the whole sum which he has to receive from all other city bankers, is, therefore, all that is discharged in bank notes or money; a difference, evidently, much less in its amount than that to which the several differences would be equal. *

But the economized use of circulating medium is by no means the only collateral advantage, that arises from this system of banks, connected in subordination to each other, with the great national Bank at their head. Although a very few of the country establishments have occasionally subjected themselves to the charge of encouraging rash speculation, the system, in its complex operation, has a real tendency to strengthen as well as to enlarge the basis of credit. Bankers possess, from their situation, very superior means of distinguishing the careful trader from the improvident. The bill transactions of the neighbourhood pass under their inspection; and by this information they are enabled to measure out confidence very nearly in a just proportion. In fact, it is considered as a regular branch of their professional experi-

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* Pp. 28. 39. 55. *note*. 60. 75. 164.

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ence, that they should appretiate the credit of the various traders within their district of circulation; and this sort of practical sagacity they are understood to cultivate with great assiduity. It is said to be the general practice of banks, to communicate such intelligence for their mutual advantage. Each of them endeavours to limit, not only the sum which any one trader shall obtain from themselves, but the total amount also, so far as they are able, of the sum which the same person shall borrow in different places. They endeavour, above all, to discourage bills of accommodation. While the transactions of country traders are thus surveyed by the banks of their respective districts, those of the country banks themselves are subject to the view of the London bankers, their correspondents; and these, again, are in some degree controuled by the Bank of England, which restricts, according to its own discretion, the credit with which they are accommodated. A series of checks is thus maintained, which, though far from establishing a complete security against all injurious speculation, presents a powerful obstacle to its progress. *

But the Bank of England retains another check, of a highly important nature, over the banks in the country. The issue of its own notes is restricted, in ordinary times, by the obligation to convert them into specie. The quantity of country paper, even during the present times, is limited by its accustomed convertibility into the notes of the Bank of England. This is the opinion of Mr Boyd † as well as of Mr Thornton; but the latter has more minutely explained the manner, in which he conceives the effect to be produced. If a particular country banker is imprudent enough to issue an extraordinary quantity of paper, while that of the Bank of England does not exceed the demands of London circulation, a local rise of prices will be produced within the district of that country paper, but prices in London will remain as before. In this situation, the holders of country paper, in order that they may purchase goods where they are cheaper, will return that paper to the banker, demanding in return Bank of England notes, or at least bills upon London. The excess of his notes will thus be continually returned upon the country banker, and he will at length find himself under the necessity of limiting his issue to that quantity, which the circulation of his own district can absorb. The quantity of Bank of England paper may thus be said to regulate the quantity of that which is issued by the country banks. It is not, that one uniform ratio is maintained between these two quantities; but that both are in the same proportion to the demand that is created

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* P. 165. † Letter to Mr Pitt, p. 20. 2d *edit.*

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for each, by the trade which it is destined to circulate. Whenever the Bank of England paper happens to exceed what is required for the purposes of London circulation, the country paper may become excessive in the same degree. And such an excess of Bank of England paper may be produced, either by a diminution in the number of payments, while that of notes remains undiminished; or by whatever has a tendency, while the number of payments remains unaugmented, to augment the number or the effective power of the notes in circulation.*

Having taken this general survey of our system of credit and circulation in its ordinary state, while its movements are regular, we shall now direct our attention to the disorders of which it is occasionally susceptible, either from external accident, or from inherent defects. In consequence of the mutual connexion that subsists among its parts, and the subordination of all to the Bank of England, those disorders sometimes pervade the whole system, and embarrass the operations even of the great establishment at the head. It is of national importance, that that body should be ready to adopt, under the pressure of such circumstances, an enlightened and salutary policy.

How solidly soever the foundations of mercantile credit may be laid, both in public confidence and in the real security of responsible funds, it is apt to be shaken by that consternation which is apt to spread, after a succession of commercial bankruptcies, or during the alarms of war. At such a period, it has been particularly found, that the notes of country banks, which chiefly circulate among consumers and petty dealers, have fallen into distrust with that large portion of the people. If one bank should fail, a run upon all those in the neighbourhood immediately takes place, and diffuses general distress. Such of the country bankers, as are most prudent, adopt a preventive caution, by limiting, of their own accord, the issue of their notes; and all of them are forced to enlarge that fund of cash, with which they may be prepared to answer demands. In consequence of these operations, an additional quantity of gold and of Bank of England notes must be carried down from London into the country, both to supply that void in the channel of circulation from which the discredited country notes have been thrown out, and to form that additional reserve which the bankers must keep in their coffers. But the money-dealers and traders of the capital will, in some degree, participate that consternation to which the whole country has given way: it will appear to them also a necessary precaution, that they should enlarge

* p. 216, &c.

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their fund against contingencies, and keep a larger supply of Bank of England notes than they find necessary in ordinary times. By these multiplied hoards, as well as by the quantity of cash sent into the country, the circulating money of the metropolis must suffer a very great diminution. But it was previously no more than sufficient to effect the necessary payments; and on the punctual discharge of these, the whole commercial credit of the kingdom depends. Unless the Bank of England, therefore, which is the source of circulating medium, shall, in these circumstances, consent to enlarge its issue of paper, a general subversion and ruin of that credit may take place; but if it adopts such a measure seasonably, and in the proportion which the new demands of the circulation require, the mischief may cease after a slight and temporary inconvenience. Beside this remedial policy, which can only be adopted after the evil has been felt to some extent, that body, in order to be prepared against such an event, ought to keep at all times in its treasury such an additional quantity of gold, as may be sufficient to meet this extraordinary demand, and to supply the place of those country notes that are liable to be extinguished. But although such appears to be the real policy of that institution, we can scarcely be surprised if it has not always very clearly understood it to be so, and has sometimes evinced a reluctance to pursue this line of conduct. The task of supplying gold to all the country banks, under the expense with which the collection of it is frequently attended, may be considered indeed as imposed upon the Bank of England by that monopoly, which compensates this hardship by other advantages. But to enlarge the issue of their paper, at the very time that their fund of gold is diminishing, is a measure, which would confessedly be imprudent in every inferior establishment, and which on that account the directors of the great bank have not always perceived that they were warranted, by the peculiarity of their situation, to adopt, as the real means of checking the drain of their gold. Some of the circumstances, which distinguished the memorable year 1793, illustrate at once the soundness of the policy which is here described, and the very recent period at which the bank still showed itself insufficiently aware of it. In the distress of that year, the Bank of England was unwilling to extend its aid to the country banks, or to augment the issue of its own paper. Several opulent houses, that applied for assistance, were refused discounts, because they did not offer London securities; but the important failures, which immediately ensued, proved that the relief of the country was necessary to the solvency of the metropolis. The pressure originated in an extraordinary demand for guineas in the country; but the want of bank notes in London soon became the principal evil. The notes, previously

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in circulation, were not below the usual number; but that was rendered, by a slower circulation, insufficient for the necessary payments. As the Bank of England did not think proper to enlarge the quantity of its paper, a remedy of exactly the same kind was administered by Parliament. A loan of Exchequer bills was directed to be made, to as many mercantile persons, giving proper security, as should apply; and it is a most interesting fact, that credit began to recover itself some time before those bills were actually delivered. The very expectation of this supply of an article, which almost any trader might obtain, and then convert it into bank notes and guineas, diffused an idea of general solvency. The punctuality of the London payments being restored, the distress of the whole country was gradually removed. Of the five millions, which the Exchequer had been authorized by Parliament to advance, not one half was taken, and no part was lost; on the contrary, a profit resulted to Government, from the small compensation of additional interest, which was paid by the borrowers. This seasonable measure was not understood at the time, and was opposed on some grounds of constitutional jealousy; but the result of its operation has cast a steady light on our actual system of circulation, and on the true policy of the national bank. In future seasons of alarm, it may reasonably be expected, that the directors of that body will prove less timid; as it is to be hoped, that experience has taught the country banks to enlarge their usual provision of convertible funds. *

The most serious danger, to which the Bank of England itself is exposed, is that of being drained of its specie. It may be subjected to such a drain, as is intimated in the preceding observations, in consequence of that alarm which occasions a great demand for guineas, either to be hoarded, or to supply the place of paper thrown out of circulation. Indeed, if the alarm is of long continuance, and the Bank maintains in circulation no more than its usual quantity of notes, it may be altogether exhausted of its guineas, however small that quantity of notes may be; because if these are always re-issued in loans upon the discount of bills, they may be perpetually returned upon the Bank in demand for more specie. Let the alarm be great enough, and of sufficient duration; and the Bank, by maintaining only a million of notes in circulation, may, by the continual return of these, be exhausted of fifty millions of guineas. But, in general, a more permanent cause of a run upon the Bank of England for specie, is the excess of the market price of gold above its mint price. In former times, this was occasioned by the debased state of gold currency; and the Bank was obliged to submit to the accumulated and provoking expense of coining

* Pp. 49. 71—96. 172—187.

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new guineas, which were immediately melted down, that the bullion might be sold to the Bank itself at the high market price. Since the gold currency was reformed, a temporary excess of the market price of gold above its mint price, has been produced by a temporary disadvantage in the balance of foreign trade; that having been occasioned sometimes by the large importations of grain after a deficient harvest, and more frequently by unproductive exportations to defray the expenses of war, or the subsidies to foreign allies. In whatever manner the high price of gold is produced, immediate demands are made upon the Bank for guineas, in order to export them. These it endeavours to replace, though gold cannot be purchased without a considerable loss. A most unequal competition will thus be established, between the Bank, on the one hand, which buys and coins at a great loss, and the clandestine dealers, on the other hand, who melt and sell at a great profit. It will no longer be necessary for the latter to export more gold, than what is above the immediate demand of the Bank: the operation will now be confined to London; the melters and coiners living upon the same spot, and affording constant employment to each other. If the unfavourable balance of trade, which has caused this high price of bullion, were not of a temporary nature, the Bank of England, by this continued accumulation of unproductive expense, might ultimately be reduced to very great distress. And if an unfavourable balance, originating in the expenses of foreign warfare or alliance, should at any time be loaded with the additional payments of a larger importation of grain, while the embarrassments of the national Bank were still farther aggravated by domestic alarm and a general disorder of mercantile credit; under such a combination of inauspicious circumstances, the usual means of prudence and the rules of ordinary policy might be expected to fail, and necessity would be left to justify those desperate measures which it might suggest. *

But this excess of the market price of gold above its mint price, may likewise be produced, as we formerly explained, by too great a quantity of paper-money. The Bank indeed, as it has also been shown, has the power of restricting the country paper, by limiting its own notes to those which are actually needed for the purposes of circulation. It has, therefore, the power in a great degree of preventing that high price of gold, and the consequent drain of its own guineas, which proceed from an excessive circulation of paper. So long as the Bank is liable to payments in specie, it has thus an evident interest to prevent its own paper, as well as that of the whole country, from being so excessive, as to occasion a rise in the price of commodities. To understand this

* Pp. 90. 115—153.

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clearly, and to attend carefully to its operation, forms a very important branch of the policy of the Bank of England. As its notes are issued in loans to the merchants, it can only limit the extent of that issue, by restricting the amount of the loans. Hence it appears, that the Bank ought to regulate the total amount of its loans, with a view to the quantity of circulating medium, independent altogether of the solvency and opulence of those who wish to become borrowers, and of the character of the bills that are offered for discount. There may be a disposition among very rich traders, to borrow a sum far exceeding what it would be proper for the Bank to lend, although it entertained no doubt of punctual repayment. But, by the laws that confine the rate of interest, and which still remain in force after every competent judge has been long convinced of their uselessness and inconvenience, the Bank of England is deprived of the most natural and simple means of restricting the amount of its loans. It is prohibited, even in time of war, from demanding an interest of more than five *per cent.*, which is the rate at which it discounts during peace. This has generally been found sufficient, during peace, to limit the demand upon the Bank for loans; because mercantile profits are then low, from the abundance of capital, and the activity of competition. The applications for discounts have often, during such a period, fallen short of what the Bank was really disposed to afford. But in time of war, the rate of mercantile profit, from the scarcity of capital, is extremely high. There is an irresistible temptation, therefore, to borrow from the Bank at a cheap rate, that the great profits may be gained upon a commercial employment of the money. Accordingly, in time of war, and especially during the last years of it, the directors have often been subjected to very earnest and clamorous solicitations for discount. Were they permitted to raise their rate of interest, it would follow that of mercantile profit, and the demand upon the Bank for loans, would at all times be accompanied by an effectual principle of limitation. But under the existing prohibitions of law, the directors are forced to have recourse to the expedient of specifying, according to their discretion, the total sum which they will at any one time venture to lend to the merchants. According to a recent determination of their court, this sum is specified weekly, in order that they may have a frequent opportunity of varying it, according to the fluctuation of circumstances. *

To limit the total amount of paper issued, and to resort, whenever the temptation of borrowing is strong, to some effectual principle of restriction; never to diminish greatly the sum in circulation, but to let it vibrate only within certain limits; to afford

* Pp. 147. 246. 283.

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a slow and cautious extension of it, as the general trade of the country is enlarged; and to permit a temporary increase during an extraordinary period of difficulty or alarm: this, in the language of Mr Thornton, is the true policy of the directors of an institution, placed in the circumstances of the Bank of England. *

We have thus collected, from various passages of Mr Thornton's discourse, the general lineaments of that system of credit and circulation, which is at present established; refraining from the insertion of any criticisms that might have interrupted the description. Some parts of his account are not sufficiently dilated, to convey precise information; and others, in which some reasoning is implicated with the statements of fact, cannot be admitted without hesitation. But we are not confident enough in our knowledge of the subject, to enter into these minute corrections. One general remark, however, which was strongly impressed upon ourselves by the facts of the preceding narrative, we cannot forbear to express, although it does not lie within the scope of Mr Thornton's discussions. If the Bank of England must now be considered as a national establishment, not merely influencing, by the superior magnitude of its capital, the state of commercial circulation, but guiding its movements according to views of public policy, an important revolution has taken place since the first erection of that corporation as a banking establishment. That power of issuing the medium of exchange, with the opportunities it implies of varying its quantity and value, which, while precious coin was in use, was exercised under the immediate prerogative of the Crown, is now virtually invested in the Governor and Directors of the Bank of England. In the official character of that Board, some of the functions of sovereignty are united to those of a trader; and the opportunities of banking profits are blended with a trust and charge of the public interest. It will be pleasing, if these shall prove more happily compatible, than they have been found in other instances. The organization of this establishment, possessed of such means to control the operations of commerce, as well as to facilitate the advance of financial supplies, may, into our political constitution already so complicated, introduce a new principle of action, the effect of which cannot be clearly discerned. Perhaps, an unbounded field will be opened for the extension of ministerial influence. Perhaps, an unexpected control may be gained to the people, over the views and measures of the executive.

III. In the foregoing view of the dangers to which the Bank is occasionally exposed, our readers must have already perceived

* P. 295.

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the account which Mr Thornton gives of the embarrassments, that led to the memorable order of Council in February 1797. The suspension of cash payments was an event, in his opinion, to which the national Bank was liable from its very nature; the probability of which has been too studiously concealed; and to the recurrence of which we may look forward. * The gold, in the coffers of the Bank, had been much reduced by the effect of an unfavourable balance of trade. The alarms of invasion had led to the failure of some country banks in the North of England; this occasioned a farther demand for guineas from the Bank, and a diminution in the circulating notes of London. The Directors aggravated the distress, and augmented the demand for guineas, by unadvisedly suppressing some of their notes, instead of enlarging the quantity. †

We cannot entertain a doubt, that these were the principal causes of embarrassment; but that other circumstances at the same time co-operated, which Mr Thornton has rather too anxiously avoided to mention. Under the unfavourable balance of trade, which he notices by this general expression, we must include the effect of foreign subsidies. And we suspect that that diminution in the quantity of notes, which the merchants could command, was not altogether owing to an ignorance, on the part of the Directors, of the proper remedy for the existing evil. Mr Thornton indeed employs several elaborate pages, ‡ to relieve the Bank from every degree of blame, on account of its loans to Government. But this appears quite ineffectual against the evidence which was laid before Parliament, of the sentiments which the Directors themselves entertained. In various resolutions of their Court, and in letters to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, they stated the serious apprehensions, as well as the actual embarrassment, which they felt from their unprecedented advances on Treasury bills; and, in their memorial to the Cabinet, they described it as an unconstitutional mode of raising money, to which they were not warranted by their charter to consent. After this, it is vain for any advocate of the Bank, now to maintain, that those loans were altogether free from imprudence or culpability. At the same time we are ready to acknowledge, what was not very distinctly perceived in the first discussions of this event, that the loans to Government had no *direct* tendency to produce the particular distress, which was relieved by the restriction of payments. That consisted, unquestionably, in the progressive drain of specie; which those loans neither occasioned nor increased, because they were paid into the Exchequer in notes. This run upon the Bank for specie, was chiefly occasioned by the deficient quantity of money in circulation; which

* Pp. 146. 247. † Pp. 72. 95. ‡ P. 96—111.

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the advances to Government, in their direct operation, rather contributed to repair, because the notes were of course issued from the Exchequer almost immediately into the market. But at the same time it must be remarked, though Mr Thornton seems studiously to have kept this out of view, that, by their indirect and unavoidable operation, these loans of the Bank to Government contributed to aggravate that distress of the circulation, which was mainly produced by other causes. For some time prior to the suspension of payments, the Bank of England had limited its discount of commercial paper. To this hurtful measure it was undoubtedly obliged to have recourse, in consequence of having granted a much greater accommodation to Government than it was warranted to give, which imposed the prudential necessity of giving less accommodation to the merchants than it had been accustomed to afford. Such a diminution of discounts could not occur at any period, without producing a certain degree of mercantile distress, both by the disappointment of payments actually promised, and by interrupting the usual course of pecuniary arrangements. But at that particular juncture, a great distress already subsisted, which the conduct of the Bank towards the merchants had a necessary tendency to aggravate. A similar diminution of the Bank discounts, by narrowing the facilities of credit, would at any time render the existing quantity of circulating medium less adequate, than before, to the necessities of the market. At that particular juncture, money was already deficient, from the operation of other causes; and became still more inadequate to its necessary purposes, when a restriction of credit took place, which both rendered a greater quantity of money requisite to drive the same trade, and retarded the circulation of that already in the market. While we agree with Mr Thornton, therefore, that the loans to Government could not tend to diminish the sum of notes in circulation; we must contend against him, that they did tend to distress the circulation, by rendering that sum of notes less adequate to the wants of commerce, than if they had flowed into the market through the usual channel of discounts. He asserts, on the contrary, that 'it is the total quantity of circulating notes, and not the manner in which they come into circulation, that is the material point:' but nothing can be more unsatisfactory and cumbrous, than the illustrations by which he labours to expound this very fallacious position. It is indeed inconsistent with the fundamental principles, which are elucidated by all the reasonings and tenor of his book.

The suspension of payments in specie was properly continued, according to Mr Thornton, from the permanence of those circumstances which rendered it originally necessary: an unfavourable

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exchange, produced partly by our heavy expenditures, but chiefly aggravated by vast importations of corn; and the prevalence, till the eve of peace, of alarms about hostile invasions.* It is not altogether superfluous to remark, that the restriction of payments, until after the cessation of hostilities, was provided for by law, long before those deficient harvests had been felt, to which so great a portion of this necessity is ascribed. And the continuance of the suspension was officially justified in Parliament, upon the alleged, but not very intelligible, ground of resisting certain designs of the enemy to ruin our public credit. The whole circumstances of the measure, both in the first event and in its subsequent renewal, in the arguments that were publicly urged to prove its necessity, and in the explanation which Mr Thornton has given of its nature, conspire to prove that it originated in the direct consequences of the war itself; although this view of the subject was most earnestly discountenanced at the time.

IV. In the first part of our abstract, we explained Mr Thornton's opinion, that an extravagant issue of paper will raise the price of commodities, and depreciate the currency in its bullion value. He has therefore admitted the general principles, from which Mr Boyd and others have inferred that the Bank of England has, within the last few years, issued an excessive quantity of paper. Against the validity of that inference, however, he contends that, in point of fact, the Bank of England has not extended the number of its notes, since the suspension of its cash payments; and that the rise of prices and depreciation of currency, from which that enlargement has been presumed, may arise from other causes. Among such causes, he mentions the necessary influence of war, of accumulated taxes, and of a scarcity continued for two years, in raising the price of all commodities; and the effect of an immense importation of corn in turning the exchange against us, and thus raising the market price of gold. That all of these circumstances have cooperated in raising prices, we have no doubt; but we are by no means satisfied that they are adequate to explain the whole effect. War, it must be observed, and taxes, and a scarcity of provisions in its direct operation, increase the real or bullion price of goods, and have no tendency to produce an excess of the market above the mint price of gold. The importation of grain, by turning the balance of trade against us, does tend to produce that excess; but the excess, which we have lately witnessed, has been perhaps both too great and too permanent to be explained wholly in this manner. We doubt extremely, if it could have been produced without that depreciation of our currency, which originates in excessive quantity.

* P. 143.

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Mr. Thornton, however, has endeavoured to show †, that the circulating paper of the Bank of England does not in fact amount now to a greater sum than, upon an average of years, was in circulation before the suspension of cash payments. Upon an average of three years, ending in December 1795, their amount, according to the evidence laid before Parliament, was 11,975,573*l.* By a subsequent statement presented to the House of Commons, they amounted in December 1800, to 15,450,970*l.* From the difference between these two sums, however, Mr Thornton insists that we ought to deduct the amount of two millions, consisting of one and two pound notes, which have displaced, he alleges, in the circulation, an equal sum of guineas. After this deduction, there still remains the sum of 1,475,397*l.*, by which the Bank paper exceeded, in 1800, its average amount before the suspension of cash payments. But in the spring of 1801, the Governor of the Bank stated to the House of Commons, that the Company had reduced its notes to a sum less, by about a million and a half, than their amount in the preceding December. Whether this evidence, under all the assumptions which it involves, may be considered as completely satisfactory, in opposition to the presumptions that are warranted by the general argument, we shall not venture to pronounce. We may suggest, however, to our readers, the propriety of adding to the foregoing statement, a fact of which we are apprised by Mr Thornton ‡, that the enumeration of *country banks* taken in 1800, differed from that taken in 1797, by the excess of 386 above 353. And to those who recollect that Mr Boyd's pamphlet was published on 31st December 1800, it will not fail to occur as a circumstance which that gentleman might plausibly urge as a confirmation of his reasonings, that in the course of the three months immediately ensuing, the Bank thought it expedient to call in a million and a half of its notes.

We have expressed ourselves with unaffected doubt, with regard to this alleged dependence of the present rate of prices on the present state of paper currency, because it appears to us a problem, of which a satisfactory solution has not yet been offered. According to that view of the question, indeed, which seems to us the most correct as well as the most simple, a sufficient answer will be assigned, if the excess of the market price of gold above its mint price shall be found to continue, notwithstanding the permanent restoration of the balance of trade to its accustomed preponderancy in our favour. In the mean time, we should be glad to see the fact itself, of which the origin and cause are thus anxiously sought, perspicuously stated under its most necessary distinctions and limitations. It may perhaps be

† P. 225. ‡ P. 155.

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in the power of those, who have paid attention to such minute but valuable details, to date the first appearances of this recent increase of prices, and to trace its progressive diffusion over all the relations of internal exchange. In such a statement, it would be necessary, likewise, to specify in what proportion this rise is locally confined to our own island, or common to us with the Continent of Europe; and to distinguish in what proportion that local rise consists of a real increase in the bullion price, and of a nominal increase only in the currency price.

Art. XXVI. *Illustrations of the Huttonian Theory of the Earth.* By John Playfair, F. R. S. Edinburgh, and Professor of Mathematics in the University of Edinburgh. 8vo. Edinburgh, 1802. pp. 528.

No species of physical research, perhaps, is involved in greater intricacy, or productive of greater ambiguity of deduction, than that which respects the constitution and history of our globe. So boundless is the number, and so diversified is the nature of the facts necessary to the prosecution of such an inquiry; and to so short a distance are we yet removed from the period when mineralogical phenomena first derived explication from chemistry, that attempts to form a theory of the earth may be considered rather as exercises for fanciful and speculative minds, than as sources of improvement to useful science. It cannot be denied, however, that observations accumulate but slowly when unassisted by the influence of system. The observer never proceeds with more ardour than when he theorizes; and every effort to verify, or disprove particular speculations, necessarily leads to the evolution of new facts, and to the extension of the limits of real knowledge. Hence, it seems to be the business of philosophy, rather to point out the imperfections, to detect the errors, to restrain the presumptuousness of the theorist, than to extinguish altogether a spirit, which, however incomplete and insufficient may be the materials on which it has to work, must at least facilitate generalization, and render the approach to truth less tedious.

The Huttonian theory of the earth, which it is the object of the volume before us to explain and support, is not referable to either of those clases into which geological treatises have been commonly divided. Its author cannot be considered either as a *Vulcanist* purely, or a *Neptunist*, since he has asserted the agency both of fire and water, in his system. That system supposes the materials which compose our globe to have once existed in an elementary or unmixed state, and to have acquired their present arrangement in consequence of the continued action of wa-

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ter on former continents, of which they are the ruins. The consolidation of these compound substances is asserted to have been effected by subterraneous heat; and we are to imagine the expansive power of the same irresistible agent to have since elevated the *strata* from the bottom of the sea, and to have given them the various inclinations to the horizon which they now exhibit. Those substances which are unstratified, (as metallic veins, granite, whinstone, &c.) owe their origin to perfect fusion; whereas, the stratified bodies have been, in general, only softened by heat, or penetrated by melted matter. In the same manner as the present continents were formed from the disintegration and corrosion of prior rocks, so are they supposed to be gradually giving back their materials to the sea, from which new continents are hereafter to emerge, manifesting a series of changes similar to the past.

Grand, simple, and original as is the view which this system presents, it cannot boast of being exempt from many forcible objections. It has, accordingly, drawn forth formidable opponents; and De Luc, Kirwan, Werner, with other eminent mineralogists, have headed the sect of the *Neptunists*, and proposed an hypothesis wholly at variance with the leading positions both of the *Vulcanists*, and of the *Huttonians*. Let us see with what success Mr Playfair vindicates the doctrines of the latter.

The very basis of this theory depends upon a postulate, that might well be supposed to startle a sober inquirer, viz. the supposition of a perpetual central heat, capable of melting limestone by its intensity, and of elevating continents by its expansion. Now, this heat, Mr Playfair confesses, cannot be maintained, either by combustion, by friction, by the absorption of the solar rays, or by any of the other causes from which heat is known to be derived: but of heat in such circumstances we have no experience; and it seems to be an evident violation of the first rules of philosophizing, to assume its existence for the explication of any phenomena. Heat, generated and supported without combustion, and at a distance from all the other sources from which heat is found to proceed, is a substance with which we have no acquaintance, and which we cannot admit to exist, merely because such a supposition would enable us to account for certain appearances. There would be nothing so easy, as to find an adequate cause for any phenomenon whatsoever, if we were only permitted to prove its existence by that of the phenomenon in question; and, if we are allowed to suppose an inexhaustible heat, in a situation where our experience tells us that no heat could be either generated or maintained, it will not be easy to show why we should refuse to believe, that a dragon eats up the moon in an eclipse, or that the tides are occasioned by the gills of a leviathan at the pole.

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Mr Playfair struggles very hard to get the better of these objections; and endeavours to elude them, by some very ingenious observations on the undefined and unknown nature of heat; and to obviate them altogether, by contending, that volcanoes and hot-springs should be admitted as direct and explicit proofs of its actual existence at the centre. It is needless to say, that neither of these topics affords him any very solid support.

But even if the general postulate be conceded, and the existence of a central heat allowed, there are many difficulties, it appears to us, in its application to the present theory. In the first place, it seems to follow, from the very conditions of its existence, that such a heat, if not constantly decreasing, must at least be uniform in its force and intensity, as it is impossible to conceive any cause for its increment. The theory of Dr Hutton, however, necessarily supposes a great number of fluctuations, and some very capricious peculiarities of operation. The heat which elevated the continents, for instance, must have been withdrawn when they were allowed to subside; and the force which raised an enormous mass of stratified matter to an altitude superior to that of the Andes, must have been dormant when the unloaded basis, upon which they were deposited, was able to keep its place at the bottom of the ocean. The most unaccountable peculiarity, however, in the operation of the Huttonian heat, is its limitation to the bottom of the ocean. The *whole* of the present land, it is positively asserted, was raised from the bosom of the waters, and is destined again to be covered with them. This heat, therefore, which heaved up our continents at first to an elevation incomparably superior to that of the highest mountains that now remain upon the earth, is not to interpose at all to prevent their complete degradation; nay, when they are worn down almost to the level of the waters, it is not upon any account to reinstate them in their former elevation: the whole of its expansive power is to be confined to those parts that are covered with the sea; and these it is to delay lifting up, till a vast accumulation of substances, heavier than water, has made their movement more difficult and laborious. It is difficult to conceive any thing more fantastic and improbable, than those laws of action; and yet, without supposing that the central heat is subjected to them, Dr Hutton can never make out his leading proprosition, that the whole of the present land has been formed out of the ruins of that which has disappeared, and that the next generation of continents will be preceded by the submersion of the present. *

* It is no doubt true, that Mr Playfair, in his 21st Note, endeavours to show, that the dry land is acted upon by this expansive power, as

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When the very foundation of a theory is liable to such insurmountable objections, it is of less consequence to enlarge upon the inconsistencies that are involved in its details. We shall specify but two instances, in which the primary assumptions of Dr Hutton appear to be at variance with the fact. If it were true, in the first place, that the continents are crumbling fast into the sea, and that their spoils are forming vast strata, over a bottom which is rising at any rate by the expansion of a central heat, it would follow, that the level of the sea must be uniformly and considerably elevated by the combination of these two causes. In all the northern seas, however, it is admitted, that the waters have been subsiding for many centuries back; and Mr Playfair himself endeavours to explain away the few opposite appearances that may be quoted, by supposing that there has been, in those places, an actual subsidence of the land. It seems evident, however, that for every foot of sand or mud that the rivers spread over the bottom of the sea, its surface must receive a foot of elevation, and that the expansive power that is to push these strata up into new continents, must first raise the incumbent water on the shores of the old.

In the second place, it appears to us to follow, as a necessary conclusion, from the theory of Dr Hutton, that the diameter, and the whole dimensions of the globe, must be in a state of constant increase; and that, if the processes he describes are to go on, as he alleges, for ever, the earth will continue to distend till it come into contact with the moon, and derange the system of the universe. The continents are raised by an expansive force, that lifts the strata from the bottom of the sea to a height greater than that of the highest mountains; and though they are worn down nearly to the new level of the waters, it is not pretended, that there is any actual subsidence of their basis to an extent equal to its elevation. The expansive force which is supposed to have occasioned the elevation, must present an effectual

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well as the bottom of the ocean. But this is said, we believe, without any warrant from the writings of Dr Hutton; and, in fact, either overturns the theory altogether, or leaves the objection, in point of principle, as formidable as ever. For it is very evident, that if the expansive power act *equally* upon the land and the strata at the bottom of the sea, the latter can never rise up into new continents, nor the former ever be submerged; and if it be said that the expanding heat, though it act in some degree upon both, yet acts *most powerfully* upon the submarine strata, it is equally plain, that there is here that very gratuitous supposition of *partial* operation, the unreasonableness of which we have endeavoured to expose above.

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obstacle to any tendency which the land may have to subside after its weight and quantity has been thus dimished. Thus, every inch which the heated matter gains by its expansion, it is sure to retain for ever: the elevated basis is kept up by the same power that originally raised it; and though some part of the incumbent matter may change its place, and be rolled down into depths and hollows of the external crust; still the crust itself has been permanently distended, and no part of the room gained by the expansive matter of the centre is ever lost or resigned. Every new continent, therefore, is formed upon a circumference more extensive than that which had preceded it; and if these changes are to follow each other in an infinite succession, a provision must also be made for the infinite dilatation of the globe. Upon this conclusion, we need only observe, at present, that without supposing, most gratuitously, a proportionate increase in the intensity of the heat, its expansive power must be gradually weakened by the repetition of its expansions; and that this dilatation of the earth's diameter, by protruding matter from the axis to the circumference, must induce a retardation in its diurnal motion, and diminish the number of days in its solar revolution. It is time, however, to leave those general observations, and consider in what manner Mr Playfair pursues the details of his theory.

Our author first proceeds to consider the *materials*, *consolidation*, and *position* of STRATIFIED bodies. In adducing proofs of their being composed of the remains of more ancient rocks, he thus defends Dr Hutton from the charge of having maintained calcareous matter to be originally of animal formation.

'He has indeed nowhere treated of the *first origin* of any of the earths, or of any substance whatsoever, but only of the transformations which bodies have undergone since the present laws of nature were established. He considered this last as all that a science, built on experiment and observation, can possibly extend to; and willingly left, to more presumptuous inquirers, the task of carrying their reasonings beyond the boundaries of nature, and of unfolding the properties of the chaotic fluid, with as much minuteness of detail, as if they were describing the circumstances of a chemical process which they had actually witnessed.

'The idea of calcareous matter, which really belongs to the Huttonian Theory, is, that in all the changes which the terraqueous globe has undergone in past ages, this matter existed, as it does now, either in the form of limestone and marble, or in the composition of other stones, or in the state of corals, shells, and bones of animals. It may be true, that there is no particle of calcareous matter, at present existing on the surface of the earth, that has not, at some time, made a part of an animal body; but of this we can have no certainty, nor is it of any import-

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ance that we should. It is enough to know, that the rocks of marble and limestone, contain, in general, marks of having been formed from materials collected at the bottom of the sea; and of this a single cockle shell, or piece of coral, found included in a rock, is a sufficient proof with respect to the whole mass of which it makes a part.

'The principal object which Dr Hutton had in view when he spoke of the masses of marble and limestone, as composed of the calcareous matter of marine bodies,* was to prove, that they had been all formed at the bottom of the sea, and from materials there deposited. His general conclusion is, 'that all the strata of the earth, not only those consisting of such calcareous masses, but others superincumbent upon these, have had their origin at the bottom of the sea, by the collection of sand and gravel, of shells, of coralline and crustaceous bodies, and of earths and clays variously mixed, or separated and accumulated. This is a general conclusion, well authenticated by the appearances of nature, and highly important in the natural history of the earth.' †

This is certainly a very admissible vindication of the Doctor, from the animadversions of which he has been the subject, in regard to his supposed notions of the origin of calcareous matter; and, henceforward, the objections to those notions should be understood to concern only the disciples of the French geologist.

We agree with Mr Playfair, that a destruction of the primitive mountains, and, consequently, a transportation of their materials from one situation to another, is deducible from the Neptunian, as well as from the Huttonian hypothesis; for, in imputing the formation of the secondary *strata* to what have been called the primeval, the operation of the causes, supposed by Dr Hutton to have affected the *whole* of the globe, must be allowed, by his opponents, to be manifested in no inconsiderable *part*. In the European quarter, this reasoning is peculiarly applicable, since the greater part of our own island, the northern departments of France, the whole of Flanders and Holland, and large portions of Germany and of the Russian empire, exhibit no other than secondary and tertiary country. Dr Hutton, however, in denying the propriety of the distinction of mineral bodies into primitive and secondary, and in asserting that they were all alike produced from the degradation of rocks more ancient than any which now exist, has subjected himself to a much more severe questioning than is incurred by the opposite theorists. So great and extensive are the operations necessary for spreading the spoils of the land on the general bed of the ocean, and for arranging them in the various forms and assemblages in which we now see them, that a multiplicity of facts, and a variety of elucidations,

* Theory of the Earth, vol. i. p. 23. 24. † Ibid. vol. i. p. 26.

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are requisite to establish their possibility. Mr Playfair calls the attention of geologists to the following circumstances—

'When the detritus of the land is delivered by the rivers into the sea, the heaviest parts are deposited first, and the lighter are carried to a greater distance from the shore. The accumulation of matter which would be made in this manner on the coast, is prevented by the farther operation of the tides and currents; in consequence of which, the substances deposited continue to be worn away, and are gradually removed farther from the land. The reality of this operation is certain; for otherwise we should have on the sea-shore a constant and unlimited accumulation of sand and gravel, which, being perpetually brought down from the land, would continually increase on the shore, if nature did not employ such machinery for removing the advanced part into the sea, in proportion to the supply from behind.

'The constant agitation of the waters, and the declivity of the bottom, are, no doubt, the causes of this gradual and widely-extended deposition. A soft mass of alluvial deposite, having its pores filled with water, and being subject to the vibrations of a superincumbent fluid, will yield to the pressure of that fluid on the side of the least resistance, that is, on the side towards the sea, and thus will be gradually extended more and more over the bottom. This will happen, not only to the finer parts of the detritus, but even to the grosser, such as sand and gravel. For, suppose that a body of gravel rests on a plane somewhat inclined, at the same time that it is covered with water to a considerable depth, that water being subject not only to moderate reciprocations, but also to such violent agitation as we see occasionally communicated to the waters of the ocean; the gravel, being rendered lighter by its immersion in the water, and on that account more moveable, will, when the undulations are considerable, be alternately heaved up and let down again. Now, at each time that it is heaved up, however small the space may be, it must be somewhat accelerated in its descent, and will hardly settle on the same point where it rested before. Thus it will gain a little ground at each undulation, and will slowly make its way towards the depths of the ocean, or to the lowest situation it can reach. This, as far as we may presume to follow a progress which is not the subject of immediate observation, is one of the great means by which loose materials of every kind are transported to a great distance, and spread out in beds at the bottom of the ocean.

369. 'The lighter parts are more easily carried to great distances, being actually suspended in the water, by which they are very gradually and slowly deposited. A remarkable proof of this is furnished from an observation made by Lord Mulgrave, in his voyage to the North Pole. In the latitude of 65 deg. nearly, and about 250 miles distant from the nearest land, which was the coast of Norway, he sounded with a line of 683 fathoms, or 4098 feet; and the lead, when it struck the ground, sunk in a soft blue clay, to the depth of 10 feet. *'

* Phipps's Voyage, p. 74. 141.

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The tenuity and fineness of the mud, which allowed the lead to sink so deep into it, must have resulted from a deposition of the lighter kinds of earth; which being suspended in the water, had been carried to a great distance, and were now, without doubt, forming a regular stratum at the bottom of the sea.'

Currents are considered by our author, as important agents in the diffusion of the *detritus* of the land, and as being much connected with the trade winds, the figure of our continents, the temperature of the seas, and, perhaps, with some inequalities in the structure of the globe. He argues, on these points, perspicuously and ingeniously: but there are others (to which we shall now proceed) that are much more difficult of explication, and on which, we fear, Mr Playfair will not be found to approach so near to the success of demonstration. By far the most objectionable parts of the Huttonian hypothesis, are those which regard the *separation*, *consolidation*, and *disturbance* of the *strata*.

Upon the first of those subjects, which appears to us to suggest a most formidable objection to the theory of Dr Hutton, we were surprised to find, that Mr Playfair has made no observation. The difficulty, however, is very obvious, and we confess, in our opinion, insuperable. Dr Hutton alleges, that all the strata of the present continents were formed at the bottom of the sea, out of the ruins of more ancient land, crumbled and broken down by the action of the winds and the rain, and deposited mechanically in the bed of the ocean, by the continued action of rivers, tides, and currents. Now, if this were the true history of the formation of the present strata, it is natural to suppose, that they should all be composed of those heterogeneous and mixed materials, that are found to constitute the mud and the gravel, in the channels, and at the mouths of rivers, and that we should never find in the same place a succession of deposites, entirely different from each other in substance and arrangement. A river rolls down materials from every part of its channel, and delivers into the ocean a miscellaneous assemblage of specimens from every mass it has visited. The strata, however, which are said to be formed from its contributions, are generally of an homogeneous and uniform structure. The substances of which they are composed, are frequently but few in number; and the transition from one stratum to another, is always quite sudden and distinct. The bed of the ocean, in short, according to Dr Hutton, is covered over with a chaotic collection of flinty sand, and aluminous and magnesian mud, and fragments of quartz, marble, schistus, and granite; and all these, and many other substances, are broken into minute portions, and mingled together, without order or arrangement. They are consolidated there, by the action of heat and pressure, and elevated at last

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into the state which we behold. These strata, however, are found, upon examination, to exhibit no traces of that confused and arbitrary mixture from which they are said to have arisen. They consist generally of distinct and separate substances, and are found in contact with others, to which they bear no resemblance, either in quality or appearance. Beds of schistus, sandstone, lime, coal, clay, &c. are found alternated with each other, in large and distinct masses; and no consolidated stratum, we believe, is made up of that medley of materials, which the Huttonian theory would lead us to look for in them all. It may well be demanded of its advocates, therefore, upon what principles they account for the separation and assemblage of these substances—by what power they suppose the mingled mass of mud and gravel, brought down by the rivers, to have been sorted and arranged into distinct strata—and how, upon the same spot, those strata should be so numerous, so different, and often so uniformly alternated? The system of Dr Hutton, which admits no other origin of the strata, but the *mechanical diffusion* of the detritus from former continents, and excludes, of course, all idea of chemical affinity or precipitation, does not appear to us to afford any satisfactory answer to those questions.

In defence of Dr Hutton's idea of the means by which *consolidation* was effected, Mr Playfair begins with pointing out the insufficiency of the Neptunian hypothesis. His objections to the supposition of water being the agent, are not new; but they are fairly and very forcibly stated. He then goes on to remark, that,

'15. In order to judge whether objections of equal weight can be opposed to the hypothesis of igneous consolidation, we must attend to a very important remark, first made by Dr Hutton, and applied with wonderful success to explain the most mysterious phenomena of the mineral kingdom.

'It is certain, that the effects of fire on bodies vary with the circumstances under which it is applied to them, and therefore a considerable allowance must be made, if we would compare the operation of that element when it consolidated the strata, with the results of our daily experience. The materials of the strata were disposed, as we have already seen, loose and unconnected at the bottom of the sea; that is, even on the most moderate estimation, at the depth of several miles under its surface. At this depth, and under the pressure of a column of water of so great a height, the action of heat would differ much from that which we observe here upon the surface; and, though our experience does not enable us to compute with accuracy the amount of this difference, it nevertheless points out the direction in which it must lye, and even marks certain limits to which it would probably extend.

'The tendency of an increased pressure on the bodies to which heat is applied, is to restrain the volatility of those parts which otherwise

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would make their escape, and to force them to endure a more intense action of heat. At a certain depth under the surface of the sea, the power even of a very intense heat might therefore be unable to drive off the oily or bituminous parts from the inflammable matter there deposited; so that, when the heat was withdrawn, these principles might be found still united to the earthy and carbonic parts, forming a substance very unlike the residuum obtained after combustion under a pressure no greater than the weight of the atmosphere. It is in like manner reasonable to believe, that, on the application of heat to calcareous bodies under great compression, the carbonic gas would be forced to remain; the generation of quicklime would be prevented, and the whole might be softened, or even completely melted; which last effect, though not directly deducible from any experiment yet made, is rendered very probable, from the analogy of certain chemical phenomena.

'16. An analogy of this kind, derived from a property of the barytic earth, was suggested by that excellent chemist and philosopher, the late Dr Black. The barytic earth, as is well known, has a stronger attraction for fixed air than common calcareous earth has, so that the carbonate of barytes is able to endure a great degree of heat before its fixed air is expelled. Accordingly, when exposed to an increasing heat, at a certain temperature, it is brought into fusion, the fixed air still remaining united to it: if the heat be further increased, the air is driven off, the earth loses its fluidity, and appears in a caustic state. Here, it is plain, that the barytic earth, which is infusible, or very refractory, *per se*, as well as the calcareous, owes its fusibility to the presence of the fixed air; and it is therefore probable, that the same thing would happen to the calcareous earth, if by any means the fixed air were prevented from escaping when great heat is applied to it. This escape of the fixed air is exactly what the compression in the subterraneous regions is calculated to prevent; and therefore we are not to wonder if, among the calcareous strata, we find marks of actual fusion having taken place.

'17. These effects of pressure to resist the decomposition, and augment the fusibility of bodies, being once supposed, we shall find little difficulty in conceiving the consolidation of the strata by heat, since the intervals between the loose materials of which they originally consisted may have been closed, either by the softening of those materials, or by the introduction of foreign matter among them, in the state of a fluid, or of an elastic vapour. No objection to this hypothesis can arise from the considerations stated in the preceding case: the solvent here employed would want no pores to lodge in after its work was completed, nor would it find any difficulty in making its retreat through the densest and most solid substances in the mineral kingdom. Neither can its incapacity to dissolve the bodies submitted to its action be alleged. Heat is the most powerful, and most general of all solvents; and though some bodies, such as the calcareous, are able to resist its force on the surface of the earth, yet, as has just been shown, it is perfectly agreeable to analogy to suppose, that, under great pressure, the carbonic state of the

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lime being preserved, the purest limestone or marble might be softened, or even melted. With respect to other substances, less doubt of their fusibility is entertained; and though, in our experiments, the refractory nature of siliceous earth has not been completely subdued, a degree of softness, and an incipient fusion, have nevertheless been induced.

'Thus it appears, in general, that the same difficulties do not press against the two theories of aqueous and of igneous consolidation; and that the latter employs an agent incomparably more powerful than the former, of more general activity, and, what is of infinite importance in a philosophical theory, vastly more definite in the laws of its operation.'

It is evident from the preceding extract, that the author means to make his great stand, in defence of this part of the Huttonian system, on the assumption, that bodies may be made, by pressure, to endure extreme heat without a dissipation of their parts, or, in other words, without evaporation or combustion; and that compound bodies, the fixed parts of which are infusible when separated from the volatile, may admit of being fused when a separation is prevented by compression. Allowing this speculation to be reasonable, (and it is one without which, Mr Playfair must be well aware, the Huttonian theory cannot support itself for an instant), there are still many difficulties which it cannot solve, and which our author does not appear to have adverted to. If fusion were the cause of consolidation, why do we find soft, incompact clay, under *strata* of limestone?—a fact witnessed in most limestone countries, but particularly evident in the promontory of Portland, in Dorsetshire. Mr Playfair himself describes the existence of very fine sand interposed between layers of talc and mica. He must admit also, that rocks of sandstone and breccia are incumbent on beds of loose sand, in many parts of the world. How is the defect of consolidation in the lower materials to be accounted for, when the consolidating cause must have acted there more vigorously than on the upper?

It may be observed also, that, in taking it for granted that all the stratified bodies in the universe have been *softened* by heat, without being reduced into actual fusion, Dr Hutton has assumed a position that cannot be very easily conceded. The greater part of known substances pass, by the action of heat, from a hard and solid to a fluid state, very suddenly and directly. There are but a few that are capable of remaining for a considerable time in an intermediate condition of softness and tenacity; and even these require the heat which is to produce this effect upon them, to be managed with great nicety and precaution. That so great a proportion of the substances that compose our globe, should have been subjected to a heat so critically tempered, and curiously limited in its intensity, appears, at first sight, ex-

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tremely improbable, and certainly does not become more conceivable, by recollecting, that this regulated heat heaved up the whole mass of the strata, and reduced to fusion a multitude of the most obdurate and refractory substances.

The phenomena of metallic veins are regarded by our author as favourable to the supposition which constitutes another leading maxim of the Huttonian school, namely, that the *elevation* of the *strata* was also caused by subterraneous heat. But, if the expansive power of this heat was sufficient for rending the great external crust of the earth, and forcing up liquid metal into the narrowest ramifications of fissures on the surface, is it not probable that it would have been more than sufficient for overcoming that compression which impeded the extrication of volatile matter from the fixed? The actual position of the *strata*, on which the author lays so much stress, appears to us to be a circumstance of a very ambiguous kind, and reconcileable with the notion of subsidence, as well as of elevation: at any rate, it is not necessarily connected with the hypothesis of subterraneous heat. There is much more force in the argument drawn from the circumstances of some granitic veins. Dr Hutton himself first discovered veins of granite proceeding upwards from continuous beds of that substance, into superincumbent *schistus*—a fact very curious and important in its nature, and scarcely susceptible of any other explication than that which is proposed by this theory. But, on the other hand, we cannot acknowledge the justness of the inferences drawn from the phenomena of chalk hills, and of the concomitant *nodules* of flint. Dr Hutton expressed himself, on this subject, concisely and obscurely. Mr Playfair, so far from dilating on the Doctor's positions, or attempting to render them more intelligible, contents himself with the following short remark, viz.

'20. The round nodules of flint that are found in chalk, quite insulated and separate from one another, afford an argument of the same kind; since the flinty matter, if it had been carried into the chalk by any solvent, must have been deposited with a certain degree of uniformity, and would not now appear collected into separate masses, without any trace of its existence in the intermediate parts. On the other hand, if we conceive the melted flint to have been forcibly injected among the chalk, and to have penetrated it, somewhat as mercury may, by pressure, be made to penetrate through the pores of wood, it might, on cooling, exhibit the same appearances that the chalk-beds of England do actually present us with.'

The disciples of Dr Hutton do not condescend to account for the regular stratification of flint, which is so often seen in the chalk hills of our island; nor for the general approach of these *strata* to an horizontal position. Neither do they inform us, why the supposed projecting power was regularly intermittent;

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why the smallest nodules are found in the same level with the largest; or how the animal and vegetable *exuviæ* preserved their structure entire, in the midst of such a violent process? Until these difficulties are solved, we must be permitted to consider the phenomena of flint as more favourable to the theory of precipitation, than to that of forcible injection.

After having discussed the subject of stratified bodies, our author adverts to the conclusions deducible from the appearances of the UNSTRATIFIED, and also from those which are common to both classes. He enters into an ample detail of facts, and contends, very confidently, for the igneous origin, both of granite and basaltes. We wish we could say, that Mr Playfair has succeeded in removing all the objections urged against this hypothesis.

The subject is far too extensive to be considered in this place: yet, we may observe, that we were very much struck with an objection which Mr Playfair quotes from Mr Jamieson, and to which he seems to us to have made rather a triumphant, than a satisfactory answer. Mr Jamieson had asked, how it happened that the granite, if projected in a fluid state from below, did not overflow the country, as soon as it had penetrated the schistus above it, and how such a theory could consist with the existence of Mont Blanc, and other granite mountains?—Mr Playfair has answered, that the schistus was not penetrated; that it was bent merely, and raised up; and that the granite was formed and cooled within it, as in a mould, and only appeared when the injuries of the weather had worn off this external coating. Now, we confess, that these appear to us to be very gratuitous, and very improbable assertions. Almost all the lofty mountains in the world are composed of naked granite at the summit. The schistus, by which they are frequently surrounded, is commonly in a position almost vertical, and can scarcely be presumed therefore to have ever *covered* their ridges; and there is no one instance, we believe, where granite can be traced in an eruption, where it can be shown to have burst through, or run over the edges of the including schistus, and flooded the country below. That the incumbent strata should *sometimes* have had strength and tenacity enough to resist the distending force of the melted granite within, and to be moved along with it in unbroken continuity, may reasonably be admitted; but that, in *every* instance of violent and great elevation, these substances should have preserved their integrity in this manner, and never permitted any part of the included fluid to escape, appears altogether inconceivable. It would be easy indeed to show, that without supposing in those containing strata, not merely a great strength and perfect flexibility, but an incredible elasticity and power of distension, it would have been impossible for the lowest of the granite moun-

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tains to have been elevated, without rending its schistose covering, and diffusing itself over it, like the lava of an ordinary volcano.

Our extracts must be terminated with the following retrospect of the Huttonian geology, which the author has adorned with very eloquent language, and which is well calculated to fascinate the imagination, by the novelty and sublimity of the conceptions.

'114. Such, according to Dr Hutton's theory, are the changes which the daily operations of waste have produced on the surface of the globe. These operations, inconsiderable if taken separately, become great, by conspiring all to the same end, never counteracting one another, but proceeding, through a period of indefinite extent, continually in the same direction. Thus, every thing descends, nothing returns upward; the hard and solid bodies every where dissolve, and the loose and soft nowhere consolidate. The powers which tend to preserve, and those which tend to change the condition of the earth's surface, are never *in equilibrio:* the latter are, in all cases, the most powerful, and, in respect of the former, are like *living* in comparison of *dead* forces. Hence the law of decay is one which suffers no exception: The elements of all bodies were once loose and unconnected, and to the same state nature has appointed that they should all return.

'115. It affords no presumption against the reality of this progress, that, in respect of man, it is too slow to be immediately perceived: The utmost portion of it, to which our experience can extend, is evanescent, in comparison with the whole, and must be regarded as the momentary increment of a vast progression, circumscribed by no other limits than the duration of the world. TIME performs the office of *integrating* the infinitesimal parts of which this progression is made up; it collects them into one sum, and produces from them an amount greater than any that can be assigned.

'116. While on the surface of the earth so much is every where going to decay, no new production of mineral substances is found in any region accessible to man. The instances of what are called petrifactions, or the formation of stony substances by means of water, which we sometimes observe, whether they be ferruginous concretions, or calcareous, or, as happens in some rare cases, siliceous stalactites, are too few in number, and too inconsiderable in extent, to be deemed material exceptions to this general rule. The bodies thus generated, also, are no sooner formed, than they become subject to waste and dissolution, like all the other hard substances in nature; so that they but retard for a while the progress by which they are all resolved into dust, and sooner or later committed to the bosom of the deep.

'117. We are not, however, to imagine, that there is nowhere any means of repairing this waste; for, on comparing the conclusion at which we are now arrived, viz. that the present continents are all going to decay, and their materials descending into the ocean, with the proposition first laid down, that these same continents are composed

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of materials which must have been collected from the decay of former rocks, it is impossible not to recognize two corresponding steps of the same progress; of a progress, by which mineral substances are subjected to the same series of changes, and alternately wasted away and renovated. In the same manner, as the present mineral substances derive their origin from substances similar to themselves; so, from the land now going to decay, the sand and gravel forming on the sea-shore, or in the beds of rivers; from the shells and corals which in such enormous quantities are every day accumulated in the bosom of the sea; from the drift wood, and the multitude of vegetable and animal remains continually deposited in the ocean: From all these we cannot doubt, that strata are now forming in those regions, to which nature seems to have confined the powers of mineral reproduction; from which, after being consolidated, they are again destined to emerge, and to exhibit a series of changes similar to the past.

' 118. How often these vicissitudes of decay and renovation have been repeated, is not for us to determine: they constitute a series, of which, as the author of this theory has remarked, we neither see the beginning nor the end; a circumstance that accords well with what is known concerning other parts of the economy of the world. In the continuation of the different species of animals and vegetables that inhabit the earth, we discern neither a beginning nor an end; and, in the planetary motions, where geometry has carried the eye so far both into the future and the past, we discover no mark, either of the commencement or the termination of the present order. It is unreasonable, indeed, to suppose, that such marks should anywhere exist. The Author of nature has not given laws to the universe, which, like the institutions of men, carry in themselves the elements of their own destruction. He has not permitted, in his works, any symptom of infancy or of old age, or any sign by which we may estimate either their future or their past duration. He may put an end, as he no doubt gave a beginning, to the present system, at some determinate period; but we may safely conclude, that this great *catastrophe* will not be brought about by any of the laws now existing, and that it is not indicated by any thing which we perceive.'

Notwithstanding the ability and ingenuity of this illustration of the system of Dr Hutton, its author, we think, is far from having established that system on an immoveable basis. It is a system, indeed, built on postulates so bold, and involving operations so prodigious, so capricious, and so incapable of exemplification from actual experience, that we do not conceive it susceptible of any complete or satisfactory defence. We are compelled, nevertheless, to give Mr Playfair great credit for his industry of research, and diligence of investigation. He has brought together many useful and important facts; his arguments are often forcible, and always ingenious; his language is perspicuous

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and elegant; and, how deficient soever in solid support he may have left his own hypothesis, he has successfully exposed the insufficiency and difficulties of others.

The ability with which he has combined the complicated materials of his subject, and the correct and luminous order he has observed in the statement of a loose and analogical argument, have given a precision and scientific unity to the system of Dr Hutton, in which it was formerly deficient. The task, therefore, both of its advocates and its adversaries, will be hereafter comparatively easy; since it is scarcely possible for any question to remain, either as to the tenets it maintains, or the arguments by which they are to be supported.

The work is therefore highly worthy of perusal, and deserves to be considered as by far the most able elucidation and vindication of the Huttonian theory, that has yet been presented to the public.

Art. XXVII. *The Crisis of the Sugar Colonies; or,* An Inquiry into the Objects and probable Effects of the French Expedition to the West Indies, and their Connexion with the Colonial Interests of the British Empire: To which are subjoined, Sketches of a Plan for settling the Vacant Lands of Trinidada. In Four Letters to the Right Honourable Henry Addington, Chancellor of the Exchequer, &c. London. Hatchard. Pp. 222. 1802.

Since the cessation of hostilities in Europe, the minds of men, engrossed for the last twelve years by objects more immediately interesting, have been anxiously turned towards the situation of America, where a catastrophe has been justly apprehended, of a nature still more unexampled in the history of the species, than any of those mighty changes which have shaken the foundations of society in the old world.

Immediately after the signature of the preliminaries, which led to the congress of Amiens, the French Usurper despatched a formidable armament to the West Indian possessions of the republic;—where, in consequence of the confusion produced by various revolutionary tumults, a Negro chief had obtained the supreme command by his distinguished talents, and supported his pretensions by much the same means that enabled the Corsican chief to hold the sceptre of the mother country.

The lamentable events which had taken place in St Domingo, were not important to France alone. Similarity of situation rendered the republican colonies in the West Indies a spectacle highly interesting to all the powers who possess territories cultivated

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by negro slaves; and they viewed the new effort that was now to decide the fate of the revolted islands, with the same anxiety which the struggles of social order and anarchy had excited in the European commonwealth.

At this interesting juncture, the work now before us was hastily composed. It is addressed, in four letters, to the present Chancellor of the Exchequer. It contains a spirited, though not very elaborate, picture of the important crisis which the Slave trade appears to have produced; a few ingenious and plausible speculations on the destination and probable result of the French expedition; and an attempt to appreciate the comparative consequences of its success or failure to the interests of the British islands; and to point out the line of colonial policy which we ought now to pursue, both towards France and our own possessions.

These letters were written some weeks before the news of Leclerc's arrival had reached Europe, and they were published on the day after the first despatches of the General were known in England; so that the author has a fair claim to the praise of sagacity, in so far as he may appear to have anticipated the events with which it has since pleased the Consular government to make the public acquainted.

However much we may be inclined to differ with our author in most of his deductions, we willingly acknowledge the pleasure we have received from a very attentive perusal of his work. He appears to be intimately acquainted with the complicated relations of the subject; and speaks on many points from personal observation. His mode of reasoning, though diffuse, is often striking and ingenious. If his arguments are sometimes incumbered with declamation, they are, however, fully and honestly laid before the reader; and, on a subject so momentous in every view, involving the highest questions of policy, as well as the discussions most interesting to humanity, it would be difficult, perhaps not very commendable, to write without some degree of warmth and animation. The style of our author is flowing and copious; sometimes distinguished by force and energy, but seldom remarkable for elegance or correctness; frequently loaded with clumsy, or vulgar, or gaudy ornaments—with metaphors which perplex and fatigue—comparisons which do not illustrate, or but feebly apply—and similes in which all resemblance is lost. Although the remark may appear rather hypercritical, we cannot withhold our disapprobation from that inattention to the just division of labour, which throws upon a title page the duty usually performed by a table of contents: Such displays are adapted only to the readers who acquire their knowledge of books from peripatetic study at the windows of booksellers shops.

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Of the various parts of this composition, which display a false taste—a predilection for circuitous modes of expression—and an unchaste propensity to adopt tinsel imagery, we may select the following description of the difference between the industry of the free man, and the drudgery of the slave.

'When we bow to the golden sceptre of reason, obedience has many facilities, and its pains many mitigations. Nature is not thwarted more rudely than the rational purpose demands; and the mind, while it urges on the material frame, cheers it in return with refreshing and invigorating cordials.

'Look at the most laborious peasant in Europe, and, if you please, the most oppressed: he is toiling, it is true, from painful necessity; but it is necessity of a moral kind, acting upon his rational nature; and from which brutal coercion differs as widely as a nauseous drench in the mouth of an infant, from the medicated milk of its mother.

'Is the impelling motive, fear of want, or dread of a master's displeasure? yet he sees, on the other hand, the approbation and reward attainable by exertions, whereof the degree, at least, is, for the moment, spontaneous: Self-complacency alleviates his toil, and hope presents to his view, the hearty well earned meal, the evening fireside, and perhaps the gratifications of the husband, or the father, in promoting the well-being of those dearest to his heart. Is his work fatiguing? he is at liberty, at least, to introduce some little varieties in the mode, or breaks in the continuity of it, which give him sensible relief: He can rest on his spade, or stay the plough a moment in the furrow; can gaze at a passing object, or stop a brother villager to spend a brief interval in talk.' P. 49. 50.

Sometimes our author labours to express more than his own fertility, or the limited powers of language allow. He then stalks forth upon stilts; and either hides himself in the thick-darkness of metaphysics, or strains at a quotation, or flies to the last resource of the wretched—a case in point. Take the following specimens.

'It might be admitted, even without danger to the argument, though I am sorry to say, not without doing violence to truth, as well as probability, that this coarse actuation of the physical powers of the human frame by an external mind interested in their effect, was in general not pushed to excess; but was an impulse as leniently and wisely regulated, as that of reason, when guided by the sympathies of the soul with the body to which nature has allied it.' P. 51. 52.

In p. 176. after a long invective on the criminality of extending the slave trade to our new possessions, he sums up all, by supposing the other nations to address Great Britain, with some little variation, in the words of our own poet—

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'O Britain! infamous for *avarice*,
An island in thy morals more depraved,
Than the whole world of rationals beside:
In ambient waves plunge thy polluted head,
Wash the dire stain, nor shock the Continent.'

We have many objections to our author's style; but the view of such doggrel as this (happily we know not to whom it belongs) reconciles us to any thing. Contrasting the wild Indian with the enfranchised Negro, in point of industry, he says—

'The one is a wild, but vigorous youth, who will not easily submit to the drill; the other a rickety *infant*, in whom, from unnatural restraint, the muscles of voluntary motion are contracted. The former may revolt from the yoke of discipline, but the latter must be taught to walk.' P. 54.

The resemblance here, is perplexed by so many cross analogies opposing each other, that no definite idea of likeness remains. A written style may employ interrogatory, exclamation, and even imprecation; but we can scarcely tolerate prayer within prayer, unless in the most violent effusions of extemporaneous eloquence.

'Forbid it that sentiment to which may Englishmen never become insensible! forbid it the sense of national dignity and virtue!' P. 175.

One who is always running after flowers will sometimes make a false step. In order to convey the idea of a white man's inferiority to a negro, in the warfare of the West Indies, our author compares the contest to that of an aeronaut with an eagle, p. 69. A lover of comparisons, who wished to maintain the very opposite doctrine, would probably use this figure to pourtray the superiority of discipline and art over natural advantages.

As our author cannot resist the temptation of gaudy ornaments, and far-fetched illustrations; so neither does he always make that proper selection of epithets, which is essential to a nervous and manly style. Thus, he tells us, in p. 171, that the echo of the loud clamour of the national conscience of this commercial country was heard, &c. And this national conscience has an eye, as well as a tongue; for, in p. 109, we are informed, that the frightful aspect of the deformed monster (the Slave Trade) has been laid bare before the eye, &c. But nothing, in these pages, is more unpleasant, than the aid which the writer constantly seeks from *marks of admiration* (!): When he wishes to eke out his phalanx of indignant or contemptuous expressions, he brings up the rear of his periods with those auxiliaries, sometimes in double rank, and sometimes three abreast, according to the strength of the position which he purposes to attack. For

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our parts, we declare ourselves impregnable to all such offensive operations. They belong not to the author, but the printer. Stratagems like these remind us of the emphatic marks, which females, who are given to composition, make under every other word; or the italics that stud each page, when their works are permitted for a season to visit the world.

After all, we find, even in the ornamental part of the 'Crisis,' many passages sufficiently splendid to redeem the faults which we have taken the liberty of pointing out. The comparison of the French armament to the Trojan horse, is finely conceived.

'Like the Trojans, who, sallying from their gates to enjoy their sudden and unhoped-for peace, were soon arrested by the sight of the stupendous horse, we gaze with wonder on this great effort of our recent enemy, the posthumous birth of war, and, as in their case,

> Scinditur incertum studia in contraria vulgus.

While many are loud in expressing their rash approbation, and even exhort us to assist in fixing this portentous force in the colonial citadel, others suspiciously exclaim

> ——in nostros fabricata est machina muros;
> Inspectura domos, venturaque desuper urbi.' P. 5.

The imagery, in the following passage, is bold, and appropriate to the tropical scenery of the West Indies.

'From the delusions of these wizard scenes, let the considerations here set before you be your safeguard; for, if they have any force, those gaudy prospects have no more reality, than the verdant fields which tempt the feverish patient in a calenture to plunge into the ocean.' P. 153.

And the indignant eloquence of the passage, where he tears to pieces the fancied resistance of the colonial legislatures, would be almost perfect, were those adventitious marks of force lopped off which come from the printer—

'The objection was not less extraordinary, than a threat or insinuation, with which it was said to have been accompanied, that of resistance by the white colonists *(risum teneatis?)*—resistance against the Mother Country, whose protection, bestowed at an immense expense, not only of treasure but blood, alone can save them a single day, not only from foreign enemies, but from the continual dangers of that wretched interior system which they so pertinaciously defend!!!—The palsied bed-ridden patient might as rationally threaten violence to his nurse, for putting sustenance into his mouth!' P. 128-9.

We have premised these remarks upon the style of this very interesting performance, that we might remove, in the first instance, all obstructions, and be able to proceed without inter-

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ruption, in considering the matter of which it consists. We shall accordingly lay before our readers, a short and general analysis of the doctrines which our author maintains; and shall examine, at the same time, the foundation upon which they rest.

I. The first letter begins with several congratulations to the Minister upon his successful career since his unaccountable elevation to office; and some high compliments to his moderation and wisdom, in bringing about that event, which one set of politicians have termed a truce, and others have dignified with the '*dulce nomen pacis.*' Our author then proceeds to the first object of his inquiries—the probable views of Bonaparte in the West Indian expedition. After describing the state of negro labour under the old system, he concludes, that the instantaneous, and, as it were, physical impulse of the cart-whip, is the only incentive to work which the Africans in the islands can feel, unless when they are divided and employed in solitary occupations; and, even then, the terror of the lash is only a little less immediate. We must here stop to correct a mistatement in this part of our author's reasonings. He observes, that the task, which he calls *grass-hunting* (commonly known by the name of *grass-picking*), occasions more punishments in the English islands than all the other offences put together, p. 12, 13. Grass-picking is only known in the Windward Islands. In Jamaica, and, we believe, in St Domingo also, the abundance of several very luxuriant kinds of grass, as Scots grass, Guinea grass, &c. in the provision grounds, renders the odious duty, now alluded to, wholly unnecessary.

Our author proceeds to demonstrate, at considerable, perhaps unnecessary length, that the milder, and far less efficacious system of military law, has succeeded to the proprietary dominion of the master, abolished in St Domingo by insurrection, and in Guadaloupe and Cayenne by the frantic acts of the French revolutionary Government. We have said that so much argument to prove the subversion of the master's authority in these islands, appeared to us scarcely necessary. After adducing a variety of reasons to prove this position, from p. 15. to p. 25, he brings forward, p. 35, an official document, published by the French government, in which the matter is stated explicitly. We should have thought the citation of an express authority, in every view so unexceptionable upon a point like this, sufficient evidence of what every man, who has attended to the history of West Indian affairs during the last twelve years, must have been perfectly prepared to believe. The restoration of the ancient slavery of the negroes, our author conceives, is the grand object of the present expedition to the colonies; dictated alike by the peculiar genius of the First Consul, the pressing exigencies of

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the republic, and the interests of a powerful body of individuals in the mother country.

In this conclusion, we entirely agree with him. Although above six months have elapsed since the publication of his work, the French government has thought proper to communicate so very little to the world, either of its plans, or of the operations carried on in St Domingo and the Windward islands, that the nature of its intentions, and the success of its attempts, are still left, in a great measure, to be gathered from circumstantial evidence. With the exception of a few meagre details taken out of the despatches of that officer whom Bonaparte has spared from his military embassies for the West India service, we as yet are in possession of no information beyond what the author of the Crisis had to build upon; and although his conclusions have received some additional solidity from the little that has transpired, in the main they still rest on the foundations which he was enabled to lay.

II. In the second letter, our author examines the probability of the expedition succeeding in that attempt, which he had shown to be the most likely object of its destination. It is by no means impossible, he admits, that a nominal dominion may be obtained over St Domingo, by fomenting divisions among the Negro leaders, gaining over some of them to the Republican cause, and taking possession of the chief places on the coast. But the natural indolence of the negroes, a ten years experience of freedom, and the horror of reflecting on their former bondage, at once render their labour in a free condition unavailing, and rivet their aversion to resume the yoke. The number of these men trained to war; the constant failure of the French Government to seduce any considerable bodies of them from the common cause; the adaptation of their constitution to tropical labour, always fatal to Europeans; their intimate acquaintance with the nature of the country, full of woods, and broken by scars and steeps; their superior agility and skill in surmounting such difficulties; their power of subsisting on the most trifling quantity of provisions the most easily procured, besides the ruinous expense of all military operations carried on in that distant quarter:—all these circumstances conspire to render the complete conquest of the negroes in the field extremely difficult. But, even after they shall have been reduced to subjection, the most arduous task remains. That undefined and nameless terror of the negro for the white man, which constituted the principal security of the master, has now disappeared. The spell is broken, which, more than principle, or reason, or inferiority of powers, kept the most numerous obedient to the smallest class of the community. To restore it, is impossible; and the idea of

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re-establishing that domestic slavery, of which it was the foundation, is chimerical and absurd. Our author therefore concludes, that, in its grand object, the expedition will certainly fail.

And here, we find ourselves under the necessity of differing very widely from him. That the task which the policy and the necessities of the French government have imposed upon the army of St Domingo, is full of difficulty, and even of danger, we will readily allow. But we remember how pregnant with difficulty and danger of every sort, the service confided to Hoche was; how sanguine the royalists and their abettors were, for years, in their expectations of its failure; by how many perils the republic was then beset, which diverted its force to every side; and by how changeful a domestic government its resources were directed.—We see La Vendée restored; the remains of the Chouans pacified; the hopes of the Royalists in that quarter extinguished; and we are forced to acknowledge, that it is not merely situations of uncommon risk and difficulty, which can baffle the perseverance, and overcome the fortunes of France. We recollect the history of the Peruvian revolt, and of the servile wars in Campania and Sicily; and consider that insurrections of colonies and provinces, as well as domestic rebellions, may be quelled. But, above all, when we cast our eyes over the very scene where the great drama that we are contemplating is displayed; we find various facts which, more strongly than a thousand fine-spun reasonings, clearly evince the possibility of reducing to their cane-pieces, coffee-grounds, and spice-walks, the most fierce and licentious of the African rebels.

In the celebrated rebellion of 1772, the Brazilians were joined by the negroes, and carried on a kind of regular warfare against the Portuguese. Something of the same sort took place in the Spanish colonies of South America, nearly at the same time. The constant state of warfare in which the maroons of Dutch Guyana have remained with the whites for above a century, has caused the colony to be surrounded with a regular cordon of troops, and a chain of military posts. Various insurrections have disturbed the peace of the settlements. Sometimes the negroes have been completely successful, as in the year 1763, when the colony of Berbice was wholly in their possession, until, weary of a state of unbridled licentiousness, unnatural even to the most savage tribes, and satiated with the possession of an independence foreign to their habits, they submitted voluntarily to their old masters, and quietly returned to their former labours. The formidable rebellion of the Jamaica slaves, in 1762, is well known; and in almost every island in the Archipelago have repeated insurrections broken out, sometimes the result of plans laid with the utmost secrecy, and very widely extended; always accomplished

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by the horrors of African warfare, and uniformly quelled after a short struggle, in which the discipline and the policy of Europeans overcame the vast numbers and ferocious strength of a savage people, and reduced them to their accustomed habits of fear and labour. In those instances of rebellion, indeed, the evil had neither spread so far, nor taken so deep a root, as it unhappily has done in St Domingo. But, then, the affairs of that island have attracted a degree of attention from the government of France, proportioned to their vast importance; and the negroes are opposed by a force suited to the difficulty and hazard of the service.

It is in vain, that our author paints to us the instinctive dread of the slaves as a peculiar principle, a mysterious charm, which, if once broken, cannot be restored. We believe it to be the same kind of spell which keeps men in obedience to absolute governments; which is latent in the magic rod of a Prussian or Austrian officer; which may, indeed, be suspended by accidental occurrences; but, if arising from the relative situation and peculiar circumstances of the rulers and the governed, will speedily be replaced, and regain its powerful influence.

But, admitting that the negro's feelings towards his master, are of the peculiar and mystical description which our author has given of them—that they are reducible to no principles, and unconnected with the rational nature of man: Can they, we would ask, be more anomalous and capricious than the emotions of the maniac, who trembles at the nod of his keeper, from some strange, ideal, and inexplicable dread—then, in a paroxysm of his disease, shakes off this unaccountable obedience—but soon, exhausted by the effort, returns to passive submission? Nay, were the charm as easily dissolved as the pressure of an incubus, we should be inclined to expect a relapse, even after some sudden movement had relieved it, if the constitution remained in that predisposing state which first induced the disease. In short, of whatever nature that principle may be, which keeps the African labourers in subordination to the white inhabitants—whether, as our author describes it, of a peculiar nature—*sui generis*—or, as we are rather disposed to believe, arising from the influence of superior policy, and closer union among the masters, we have adduced examples of its being suspended, and to all appearance destroyed. Its restoration, in all those cases, is no less certain, than utterly inconsistent with our author's opinion; and we conclude, that the powerful means employed by the French Government, may again bring about the same event, and defer, for some years, that fate to which the West Indian colonies seem to be doomed, by the thoughtless avarice, and impolitic cruelty, of those who have planted and peopled them.

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III. Although, in the foregoing part of his speculations, our author had been led to view, as impracticable, the project of reducing the negroes to their former situation; in his third letter, he proceeds to consider, independently of his preceding inferences, the consequences likely to result to the British Islands; first, from the total failure; next, from the partial success; and, lastly, from the complete execution of the First Consul's plan.

If France, says he, loses all footing in her West Indian possessions, the formation of a negro commonwealth would be dangerous to our colonies; not so much from example, which, on the minds of the negroes, still debased by slavery, can have very little effect; but from that spirit of conquest which distinguishes all infant states, and which, in the circumstances of the case now supposed, will be peculiarly natural, as well as powerful. The blacks, who, as yet, have only begun their military career, will be disciplined during the struggle that must precede their complete emancipation; and, on every side to which they may turn, they will view nations of their brethren languishing in chains. Again: If France shall either be satisfied with displacing the present government of the islands, or shall find herself forced to make a compromise, and leave the negroes in the state of subjects, but free citizens; in St Domingo alone she will be able to raise 200,000 warriors, whom she cannot better employ, than in attacking the British colonies. Instead of extensive possessions, defended with great loss of men and treasure, she will have settlements rendered impregnable, by the new system, to every foreign attack; garrisons, from whence she may pour into the surrounding islands armies of negroes, vastly superior to Europeans in tropical warfare, and certain of being joined by numerous auxiliaries, whithersoever the force of their arms may be turned. Lastly, if the plan of reducing the negroes to their former state should, contrary to all calculation, unfortunately succeed, large military establishments will be necessary, to maintain the slavery that shall have been restored: Our ancient enemy will, therefore, have a constant pretext for keeping up, in those parts, a force sufficient for the purposes of invasion; and, still more formidable than these European troops, will be the negro auxiliaries, by whose assistance the contest with the great body of their brethren must be carried on, and who must be retained in the service of Government, after that contest shall have been terminated. A chain of formidable military stations will therefore be established, each of them placed to windward of a part of the British islands. To defend her West India colonies, in this situation, the whole standing army of Great Britain would be inadequate. Our fleets, had we the entire mastery of those seas, would be unable to protect the coasts of Jamaica

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done. While France quietly waits for an opportunity of attack, our men are daily consumed, and our treasures exhausted. Foiled in one attempt, her situation is no worse than before; and our ruin is proceeding with a rapid pace. Nay, should any doubt still remain, while the balance wavers, the haughty Gaul may toss the sword of negro freedom into his scale, and ours will kick the beam.

We have now stated the substance of our author's third letter as strongly as we are able; and, without omitting any of his arguments, have assembled, into one point of view, the whole of his speculations and inferences. Various criticisms might be made upon this part of his work. The reasonings are by no means distinctly carried on. Those which properly belong to one hypothesis, are frequently classed among the statements that support another set of conclusions; and, in some instances, the facts and general principles brought forward to elucidate the author's doctrines in one supposed case, are inconsistent with his positions under another assumption. But, without dwelling upon minuter observations of defects, we must enter our dissent, in the general, to this, as to the former part of his deductions.

We consider it as very clear, that the existence of an independent commonwealth in the West Indies, by whomsoever composed, and in whatever manner established, is incompatible with the security of the other islands, and inconsistent with the maintenance of their colonial or provincial relations. To say nothing of the superior energy and firmness of an independent administration; the increase of resources which an abolition of colonial law would produce; the danger of that contagion, which political, as well as individual example, generally excites in communities similarly circumstanced, or the proximity of the stations from whence the enemy must draw all his supplies:—Let us only consider, that, in the case we are supposing, the European power whose colonies might be conquered, would have no chance of bringing about their restoration, by operations carried on in a different quarter. America could not then be conquered, or regained, or defended in Germany. That diffusion of interests, by widely extended possessions, would now be wanting, which has for ages maintained the actual dominions of nations almost exactly *in statu quo*, after every contest, by multiplying the chances of equal and opposite success, and balancing the fortune of war in different parts of the world. Equivalents, and indemnities and restitutions, could not enter into a treaty with states which have no foreign territory; and the basis of negotiation must be actual possession.—But if, instead of a European community, we suppose that an unmixed nation of Africans shall obtain independent possession of any island, how vastly is the common danger of all the colonies increased!—We will acknowledge,

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that it is not from the spirit of conquest, so much as from the love of plunder and depredation, and, above all, from the contagion of example, that we apprehend the rapid extermination of the whites, by such a savage republic. A state composed of Europeans alone, might, by the superiority of policy, discipline, and science, stand against all the efforts of an African neighbour; but colonies chiefly peopled by negroes, and governed by a handful of whites, can hope for nothing but a chance of sinking peaceably into the situation which the negro commonwealth, in the same part of the world, shall have obtained through massacre and devastation.—Inasmuch, then, as we conceive that a total extirpation, or expulsion, or subjugation of the white inhabitants in the West Indies, would be a more awful catastrophe than the universal establishment of colonial supremacy, or the conquest of the whole islands by any one European power; and, inasmuch as we believe that consummation to be involved in the failure of the French expedition, we consider the welfare of all the European nations who possess negro colonies, to be intimately connected with the success of the republican arms; and view the interests of the whole, as in this case, one and the same. The negroes are truly the Jacobins of the West India islands—they are the anarchists, the terrorists, the domestic enemy. Against them it becomes rival nations to combine, and hostile governments to coalesce. If Prussia and Austria felt their existence to depend on a union against the revolutionary arms in Europe, (and who does not lament that their coalition was not more firm and enlightened?), a closer alliance is imperiously recommended to France, and Britain, and Spain, and Holland, against the common enemy of civilized society, the destroyer of the European name in the new world.

We have the greatest sympathy for the unmerited sufferings of the unhappy negroes; we detest the odious traffic which has poured their myriads into the Antilles: but we must be permitted to feel some tenderness for our European brethren, although they are white and civilized, and to deprecate that inconsistent spirit of canting philanthropy, which, in Europe, is only excited by the wrongs or miseries of the poor and the profligate; and, on the other side of the Atlantic, is never warmed but towards the savage, the mulatto, and the slave.

Admitting all that has been urged against the planters and their African providers, we are much of the opinion which Lord Bacon has noted in the following sentence—'It is the sinfullest thing in the world to forsake a plantation once in forwardness; for, besides the dishonour, it is the guiltiness of the blood of many commiserable persons.' Essays, xxxiv.

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Suppose, now, that France has completely succeeded in her colonial measures, and, with whatever perfidy or cruelty, has restored the slavery of the negroes; it surely requires no great acuteness, or inspiration, to foresee, that her dominion, in the conquered islands, will be extremely weak and precarious—that all her force will be fully employed at home—and that, even if the fallen state of her navy, her languishing manufactures, and her almost annihilated commerce, did not require the repose of peace, her most vulnerable part would be the western wing of her empire, newly restored to obedience, and filled with the same materials which had lately involved it in conflagration.—The operations of war, whether offensive or defensive, will long be apprehended with dread, in the plains which have been subjected to the unbridled fury of negro masters; and the restoration of the French colonies, in a state of weakness and disorder, with the hopes of regaining their highly profitable commerce, will be a new pledge for the pacific conduct of the republic.

Our author has prophesied, that the islands will be so many garrisons to our enemy, who, on pretence of keeping his possessions in obedience, will maintain a formidable force in those quarters from whence he may attack the neighbouring colonies: And he asks, triumphantly, 'Who shall dictate to the Consul, what establishment of troops and ships he is to place in his West Indian territories?' We answer, That this is no new danger arising from the present crisis of affairs; that it is a danger not peculiar to the West Indian colonies; that every power may, if able and willing to keep up a high peace establishment, either at home or abroad, find abundance of pretexts for the measure; that the only remedy for such an evil, is to increase our own peace establishment—to deprive the enemy of all pretexts for war, by our prudent and temperate conduct—to watch his motions with a careful eye—and, if the magnitude of his resources enable him to overmatch us in the colonies, to give up our distant possessions, and trust, for the continuance of our commerce, in the industry and skill of our people at home, the expertness of our seamen, and the extent of our trading capital. But we apprehend very little danger from the most powerful establishment which France can maintain in those islands, where, at all times, the highest exploits of the British arms have been achieved; and, so long as our troops have only to contend with European armies in the field, without the incalculable dangers of negro rebellion, we see nothing very alarming in the prospect.

Our author draws his principal arguments of anxiety, from the negro troops which the restoration of order in St Domingo will leave at the disposal of France. He seems, however, in the

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first place, greatly to overrate the numbers of these auxiliaries. He calculates the black population of St Domingo, at half a million; and, of these, he estimates that 200,000 can be called into the field. A calculation more careless and inaccurate we have seldom met with. The best informed writers state the diminution of the negro population in St Domingo to have been enormous. Edwards,* in 1796, calculates the loss during the six preceding years, at 300,000. Laborie † estimates the numbers, in 1797, at much less than one half of the numbers in 1789. Since the year 1797, the wars of the negroes and people of colour, and the licentious government of the Blacks, not to mention the military operations of the British and French forces, must have prevented any increase of numbers, by births, from adding to the total amount. But, admitting that the population is rightly stated by our author, how does he discover that the proportion of negroes fit to bear arms is two in five? Of imported negroes, no doubt, the females bear a small proportion to the males, and the aged to the young: But the negroes in St Domingo and Guadaloupe must now be almost all creoles; so that the proportion of one to four is the very utmost that can be allowed for those able to bear arms: And is it not evident, that the events of the last twelve years must have diminished this proportion, and cut off a much greater number of males than females, and of able-bodied, than weak or decrepit men?

But, in the second place, whatever the numbers of the French negroes may be, the employment of them against the neighbouring colonies, can only be rendered surely successful, by the adoption of measures equally dangerous to the power which invades, and to the power which is attacked. The assistance of insurrection must be called in; otherwise, the negroes who have never thrown off the yoke will prove much better troops, under the command of their British and Dutch masters, than the rebellious slaves of the French. If, on the other hand, the republicans attack us by their favourite weapon, insurrection, they can only conquer possessions plundered and ruined, given up to the insurgent negroes in full sovereignty, and as dangerous neighbours as their own islands would be to ours, were the government of the republic to remain unrestored.—We are not at liberty to presume, that any power will pursue measures so evidently destructive of its own existence. If the French yoke is re-established in the West Indies, we have the best possible reason for believing, that it will be harmless to our own empire—the clear interest of France to maintain it. So long as the commerce of the

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* Hist. of W. Indies, iii. 257.

† Coffee-planter of St Domingo, App. p. 129.

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Antilles shall form the chief branch of the French trade, and so long as France shall possess the most valuable stake in that quarter of the world, her neighbours there have the best pledge for her repugnance to the adoption of any measures which may lead to the establishment of the negroes in a state of independence: it is the pledge that secures the observance of every treaty between nations—it is the pledge that ensures the independent existence of the most powerful state in Europe.—If, on the other hand, France shall find the maintenance of her dominion in the West Indies impossible; if she must at last submit to the negro yoke; we apprehend it is in vain to inquire what will be her conduct in her last moments; since the destruction of all the European colonies will then be inevitable; and it will be a matter of extreme indifference, whether the crisis is accelerated by a French or by a Negro government.

IV. From the sketch which we have already given of our author's opinions upon the connexion of the colonial interests of Great Britain, with the various events to which the expedition of General Leclerc may lead, our readers will easily perceive, that he considers the re-establishment of slavery in the French islands, as the alternative most dangerous to the British settlements. According to this principle, in the fourth and last letter, he points out the line of policy which Great Britain ought to pursue in the West Indies. The strictest neutrality, he observes, is recommended, on the one hand, by the danger of involving ourselves in a new war; and, on the other, by the risk of exasperating the negroes, and hastening that crisis in our own affairs, which nothing but the continuance of disorder in the republican colonies can delay. The decided prejudices (as he calls them) of the planters, will render it necessary to preserve this neutrality, by active measures of precaution on the part of Government. The employment of black troops, also, is indispensably necessary, notwithstanding the risk attending such an establishment, and the strong prepossession of the colonists against it. Besides the military service of these corps, the consequences of their formation, will, in other points of view, prove highly beneficial to our colonial strength.

But the only effectual security of our West Indian possessions, must be looked for in the *effectual* melioration of the condition of the negroes. As our author admits, that this must greatly diminish the profits of the planter, he observes, that it can scarcely be expected from the wisdom or the virtue of the colonial legislatures.—But there is no alternative; and he maintains, that the British Parliament ought, without hesitation, to interfere. The legislative supremacy of the mother country he proves to be undeniable: it stands established in the declaratory act, which the statute 1778 only repealed in so far as it re-

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lated to one particular branch of taxation. Neither can any objection, in the present case, be founded on the circumstance, that the colonists are not represented in the British Parliament: for the negroes, who are equally subjects of the Crown, and whose interests are at least as much concerned in the discussion, are not represented in the colonial assemblies. Besides, Great Britain has defended and supported the colonies, not only against foreign enemies, but against the dangers arising from this very evil, of the ill-treatment of slaves, which of consequence she has now a full right to correct. Until the abolition was talked of at home, no measures were ever pursued by the colonists, for effecting any improvement in the condition of the negroes; and the regulations which were adopted in consequence of those discussions, have not (our author affirms) been enforced, at least in several of the islands. In various important matters that involve the interests of the planters, they are not allowed any voice. Parliament, then, which in other cases exposes them to real hardships, ought, in this instance, to interfere for their true interests.—Our author is, as may easily be supposed, a decided enemy to the slave trade. He deprecates, more especially, the extreme impolicy of extending that odious system to the newly acquired island of Trinidada.

This fertile territory, is, by its situation, peculiarly exposed to attack from Cayenne, the Dutch and Spanish colonies, and the French Windward islands. It must be defended by a large and appropriate force, as our other islands would, from their leeward position, and the interposition of the French settlements, be unable to afford it any assistance: Hence, the obvious policy of the old West India islands to avoid so great a diversion of the national force in those parts. It is no less the interest of Great Britain, at least, to await the event of the present crisis, before she allows new dangers to arise, and more wealth to be risked, in that quarter. But, in another view, any extension of the slave system is to be deprecated. The House of Commons have never retracted the votes of 1792, when a majority resolved, that this traffic should be abolished in 1796; and by far the greater part of the minority agreed, that it should continue no longer than 1800. America, Denmark, and France, were disposed to adopt, what they considered as our firm intentions; and, if they have abandoned the plan, we may ascribe the change to our own dereliction of this sacred cause. Every principle, then, of policy, humanity, and good faith, binds the nation, at once, to reject that vast and rapid extension of the traffic which must attend the cultivation of Trinidada by slaves; and our author concludes his very interesting work with the outlines of a plan, by which he proposes to

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settle the newly acquired territory.—The introduction of slaves being strictly prohibited, he suggests that the vacant lands should be granted to such as choose to cultivate them by free negroes, imported either from our old colonies, or from Africa: That, as a farther encouragement, these negroes should be bound to serve their importers for a term of years, at a fixed rate of wages: That a power of moderate chastisement should be allowed; but a line clearly drawn between this controul and the use of the cart-whip, as it characterizes the present slave system: And, finally, that magistrates of respectability, unconnected with the island, and responsible only in Britain, should be appointed to enforce the regulations which this system requires.—Of the success of this plan, our author, after the manner of projectors, forms the most sanguine expectations. The new island is to serve as a wide market for British manufactures—a nursery and a station for troops, who may always be sent to the leeward colonies, when they happen to be attacked—a counterpoise to the power of France and her allies—and, lastly, a 'farm of experiment,' where the possibility of emancipating the negroes, by slow and prudent means, may be safely and conveniently tried.

Having now laid before our readers, the substance of all our author's doctrines, together with the reasonings by which he supports them, we proceed to offer the remaining part of the remarks that have been suggested to us, by the perusal of his work: And the length to which our criticisms have already extended, must plead our apology, if we despatch the consideration of what remains, with less fullness than the high importance of the subject may appear to demand.

As the practical conclusions, which are contained in the fourth letter, are founded upon the principles established in the preceding parts of the work, it may be expected, that, differing as we do most widely from our author in those positions, we should likewise recommend a very different line of policy towards the French government in the West Indies, from that of which he has avowed himself the champion.

The greatest of all dangers to the West Indian powers lies, we apprehend, in the success of the negroes: and the re-establishment of the old system in the French islands, can alone insure the permanent superiority of the Europeans, either there or in the other islands. Nothing, but the subdivision of the negroes, under the power of masters armed with absolute power, can prevent their acquiring that ascendancy, to which superiority in numbers and strength will invariably lead. On the other hand, we have endeavoured to show, that the complete success of the French policy, while it removes, for the present, all the dangers of our situation, can never arm the republican government with

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power to injure the neighbouring islands.—Let us, then, at once adopt that system, which our common interests clearly point out: Let us not shrink back from the name of a French alliance—at least in the West Indies: Let us remember, that we are, in those parts, exposed to a common enemy, whose yoke would be incomparably more severe, than the dominion of Jacobinism itself—whose strength is more to be dreaded, than the boasted Army of England, or the Grand Monarch in the plenitude of his power. And, as the aggrandizement of Russia would drive us, however unwilling, into an alliance with France in Europe; so let us make a common cause with her, where she cannot endanger our security—where we are threatened with a foe, more terrible than Tartars or Cossacks. It is to be hoped, that the French troops may themselves succeed in the enterprise committed to their charge; because, in that case, their conquest will be more easily retained. But, if they shall stand in need of our assistance, let us recollect, that, in subsidizing the colonial treasury of France, we are preserving that trade which supplies our fleets with seamen, and pours millions into our Exchequer: that the troops which we send to assist the government of St Domingo, are fighting the battles of our own colonies, and defending, from all the horrors of negro warfare, one of the fairest portions of the habitable globe.

At the same time, we are ready to admit, that the security which the subjugation of the French negroes will procure for the West Indian colonies, can only be temporary. The danger may be delayed; but, so long as the slave trade remains—so long as new and untamed spirits are constantly brought into the islands—so long as the disproportion of the two races is increasing, and the more numerous body is treated with barbarous cruelty by the small community of white inhabitants—the seeds of destruction will remain—and the catastrophe, so nearly accomplished in the French islands, will, in a few years, extend to the whole Western archipelago. We agree, therefore, with the author of the '*Crisis*,' in believing that the total abolition of the slave trade, the root of all the evils, is now imperiously required: And as we cannot hope to see this necessary measure adopted by the colonial legislatures, any more than we could expect to see a parish vestry amend the poor laws, or a board of general officers and commissaries put an end to a profitable war—we are decidedly of opinion, that the British Legislature alone is competent to the final discussion of the question, and that it becomes the puny governments of the islands to tremble and obey.

On the other hand, we differ with our author, in thinking that the regulation of the treatment of slaves ought to be undertaken by the mother country. The general question of abolition may easily be examined at a distance; and almost all the information

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that is necessary for the full discussion of it, has already been procured by Parliament. But the details of the slave laws require more minute and accurate acquaintance with a variety of particulars, which can only be fully known to those who reside upon the spot. To revise the domestic codes of the colonies, would be a task which no Parliament could undertake. Let it be left, then, to the care of those who are themselves most immediately interested in the good order and government of the islands, and whose knowledge of local circumstances—of those things which cannot be written down in reports, or told by witnesses—is more full and practical.

But the colonial legislatures are as much interested in preventing the regulation of the slave work, as in preventing the abolition of the trade. We answer—Make it their interest to regulate the treatment of the negroes, as it is at present their interest to import them: abolish the trade, and leave the regulation to themselves. Parliament can do the one; *they* only can enter into the other. The question of abolition is simple; it is answered by a yea, or a nay; it requires no exercise of invention. The question of regulation is complex; it is stated by a '*quomodo;*' it leads to the discovery of means, and the comparison of measures proposed. We pretend not to dispute the supremacy of Parliament—we only deny its omniscience. Without standing up for the privileges of the colonies, we merely suggest their more intimate acquaintance with the details of the question; and we assert, that the interest, both of the mother country and the islands, requires a subdivision of the labour of legislation—a delegation of certain duties and inquiries to those more nearly connected with the result, and situated more within reach of the materials. If the importation of negro slaves is finally prevented, the stock on hand will be, in general, better taken care of. The preservation of negro life, and the increase of numbers by breeding, is synonymous with humane treatment. The only task will be, to regulate the relative rights of the two classes—to prepare the civilization of the subordinate race, and to check those cruelties which may still appear in a few instances of inhumanity and impolicy. The interest which the colonists must feel in the preservation and increase of their slaves, will render the delegation of these matters to the insular assemblies safe and efficacious.

Notwithstanding his antipathy to the colonial legislatures, the author of the Crisis has pointed out no effectual means of remedying the evils complained of. He asserts, that so long as the colonists make the laws, they will not execute them. He admits, at the same time, that laws have been made, which, if carried into effect, would have remedied, in a great degree, the abuses of the system: And he ascribes the origin of these laws to the discussion of the slave trade in Europe.—Upon this we beg leave to ob-

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serve, in the *first* place, that the ameliorated treatment, and the laws relating to slaves, may be, in a great degree, attributed to the slave-carrying bill of 1788—which had the effect of raising the prices of negroes, * and, consequently, of drawing the attention of masters more to the breeding system: and that, if statutes are actually made in communities where all the whites are not utterly corrupted—where some judges and men in office are disposed to observe the laws—where the whole body of planters, and their dependants are not combined as one man, without envy, or jealousy, or the smallest opposition of interests; it is not very easy to imagine, how such a farce can have been carried on; how all the members of the society can have concurred to cheat the mother country, by making a variety of laws without any serious intention of enforcing them; more especially as their conduct was carefully watched by a class of men eager to expose them, and minutely informed with respect to colonial occurrences.—But, in the *second* place, it is incumbent on our author to show, how a regulating act, by coming from the eastern side of the Atlantic, and having the title of a British statute prefixed to it, would be better observed than a colonial law. The same men who combined to make, and disobey and neglect the latter, would not very implicitly execute and submit to the regulation which a body 3000 miles off had made for them.—Our author proposes no plan for remedying this defect. We apprehend, it is essential to his theory, and can only be obviated by the measure which we have ventured to recommend.

In those parts of our author's reasonings which we have hitherto examined, his practical conclusions are rather of a negative kind. We now come to the more definite and substantial part of his plan—the system of colonization which he recommends for Trinidada. Here it is once more our misfortune to differ from him; and we shall, with all possible conciseness, specify our reasons of dissent. The voyage across the Atlantic will neither change the colour of the Æthiopian, nor civilize him; nor alter his habits of indolence, nor inspire him with a love of voluntary labour. Trinidada will therefore be rapidly peopled with two classes of men—a handful of Europeans—and a multitude of Africans, separated from the former by their complexion, their manners, their way of life; connected with them by no common ties, but subject to their dominion; and labouring, that they may reap—or idle and dissolute, and preferring plunder, which is natural to them, before work which they abhor. A moderate power of chastisement, and a right of pre-emption in the labour of their imported negroes,

* This increase of price amounted to no less than 5*l.* Sterling per head, on an average.—Report of the Committee of Privy Council, 1789, Part VI.

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is proposed as an encouragement to the planters. This will either lead to the dominion of the cart-whip, or induce the insurrection of the Africans. The freedom will either be nominal, or it will be incompatible with the security of the few white proprietors, surrounded by the myriads whom they have torn from their native land, and deprived of all their possessions and enjoyments.

'But a body of those men are to be raised by Government, and will be firmly attached to their liberators.—Our author forgets, that, according to his own account of Toussaint's government, military service is held out as a punishment to the free negroes; and he does not consider, that the corps which he describes will view the Government, not with gratitude for having given them liberty, but with resentment for having exiled them from their country. The negro corps in all the old settlements, have, indeed, generally been faithful to their employers, even in disputes with their own countrymen.' But free negroes, surrounded by their brethren in chains, are more likely to take the part of those who have distinguished them with favour, than negroes forming part of a great population, altogether alike in liberty, as well as oppression. It is easy to foresee, that the plan of our author, if carried into execution, will be attended with more danger than the slave system itself; that it will people Trinidada with two distinct races, which can never coalesce, the whites and negroes —two separate orders of men, whose interests are opposite, the oppressors and the oppressed; that the consequence will be a speedy subjugation of the least numerous part of the community, and a renewal, in the Parian Gulf, of those bloody scenes which were enacted a few years ago in St Domingo.

We shall now take leave of this important subject, by bringing into one view, the several propositions which we have taken the liberty of maintaining, in opposition to the doctrines laid down by our author.

In the *first* place, it appears, that the restoration of negro slavery, difficult as it must prove, is by no means a hopeless attempt, or a scheme which has never before succeeded, in cases of formidable insurrection.

Secondly, The interests of France, in the present crisis, coincide precisely with those of the other European nations who possess settlements in the West Indies; and most particularly with those of Great Britain, whose stake in that quarter is the deepest.

Thirdly, The remedy for the evils of our situation, in the sugar colonies, is only to be found in the effectual prohibition of the slave-trade by the British Parliament, and the consequent regulation of the slave-system by the colonial legislatures.

Lastly, We consider our author's scheme of cultivation, by free negroes, to be impracticable; and, for this, we are easily con-

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soled, by a conviction, that, if carried into effect, it would be infinitely more dangerous, and scarcely less cruel, than the old system itself, with all its perils and horrors. At the same time, we must, unequivocally, express our detestation of that faithless policy which would extend the slave trade to the new island. We heartily agree with our author in deprecating a measure, at once so thoughtless, so inconsistent, so mean. Although his Majesty's present ministers crept into power, by giving up the great question of Catholic emancipation (to which some of them were pledged), we trust they will not think of retaining their places by any accession of influence that may be acquired through such complicated folly and injustice, as the shameless measure to which we allude.

We rejoiced to see, in the last session of Parliament, a disposition to renew, upon this occasion, the momentous question of the slave trade. We sincerely hope once more to behold the same splendid talents marshalled in the cause of humanity and sound policy, which formerly almost rendered it triumphant; and we expect to find that great statesman, who so eminently distinguished himself upon all the former discussions of the question, in opposition to his own personal interest, will now dedicate a part of his leisure to a contest, in every way so worthy of his powers. If, to this object, he shall devote so much of his time as the '*Catholic emancipation*' does not occupy, his country will have less reason to regret his retirement from office: and if his disinterested efforts in these two great causes, shall be crowned with success, we may almost be consoled for his failure in subduing the enemies of monarchical government, and maintaining the ancient balance of Europe.—'*I decus! I nostrum! melioribus utere fatis.*'

Art. XXVIII. *A Treatise on the Means of Purifying Infected Air, of Preventing Contagion, and Arresting its Progress.* By L. B. Guyton-Morveau. Translated from the French, by R. Hall, M. D. London. pp. 248. Octavo. T. Hurst, Paternoster-row. 1802.

In a preliminary discourse prefixed to this treatise, the learned author mentions some of the circumstances which at different times had directed his attention to the means of destroying contagion. The zeal and persevering assiduity with which he has prosecuted his inquiries into this interesting subject, are highly meritorious; and it must be matter of no small surprise to his readers, to learn, that his benevolent exertions have hitherto excited little public attention in France. The following paragraphs, while they evince the patriotism of the author, explain sufficiently the object of the present publication.

'Upwards of twenty-five years have elapsed since I published a process for purifying air impregnated with putrid and contagious exhala-

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tions. Two well authenticated and decisive experiments attested its efficacy. It was adjudged by the Academy of Sciences, to be the most effectual of any that could be employed. I have not neglected, in cases evidently contagious, which have, unfortunately, been but too frequent, to recommend it to the attention of Government. In a word, foreigners have published accounts of the beneficial effects which have resulted from its employment; yet, in France, it still remains almost unknown to the majority of those who ought to practise it for their own security. The periodical journals daily inform us of the mortality of our hospitals, which carries off both the patients and their medical attendants; nevertheless, among the means employed to check the progress of this scourge, fumigation by the mineral acids is not so much as named: And notwithstanding the *instruction* published by the Board of Health, we have not yet had a single report of the measures taken to carry it into execution, nor of the effects from them.

'If there exist any hope of removing that careless indifference which still abandons, to the ordinary routine of practice, an object so important as the preservation of human life, it is doubtless to be found in offering a more profound discussion of the subject to those who are capable of forming a decision from principles; and in fixing by an aggregate of the most respectable testimonies, the opinion of those who are to be persuaded only by example, and who cannot proceed but in the trammels of imitation.—Such is the proposed object of this undertaking.'

The author divides his treatise into four parts. The first contains *a concise narrative of the first trials of fumigation with muriatic acid.* From this narrative it appears, that in the Winter of the year 1773, the air in one of the principal churches in Dijon was so much contaminated by the putrid effluvia emitted from dead bodies lodged during an intense frost in its sepulchral vaults, that it became necessary to shut up the church. Various unsuccessful attempts were made to purify the air, by the detonation of nitre, by fumigations with vinegar, and by burning in it perfumes and other odoriferous substances. It was at this period that Morveau was consulted, and first carried into execution his process for purifying air impregnated with putrid effluvia, by the vapours of the muriatic acid. The doors and windows of the church being carefully shut up, the vapours of this acid were disengaged from common salt, by pouring on it a quantity of sulphuric acid. The experiment succeeded completely; for, the day after the fumigation, not the slightest vestige of any offensive odour could be perceived.

Towards the end of the same year, an infectious fever had appeared in the prisons of Dijon, and had proved fatal to upwards of thirty persons, when Morveau was again requested to superintend the execution of a similar process, which was accordingly performed with the greatest success. Morveau, in

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these fumigations, was led to employ the muriatic acid, from his knowledge of the tendency which it has to unite with, and to neutralize ammoniac, a substance generated during the putrefaction of animal matters, and which he regarded as the vehicle of contagion.

Part Second, which contains *an account of the experiments made by foreigners, respecting the purification of air by fumigation with the mineral acids*, consists chiefly of extracts from the very interesting account given by Mr Menzies, of the experiments with the fumes of the nitrous acid, which he made on board of the Union hospital ship at Sheerness, in 1795, under the particular direction of Dr Carmichael Smyth. It is not our province, nor are we called upon, by any thing in the present narrative, to decide upon the precise degree of merit that respectively belongs to each of these gentlemen, for the efforts which, at very different periods of time, they have made to discover an easy and expeditious mode of destroying contagion. It has been insinuated, that the proposal for acid fumigations originated exclusively with Morveau; and, that all the subsequent improvements in their use, are mere modifications of the process which he was the first to employ. We confess, however, that we are inclined to entertain a different opinion. The first hint for the employment of the muriatic acid, to purify vitiated air, seems to have been given by Dr James Johnstone of Worcester, so early as the year 1758; but it does not appear that any use was ever made of this acid, in the way of fumigation, before the experiments performed by Morveau in the church and prisons of Dijon. It is obvious, from the account which Dr Smyth has given of the jail distemper which prevailed at Winchester in 1780, that it was his intention to have employed the vapours of the nitric acid, for purifying the air of the hospital wards; but the mistake he committed, in supposing that these vapours were to be disengaged by the deflagration of nitre, proves incontestably, that the nitrous acid had no share in the very beneficial effects which his zeal and exertions had, by other means, produced. Had Dr Smyth been acquainted with the account given by Morveau, of his process in the Journal de Physique, it would have been impossible for him to have committed that mistake; since he must have known, that the nitrous acid is decomposed during the deflagration of nitre; and that, in purifying the air of the hospital, the process, which he employed, could produce no other than a mechanical effect. We are the more confirmed in this opinion, from observing, that Dr Smyth does not appear to have known * that Morveau had expressly mentioned the nitrous acid, in his account, as a substance, which,

* See his Description of Jail Distemper, p. 203.

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had it been used, must have produced effects more powerful than those of the vinegar employed.

Part Third is entitled, *Reflections on the effects of acid fumigations, and the opinions delivered on that subject.* In this treatise, Morveau uniformly considers contagious effluvia as the result of the putrefaction of animal substances, and the fœtid smell as a test of their presence. This is a principle which pervades the whole of his work, and, in our opinion, vitiates the greater part of the experiments which he has made, and the reasoning which he has employed. It is a principle, certainly, which ought not to have been assumed, unless after a very full induction of facts. The experiments which our author has made, to discover the principles communicated to the air, and the changes which that fluid itself undergoes by animal substances in a state of putrefaction, are sufficiently curious, and seem highly worthy of the attention of the chemist; but we have yet to learn what relation they have to the subject our author was engaged in prosecuting, and what light they can possibly throw on the nature of contagion. Till the identity of *putrid* and *contagious* exhalations is fully established, we cannot reasonably infer, that acid fumigation will destroy contagion, merely from their destroying fœtid exhalations. But so far is febrile miasm from having a putrid smell, that it is not known to have any sensible smell whatever; and the same, we believe, may be affirmed of the contagious matter of the plague, of small-pox, of measles, and perhaps of every other contagious disorder. It is true, we are ignorant of the nature of these poisons; but experience and analogy appear to concur in proving, that, so far from arising from putrefaction, their infectious qualities are destroyed by the affinities which prevail in that process. The examples which our author adduces, of malignant fever arising, in various parts of the world, from the putrefaction of animal and vegetable substances, are of too vague a nature to form the foundation of any rational opinion. Some of them, indeed, as, that of the plague occurring at Venice, from the exhalations of putrid fish; and a malignant fever at Delft, in Holland, from the stench of putrid cabbage; are too ridiculous, to deserve a serious consideration. It was not without some degree of surprise that we found them quoted as illustrations of his doctrine, by a man of our author's information and discernment.

Morveau refutes, by very decisive experiments, the error into which Dr Smyth, relying on the information of Mr Keir, had fallen, of supposing that the air of an apartment was rendered purer, or had oxygen gas added to it during the disengagement of the nitrous vapours; and proves, by experiments equally well

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contrived and decisive, the superior expansibility of the vapours of the muriatic to those of the nitric acid.

In the course of this investigation, he is gradually led to abandon, in some measure, the use of the common muriatic acid, and to trust, for the destruction of contagion, to the more powerful agency of the oxygenated muriatic acid gas. The use of this acid, in the way of fumigation, had been suggested many years ago in France; but it was first introduced into practice, in the large wards of an hospital, by Mr Cruickshanks, of Woolwich. Morveau has discovered a method of procuring this acid gas, which saves the operator the trouble of distillation, It consists in adding a mixture of nitric and muriatic acid, or, as it is usually termed, nitro-muriatic acid, to the black oxyd of manganese.

Towards the conclusion of this part of his treatise, Morveau enters into a long dissertation on the medicinal effects of oxygen, and of the preservative and contagious powers of the substances which contain this principle, either in a large proportion, or in a state of loose combination. The operation of medicines upon the human body, has hitherto been considered as a subject involved in great, if not impenetrable obscurity; but this obscurity vanishes before the prophetic eye of our author; and difficulties, which had formerly perplexed the most intelligent physicians, admit of an easy solution, from the well-known and powerful affinities of oxygen.

' Of all the principles (p. 145.) hitherto known, oxygen is the most simple, the most active, and that which changes most completely, the sensible characters, and intrinsic properties, of all bodies. And shall it then be inefficient in disorders! What, then, is it, which constitutes the curative virtue, that physical action of medicines, which physicians have, with reason, called occult, since they could only judge of it from experiment and observation, unless it is a change of combinations produced by affinities?

' This occult action, said the celebrated Venel,* forty years ago, *will be found to be chemical, if it shall ever be discovered.* What he predicted, has been already fulfilled, in part, with regard to oxygen. It is not a theory; it is the evidence of facts, which has demonstrated, that oxygenated substances are medicinal, in proportion to the quantity of oxygen which they contain, and the facility with which they give it out to animal matters; so that, in the very extensive scale of medicinal agents, from the slightest alterative to the most powerful corrosive, this circumstance alone denotes all the degrees, and explains all the differences.

* Encycloped. article *Medicine*.

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After having proved, by a sufficiently large enumeration of facts, that oxygen coagulates the serum of the blood, cures lues, kills the itch, improves the appearance of cancerous ulcers, and suspends diarrhœa, during the last stage of consumption; our author concludes his account of its virtues, with the following paragraphs, which evince how well qualified he is, to be the herald of pneumatic medicine.

'I conceive (p. 190.) that I have collected a sufficient number of facts and testimonies, to establish, beyond the possibility of doubt, that oxygen, and the substances capable of being used as vehicles for this principle, in a state favourable to new combinations, really excites the action of life, augments the heat, re-invigorates the powers, awakens the sensibility of the organs, and thus imparts to all the movements, that regularity which preserves order in the different functions of the animal economy.'

And again, p. 193—

'Thus, it appears, that oxygen, and particularly the gazeous oxygenants, evidently produce two effects, of the same tendency; exercising, upon the contagious miasmata, an affinity, by which they are decomposed, and aiding nature in resisting that assimulative power which renders them dangerous. When employed in sufficient quantity, and in a state of expansion capable of filling a large space, they correct infected air, and destroy the principle of contagion. This is the object of the fumigations with the oxygenated muriatic acid. Should some noxious particles escape its chemical action; should the means necessary to perform this process be wanting; or, in short, should the danger not be so alarming, as to enjoin these extraordinary precautions, it may, in such cases, be used as a preservative.'

After this long, but curious digression, our author again resumes his subject, by stating the following important question—*Are the same means applicable in the different species of contagion?* Previous to the complete solution of this question, it was necessary to ascertain, what it is that constitutes the principle of contagion. We doubt not but our readers will be greatly instructed by the information contained in the following paragraph.

'It is no longer (p. 208.) an unknown substance, a new element, which impresses its character upon contagious poisons; it is nothing else than an increased activity of one of the simple principles, which so much abound in all animal substances. It is therefore unnecessary to inquire any farther into the origin of this increased activity: it may be naturally explained by the familiar rule, that the more free the bodies are which have an affinity for each other, the more powerful is the affinity: and, by an example no less astonishing, the measure of this power is to be found in the union of the two simultaneous conditions of condensation and weak combination. It is therefore extremely probable,

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that it is azot condensed, but at the same time slightly attached, which forms the principle character of all contagious poisons: that they become specific, from the particular nature, and different proportions of the substances which serve as their vehicle; but that their grand energy is, in every instance, the necessary result of the action of this principle, in a state hitherto but little known:—in a word, that it depends upon a real *superazotation*.'

Those who have been able to follow the author through this somewhat intricate explanation, will doubtless be disposed to agree with him in the opinion, that 'should new inquiries tend to give this solution that complete proof which we have reason to expect from every thing that we already know of the results of the animal analysis, the products of putrefaction, the formation of ammoniac and putrefaction, nothing farther will be wanting to establish a solid theory respecting the successful action of oxigenants in every case of contagion.' By reasoning upon these principles, our author discovers, that the means by which contagion is to be destroyed, are as simple and obvious, as the theory by which he has accounted for its production.

'If, then, (speaking of contagion, p. 206.) it is a compound substance, the elements of which are collected by the animal organization, it must be subject to the common law of all animal products. It is impossible that it should resist combustion; and such, we have seen, was the result of the action of oxygen and the muriatic acid gas, which seems to direct the whole mass of the oxygen it contains upon all the bodies subject to its affinities.'

P. 221. 'Thus, the application of principles the most evident; the results of experiments the most decisive; the consequences of observations drawn from the most authentic sources; all concur to establish this general conclusion. If the air, which supports animal heat and life, sometimes becomes the source of the most cruel maladies, from the miasmata with which it is charged; if, at a certain stage of putrefaction of the animal fluids, there is generated contagious virus—the germ of pestilence: our progress in the study of nature has placed preservatives at our disposal—aëriform fluids, which restore to the air its salubrity—agents sufficiently powerful to deprive these destructive germs of all power of development. Such are the properties of oxygen, of super-oxygenants, of acid fumigations, and, above all, of oxygenated muriatic acid gas.'

Part Fourth contains *an enumeration of the preservative and anticontagious agents, and remarks on the manner in which they should be employed.* We shall give the bare results, without any commentary. Our readers, however, will recollect, that the anticontagious powers of these agents have been estimated from their effects in destroying putrid or fœtid exhalations.

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Water, cold or warm, carries off, by ablution, contagious matters; it weakens, but does not decompose them.

Lime decomposes animal substances before putrefaction, and absorbs carbonic acid; but produces little change on putrid odours.

The *combustion of resinous*, and other *odoriferous substances*, only marks, for a moment, the contagious odours which float in the atmosphere.

Fires may occasion currents in the air, but can only decompose the contagious matters which come within the sphere of their activity.

Gunpowder, like common fire, produces only a mechanical effect.

Vinegar does very well for purifying substances which admit of being immersed in it; but it is neither sufficiently volatile nor powerful, to be employed, with advantage, in large apartments.

The *mineral acids* check both vegetable and animal fermentation, and are capable of destroying contagious virus. The *sulphuric acid* is the least proper, on account of its fixity. The vapours of the *nitric acid* are not easily diffused through any large space, and are easily condensible. The *muriatic acid*, from its prodigious expansibility, is the most advantageous; but it is the *oxygenated muriatic acid gas* which is to be regarded as the most certain preservative from contagion. Morveau mentions that the oxygenated muriat of tin had been proposed by Vicz d'Azyr, in 1780, as a preservative from the danger attending on exhumations. But for a more particular description of the preservative and anticontagious processes, we must refer to the treatise itself. Morveau, we may add, suggests several improvements and cautions in the use of the process followed by Mr Cruickshanks.

In taking our leave of this treatise, we feel that we may be subjected to some censure, for the freedom of the preceding remarks. The very copious extracts which we have given, will secure us, we trust, from the imputation of having wilfully misrepresented the facts, opinions, and reasonings, which it contains. Notwithstanding the unremitting attention Morveau appears to have given to this inquiry, and the great variety of materials which he has accumulated in his work, a regard for truth obliges us to declare, that we have found in it a much less *profound discussion of the subject*, than, from the well-known talents and information of the author, we were prepared to expect. We speak of the execution, not of the object of this work. It is impossible not to applaud the motives which have induced the author to give it to the public. We trust that the conduct of the British Par-

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liament, by rewarding, in this country, exertions similar to those of Morveau in France, will operate as an example to the rulers of that country, and induce them to confer some mark of national approbation on that learned individual, who has an undoubted claim to the merit of having been the first to employ acid fumigations in destroying putrid and contagious exhalations.

The benefits of the *practice*, we believe, are ascertained beyond all possibility of question; and the gratitude that is due for its introduction, should not be diminished, by any consideration of the errors that may be involved in the statement of the *theory*.

Art. XXIX. *A Letter to Dr Percival on the Prevention of Infectious Fevers; and an Address to the College of Physicians at Philadelphia, on the Prevention of the American Pestilence.* By John Haygarth, M. D. Cadell & Davis. London, 1801. 8vo. pp. 188.

The author of this letter has been long favourably known to the public, by his valuable writings on small-pox; and though the discoveries of Dr Jenner, with regard to the vaccine inoculation, may have, in some degree, superseded his former labours, we are happy to perceive he still continues, with undiminished ardour, to carry on the warfare he had commenced; and to meditate, in the present work, a new, and, we hope, not unsuccessful blow, at that many-headed monster *contagion*. From this letter it appears, that, while Morveau was engaged in an attempt to subdue the malignity of all pestilential exhalations, by the short and efficacious methods which chymistry affords, this intelligent physician was no less usefully employed, in investigating the nature of febrile contagion, in so far as regards the laws by which it is communicated, and the means by which it may be prevented. Such of our readers as are already acquainted with the outlines of Dr Haygarth's Inquiry with regard to the small-pox, and of his Plan to exterminate that disorder, will enter readily into the train of investigation which he has pursued in the present publication.

This letter is divided into two parts. In the first, the author lays down, and endeavours to illustrate, certain preliminary principles, from which, in the second part, he deduces a number of practical conclusions.

The facts, or cases, upon which the whole of the reasoning in this letter is founded, are exhibited in the form of tables. In these tables the number of families infected, the patient's name, the date when attacked by fever, the date when fever began after being exposed to infection, the number in the family infected, and the number which remained uninfected, are marked in sepa-

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rate columns. This synoptical mode of recording and exhibiting cases in an inquiry of this sort, is attended with many advantages: While it abridges the labour of the observer, it brings within a narrower and more distinct field of view the numerous facts, which, in narration, must have extended over many pages. The facts, which these tables contain, appear to have been observed with great accuracy; but we are doubtful whether they are sufficiently numerous, to warrant conclusions so very general, as those which our author has deduced from them.

In this inquiry, Dr Haygarth, very properly, in our opinion, takes it for granted, that fever is an infectious disease. In the present state of medical knowledge, indeed, it would not, we conceive, be at all more absurd to deny the existence of fever altogether, than to maintain that it is not propagated by contagion.

The proportion of persons susceptible of febrile infection, as calculated from the *data* contained in the tables, is much greater than, we believe, had been commonly suspected. From the facts there recorded, it would seem that not more than one person in twenty-three escape, of those who have been sufficiently exposed to the action of the contagion.

'The same mode of reasoning (p. 33.) as was successfully employed in the inquiry, how to prevent the small-pox, may be equally applicable to the present question. It was there calculated upon the *datum*, that only one person in twenty is naturally exempted from the distemper: that if two together have escaped, the probability that they were never both exposed to an infectious quantity of the poison, is above 400 to 1; if three in a family have escaped, above 8000 to 1.'—'If all the cases (p. 35.) in succession, where persons have breathed the air of a chamber of a patient ill of a contagious fever, and yet have escaped infection, were estimated in this mode of calculation, the chances would be, not only of thousands, but of millions, indeed many *millions* to one, that such persons had not been exposed to an infectious dose of the poison.'

In proposing to ascertain the quantity of febrile poison necessary to produce infection, Dr Haygarth remarks, p. 36—

'In this whole investigation, you will, I am certain, keep in mind one medical truth—it cannot be called a theory, a term often applied to doubtful disquisitions: the larger the dose of a poison or drug, the greater, in general, is the effect which it produces.' &c.

The illustration is ingenious, we confess; but we are ignorant how far we may safely trust to it, in explaining the operation of contagious poisons. If the principle contended for by Dr Haygarth were admitted, would it not follow, that the violence of an infectious disease must always be in proportion to the quantity of the poison introduced into the system? Would not, for

instance, the malignity of the casual small-pox always correspond with the quantity of the poison applied? and, would not the number of pustules, in the inoculated small-pox, bear always a definite proportion to the number and size of the punctures which had been made, and the quantity of inoculating matter introduced? In reasoning from analogy, we are frequently exposed to many unknown sources of fallacy; and we are never more in danger of being deceived, than when we attempt to explain one obscure subject by another.

The sphere of infection appears to extend only to a very small distance from the body of a patient affected with fever.

'In 1777, I began (p. 8.) to ascertain, by clinical observations, according to what law the variolous infection, and, in 1780 and 1781, according to what law the febrile infection, is propagated. I found, that the pernicious effects of the variolous miasm were limited to a very narrow sphere. In the open air, and in moderate cases, I discovered that the infectious distance does not exceed half a yard.—Hence, it is probable, that even when the distemper is malignant, the infectious influence extends but to a few yards from the poison. I soon also discovered, that the contagion of fevers was confined to a much narrower sphere. Upon these principles, which it is the main purpose of this letter to explain and establish, I discerned the safety and wisdom of admitting fever patients into separate wards of the Chester Infirmary itself, instead of an adjoining building, as I had proposed in 1774.'

This is a principle which we should be glad to see fully established, as it would save ourselves and others from many anxieties, which perhaps are groundless, and dangers which exist only in imagination. We must regret, therefore, that the author has not given a more ample detail of the facts upon which an opinion of so much practical importance is founded; as it does not seem to follow from the facts stated in the tables, nor indeed to be directly deducible from any thing contained in the other parts of the letter.

The infection communicated to several persons at the Old Bailey in May 1750, by prisoners who had not the fever themselves, and who were placed, during the whole time they were in court, at a considerable distance from those who received the infection, seems to have occurred to Dr Haygarth, as an objection to the opinion, that febrile contagion operates only within a very narrow sphere: But he endeavours to evade the force of this objection, by supposing, that the febrile poison is infectious at a greater distance than usual, in air which has been vitiated by the respiration of a number of persons crowded together. The production of fever, in these cases, therefore, he regards as an exception to the law usually followed by nature in the propagation

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of contagion. We are not prepared to controvert the hypothesis by which Dr Haygarth solves the difficulty; but, upon a subject so obscure in its own nature, as the propagation of contagion, we should feel more indebted to the Doctor for an accumulation of new facts, than for any hypothetical explanations, however ingenious.

We confess we were a little surprised to find Dr Haygarth denying (at p. 54.), in so positive and unqualified a manner, that the clothes of visitors, &c. exposed to febrile miasms, can ever acquire a pestilential quality, so as to communicate infection. He refers, in proof of this opinion, to his Inquiry and Sketch. We have perused the passages to which he refers, but without obtaining any additional information on the subject of febrile contagion. We happen indeed to have ovserved, very lately, two unequivocal instances, in which fever was communicated from one person to another, through the intervention of a third, who himself never had any symptom of the disease; and we are at a loss to conjecture in what way the poison could be conveyed, unless by the clothes. In one of the instances to which we refer, it was conveyed to a distance of more than three miles.

From the invisibility of febrile contagion, our author argues, that it must be dissolved in, and not merely diffused through, the air; and he deduces, from that opinion, the following very important conclusion.

'If the febrile miasms (p. 57.) be dissolved in air, and attracted from it by clothes, they could not, *in the same circumstances*, on any known principle, be again attracted from clothes by air. This would be contrary to the law of elective attraction, which is as well founded as any in natural philosophy.'

This argument, which is intended as a kind of demonstration of the impossibility of infection being conveyed from air to clothes, and from clothes to air again, seems to be somewhat inconsistent with a suggestion contained in page 46—

'It may be a subject of consideration, whether the mischief produced by the contagion of prisoners in a court of justice, may not be ascribed to the increase of malignity in the febrile poison, when it has long lodged and *putrefied* in dirty clothes and confined air.'

The proposition, however, as stated by our author, is undoubtedly true; but there seems to be an unintentional *equivocation* in the words '*in the same circumstances*.' The laws of elective attraction, we allow to be as well founded as any in natural philosophy; but we deny that they operate in the manner described by our author. Air and clothes have both, by hypothesis, an affinity for the matter of febrile contagion. If clothes, therefore, be

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immersed in air impregnated with this substance, they will imbibe a quantity of the poison, greater, or less indeed, according to the respective affinities of the clothes and the air. But it will not follow, from any law of elective attraction with which we are acquainted, that if clothes, thus impregnated, be carried into a fresh portion of air, this air will not absorb from them a greater or less portion of the poison. On the contrary, we maintain, that the poison will pass from the air to the clothes, and from the clothes to the air again, till the affinities between these substances are brought to an equilibrium. Water and common air, Dr Haygarth must allow, have both an affinity for carbonic acid; but, because water absorbs a portion of this acid from air which contains it in abundance, are we warranted, either by experiment or observation, to maintain, that the water will not, in any circumstances, impart a portion of the acid to the air? We are ignorant of the affinities of the different articles of dress for febrile contagion. There may be some among them, for any thing we know, which imbibe in it a large quantity, though it may exist in them in a state of very loose combination. We submit to Dr Haygarth, whether the number of those who, in the common intercourse of society, catch febrile infection, without ever coming into contact with a person ill of fever, or without being able to trace the way in which the infection had been communicated, ought not to induce a belief that the contagion is often conveyed, by clothes, to a considerable distance from the source from which it originates.

We were somewhat amused with finding, in p. 58, a paragraph bearing this very singular title—*Contagion dangerous at a greater distance than fermenting liquors or fire;* nor could we well conceive what the principle was which the author meant to lay down and illustrate, till we came to the following passages.

'But there is another theoretical opinion, delivered on the credit of a physician whose memory I shall ever hold in the highest reverence, which appears to me so erroneous and so dangerous, as to require a full refutation.

'I received the following intelligence from undoubted authority. A celebrated professor, when treating upon the cause of fever, in his lectures on the practice of medicine, expressed himself in the following manner—" Contagion is a matter always deriving its origin from the human body. It has been imagined, that contagions have been widely diffused in the atmosphere; but it has been proved, that when they are diffused, and at a distance from their source, they are rendered harmless. This is similar to vapours of fermenting liquors, and of fire; which, near to their source, are destructive of animal life,

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but, at a small distance, become innocent, either by mixture or diffusion. This appears to be the case in contagion." To refute this very dangerous and erroneous doctrine, it will be sufficient to remark, that, in a small, close, dirty room, neither a common fire, nor the fermentation of beer, has any fatal or even pernicious effect. Whereas, in a situation exactly similar, the febrile poison infects all who are exposed, except about one in twenty-three, or a still less proportion.'

We apprehend that our author has in some degree misunderstood the meaning of the professor; for if the principles which he himself has adopted be just, surely there can be nothing either very erroneous or dangerous in the doctrine delivered in the passages we have now quoted. The fermenting liquors and fire are obviously mentioned by way of illustration only; and the celebrated professor (Dr Cullen, we presume) coincides entirely in opinion with our author—that where contagions are widely diffused, and at a distance from their source, they are rendered harmless.

Dr Haygarth is of opinion, that fever is not contagious before the fourth day from the commencement of the attack. It were to be wished he had pointed out the facts upon which this principle rests; for, at present, it appears as if it were derived rather from the analogy which subsists between fever and small-pox, than from any well authenticated and decisive observations.

One of the most curious, and, to us, certainly one of the most original parts of the publication, is that in which our author endeavours to discover how long the poison of fever may remain *latent* in the constitution! From the tables it appears, that the period which elapses from the reception of the poison, till the commencement of the fever, varies from a few days to two months. We are doubtful whether the whole of the calculations with regard to this point rest on a foundation sufficiently solid, as we know of no way in which it is possible to determine when a person, living in a contagious atmosphere, has breathed an infectious dose of the poison. Perhaps this point can be determined, only, by observing when the fever appears in those who have had but a single, and, as it were, but casual intercourse with an infected person.

Few objections occur to us, to be made to the practical conclusions contained in the *second* part of this letter, which have not, in some measure, been already anticipated in our remarks on the principles from which they are derived. Most of these conclusions are of so consolatory a nature, that we wish to see them established beyond the possibility of doubt or of cavil. For

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the gratification of such of our readers as may not have seen the letter, we shall give them in our author's own words.

'1. Medical, clerical, and other visitors of patients in infectious fevers, may fully perform their important duties, with safety to themselves.

'2. In any house with spacious apartments, the whole family, even the nurses of a patient ill of a typhous fever, may be preserved from infection.

'3. Schools may be preserved from febrile infection.

'4. In an hospital, infectious fevers ought never to be admitted into the same wards with patients ill of other diseases.

'5. When an infectious fever is in a small house, the family cannot be preserved from it, unless the patients are removed into a separate building.

'6. In like manner, infectious fevers may be prevented in the army and navy.'

The fourth conclusion has not, hitherto, received that attention from those who are entrusted with the management of the sick in infirmaries, which its importance seems so obviously to demand. To introduce, with our knowledge, a patient ill of a fever into any ward, among those who have not the disease, appears to us to be no less culpable than 'wittingly to allow the admixture of a small proportion of a poisonous ingredient, as arsenic, into the diet of an hospital.'

The proposal, to have a large room set apart, in boarding-schools, hospitals, &c. for the reception of those who may be occasionally attacked by fever, or any other infectious disorder, has our most hearty approbation. It must, were it carried into execution, prove the means of saving many from falling victims to contagion.

We concur also with the author, in thinking that the establishment of fever wards in infirmaries, next to a perpetual attention to cleanliness, and a free ventilation in private dwellings, is the means, of all others, best calculated to arrest the progress, and diminish the number of contagious diseases.

In the course of this letter, Dr Haygarth alludes to the practice of acid fumigations; but as he does not particularly recommend them, we infer that he places no very great dependence upon their use. We are, however, inclined to think, that though a due attention to cleanliness may render them, for the most part, unnecessary in private houses; yet that there are many situations in which their use ought not to be dispensed with. They cannot fail to be of advantage in fever wards, in jails, in hospitals, and in ships; in short, wherever the febrile poison may be supposed to exist in a concentrated state.

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There is a caution of great national importance, suggested by our author, which seems to be highly deserving of the attention of those who are entrusted with the management of the Navy—' Prisoners, taken out of an infectious jail, should never be mixed with the crew of a ship, till a sufficient time had elapsed to discover whether any latent poison had infected them.'

In the address to the College of Physicians at Philadelphia, Dr Haygarth adduces very solid reasons for believing the yellow fever to be contagious; and proposes that measures, similar to those he has suggested with regard to fever in general, should be adopted for its extermination.

We cannot take leave of this benevolent and intelligent author, without expressing to him our grateful acknowledgments for the pleasure and instruction we have received from the perusal of his letter; and insinuating, at the same time, our persuasion, that this letter is intended merely as a prelude to a fuller investigation, and more enlarged discussion of the subject of febrile contagion.

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