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LONDON, SATURDAY, JULY 2, 1853.

REVIEWS

History of the Captivity of Napoleon at St. Helena; from the Letters and Journals of the late Lieut.-Gen. Sir Hudson Lowe, and Official Documents not before made public. By William Forsyth, M.A. 3 vols. Murray.

This work has been long looked for,—and more than once we have announced its expected publication. Delayed from various causes, it could scarcely have made its appearance at a more seasonable time than now. Increased interest has of late been given to the character of Napoleon,—his nephew has become a ruler of France,—and we are fresh from the retrospect of the great Duke's career. The brilliancy and moral courage with which Lamartine has written on the theme of Napoleon has also contributed to interest readers on the subject.

But the name of Sir Hudson Lowe, loaded as it has been with obloquy, and associated in the public mind with grave charges against his personal character, and indirectly against the Government which employed him, would alone give importance to these volumes. "*Audi alteram partem*," is the general rule with the British public before opinion finally settles down into a national verdict on an accused party. There have been many persons who hoped that for the sake of Sir Hudson Lowe's memory his biography would clear his character triumphantly. We will see how far this hope has been realized,—but before doing so, we must say a few words on the authorship of the work.

Without any disrespect to the learned profession of which Sir Hudson Lowe's biographer is a member, we think it injudicious to have handed over an accused reputation to the custody of a lawyer, himself the author of '*Hortensius*;' or, the *Advocate*.' Those arts by which verdicts are gained in courts of law are not efficacious before the bench of criticism. The rhetoric of Mr. Forsyth is of the forensic school; his logic is too often that of a special pleader, and his tone from first to last exhibits the partizanship common to biographers. In justice to him, however, we will extract from the Preface his own view of the duties of his office, and of his manner of discharging it.—

"When Mr. Murray first proposed to place in my hands the papers of the late Sir Hudson Lowe in order that I might undertake the present work, after some consideration I declined the task, chiefly on grounds of a professional nature. For the Law is a jealous mistress, and recognizes no half-hearted or divided allegiance. But the proposal was again pressed upon me in so flattering a manner that I was induced to reconsider my decision. * * I was not asked to make out a case for Sir Hudson Lowe, nor, had I been asked to do so, would I have consented. I regarded the duty of examining the papers left by him as a solemn trust for the due and truthful discharge of which I was responsible to the public, and a still more searching tribunal, my own conscience."

In recording the materials at his command, Mr. Forsyth says:—

"I have had access to a vast number of original despatches of Earl Bathurst, who was Secretary of State for the Colonies while Napoleon was at St. Helena, and to the originals or copies of every important document connected with the subject. Thirty folio volumes are filled with copies of correspondence and other writings, carefully made under the direction of Sir Hudson Lowe, who seems to have treasured a memorial of almost every incident, however trivial, connected with that important period of his life. In addition to these, there are several large boxes which contain manuscripts, chiefly copies, relating to the same events, all of which have been diligently examined for the purpose of the present work. Two sets of copies of O'Meara's letters to Mr. Finlaison, so frequently quoted in the narrative, were placed in

my hands; but I wish distinctly to state that I have not seen the originals. One of these sets was made officially at the time when the letters were communicated through the Admiralty to the Cabinet, as will be explained in the course of the narrative, and their correctness cannot for a moment be doubted. It only remains that I should make an acknowledgment for the assistance I have received. The Lowe papers were originally placed, some years ago, in the hands of the late Sir Harris Nicolas, with a view to publication under his auspices as editor. He underwent the heavy labour of arranging them, and before his death had proceeded so far as to have a voluminous mass of documents set up in type, down to the date of September, 1817. His plan, however, was to print almost every letter and other manuscript at full length in chronological order, connecting them with a slender thread of explanatory remark. The consequence would have been that if his plan had been carried out the work must have consisted of eight or nine closely printed octavo volumes, the price of which would have rendered them inaccessible to the public generally."

—For reasons which our readers will see afterwards, we have ourselves put a line in italics in the above passage. The hitherto unpublished letters of O'Meara to Finlaison (a clerk in the Admiralty) constitute the chief revelations in this work,—and they will excite a great sensation, as they incriminate persons of eminence.

The work before us has a threefold interest:—first, as it refers to the behaviour of Sir Hudson Lowe at St. Helena,—secondly, to the conduct of the Liverpool Cabinet,—and thirdly, the character of Napoleon during the closing years of his life. We will take these subjects in order.

It is necessary for us to observe, that in judging of historical characters which have been subjected to much obloquy, it will be well to recollect, that grave faults may yet be grievously exaggerated, and that it is very important to distinguish accurately between the actual and the overstated charges preferred against individuals. Warren Hastings and Lord Castlereagh were two public men who were for long periods subject to vast obloquy with the many, and to severe censure from the more critical few. Though we would not take our opinions of Warren Hastings from the invectives of Burke, we might yet think he richly merited the censure cast on him by Lord John Russell in his '*Life of Fox*,'—and though not accepting Cobbett or Hunt as authorities on the character of Lord Castlereagh, we might concur in unfavourable views of that statesman's public fame brought by other parties.

Applying these principles to the case of Sir Hudson Lowe, let us see how the real charges against him stand. We took up the work with feelings inclined to concur in the moderated censure on Sir Hudson Lowe passed by Lamartine. We were ready to make great allowances for the peculiarity of his position, its invidious and inquisitorial character, and the splenetic despondency of his mighty captive. But after reading these volumes, in which a vigorous attempt at literary ablution has been made, we feel our prejudices confirmed rather than removed. Taking the case as given by his biographer and defender, we find the following facts on the record.

It stands admitted here, that Sir Walter Scott and Sir Archibald Alison, both Tories of the Castlereagh school, publicly pronounced a verdict against Sir Hudson Lowe: that while Napoleon was on the most friendly terms with Sir Pulteney Malcolm, the admiral of the station, he abominated Sir Hudson Lowe: that when Sir Pulteney Malcolm tendered his good services to reconcile the Governor with his captive, Sir Hudson declined them: that after not having managed matters well with the

previous Admiral (Sir George Cockburn), the Governor then had a serious difference with Sir Pulteney Malcolm, one of the most amiable beings that ever breathed: that with each and all of O'Meara, and Las Cases, and Montholon, and Antommarchi—Sir Hudson (in the words of his biographer and apologist) "*had a separate cause of quarrel*" (p. 2): that O'Meara, with all the perils of the law of libel in those days before John Lord Campbell was a legislator, gibbeted Sir Hudson Lowe in his '*Voice from St. Helena*': that, goaded by the five editions of O'Meara's book, he answered the challenge to the King's Bench: that O'Meara did not shrink, but met Sir Hudson Lowe with the affidavits of *seventeen* witnesses: that when the King's Bench decided "*too late*" on Sir Hudson's claim for redress, he threw the blame on his lawyers,—none other than Copley and Tindal (Lords Lyndhurst and the late Chief Justice of the Common Pleas): that Lord Bathurst then urged him to defend his reputation by a book in reply to O'Meara, and that Sir Hudson declined to do so,—and finally left his case to be argued at the bar of posterity by a lawyer!

Then, without any reference here to the withering execration with which Napoleon used to pursue the name of Sir Hudson Lowe, let us see how the Earl of Liverpool, the Duke of Wellington, and Sir Robert Peel acted towards Sir Hudson Lowe. —After mentioning "*the fatal*" mistake of Sir Hudson Lowe in not publishing a refutation of the charges against him," his biographer says:—

"Besides, in another important respect Sir Hudson Lowe suffered. There can be little doubt that Lord Liverpool was in some degree prejudiced against him. Lord Bathurst recommended him for a pension, which was surely due to him as much as to Colonel Wilkes, the Governor of St. Helena whom he succeeded, and who received a retiring allowance of 1,500*l.* a year; but no pension was ever granted to Sir Hudson Lowe. Why was this? Nothing could be more full, explicit, and unreserved than the terms in which Lord Bathurst conveyed to him the approval of the British Government at the close of his arduous duties at St. Helena. Why, then, was a pecuniary recompence withheld which he had fairly earned?"

There is a large bill of indictment against Sir Hudson Lowe in that "*why?*" It is impossible for any biographer to get over the fact that a pension was refused to him, while it had been given to a previous Governor. He was sent out afterwards as Governor of Antigua, and was subsequently made Commander-in-chief at Ceylon; but he solicited the Government of the latter island *in vain*,—and what else but an unfavourable impression towards him remains after reading the following passage?—

"Before leaving England, Sir Hudson Lowe had an audience of the Duke of Wellington, and endeavoured to obtain from him a promise of his interest, in the event of the vacancy occurring. The Duke, however, replied that he never did, and never would, make any such promise beforehand; and that he did not think the Colonial Secretary, Sir George Murray, would be justified in doing so. But he added that, in his opinion, the ex-Governor of St. Helena had been very hardly used; and when Sir Hudson observed that the object of his application to Government had always been either to obtain a situation corresponding in rank to that which he had filled at St. Helena, or the means of an honourable retirement, if Government, from motives of policy, did not think fit to employ him, the Duke answered, that no motive of policy would prevent him from employing him (Sir Hudson) where his services might be useful. On this Sir Hudson Lowe suggested that an opportunity might occur of sending him in some capacity to the Russian army, which at that time was engaged in a campaign against the Turks; but the Duke of Wellington shortly replied, '*We have kept out of that; we have kept out of that.*' Sir Hudson Lowe then spoke on the subject.

of a pension, stating the circumstances under which he had before applied for one; but the Duke made immediate objections, saying that Parliament would not grant it. Sir Hudson replied, that he had always been desirous to have the question referred to Parliament, and was ready to stand or fall by its decision. The Duke of Wellington, however, said, it was useless to urge the matter any further, as it was certain Mr. Peel would never make any such proposal to the House of Commons."

The author pleads for his client—that "Sir Hudson Lowe does not seem to have been aware how seldom there is found in Governments the moral courage to support, much less patronize, an injured but unpopular man." The plea sounds plausibly; but an impartial historian would say, that whatever may be the faults or the merits of British ministers, it is a character of public men and leaders of parties to stand by their friends and followers when they get into trouble. Of all men that ever lived, the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel would not flinch from doing justice to a public servant if they thought his obloquy wholly unmerited. But we reserve our general remarks on the conduct of Sir Hudson Lowe. We will now proceed to the "Admiralty scandals" revealed in the present work. It is impossible that they can be allowed to pass without serious notice.

The name of Barry O'Meara is familiar to our readers as the author of the "Voice from St. Helena,"—in which the Liverpool Cabinet was attacked, and Sir Hudson Lowe furiously assailed. The work caused a great sensation, and the author was fiercely vituperated by some writer in the *Quarterly Review*. While we write, we have O'Meara's book and its review in the *Quarterly* (vol. xxviii.) before us. In that article he is taunted with "the baseness of *espionnage*" (p. 238). The reviewer, at p. 237, tries to defend Sir Hudson Lowe from "being desirous of hearing tittle-tattle," and O'Meara is charged with "exposing to all mankind the conversations which had been confided to the ear of friendship." Now, if the facts recorded in the work before us be true, it is evident that in the first instance O'Meara had been encouraged from the Admiralty to play what many persons would call the part of a spy on Napoleon's words and thoughts. The name of Mr. Wilson Croker is mixed up very strangely in this business,—and before having his counter-statements it would be perhaps hasty to pronounce on the accusations in Mr. Forsyth's work. There are revelations of very considerable "scandal."

O'Meara, selected by Napoleon as a surgeon and confidential companion, had a friend of the name of Finlaison at the Admiralty. Apparently with a view to advance himself, O'Meara (of course without Napoleon's knowledge) wrote a series of letters in which he describes the contortions of the caged lion. A specimen will suffice;—it being necessary to observe that they have been hitherto unpublished.—

"He frequently breaks out into invectives against the English Government for sending him to this island, which he pronounces (with some reason) to be the most detestable spot in the universe. 'Behold the English Government,' said he, gazing around at the frightful and stupendous rocks which encompassed him. 'This is their liberality to the unfortunate, who, confiding in what he so blindly imagined to be their national character, in an evil hour gave himself up to them. But your Ministers laugh at your laws. I thought once that the English were a free nation, but I see now that you are the greatest slaves in the world,' said he to me one day; 'you all of you tremble at the sight of that man. In my greatest power I could not do such things as I have seen done to your sailors and others since I have come to this *Lale de Brouillard*.'"

In the same letter occurs this passage, which explains itself,—O'Meara alluding to his own position.—

"In fact, if the Government does not choose to give me what Bonaparte offered me himself, viz. 12,000 francs, and repeated once in a letter from General Montholon, which has been forwarded to the Admiralty, I must decline holding the situation any longer. If I must be a prisoner, it is only the hopes of emolument which will induce me to continue in this cage. You will perceive that the greatest part, if not the whole, of this letter would be unfit to meet the public eye, perhaps would not be altogether agreeable to the Government also; however, of this you are, of course, the best judge. I merely tell you in confidence of what really happened—particularly as Napoleon now is able, with a dictionary, to read the English papers, and, of course, in consequence of nobody ever having been present during the greater part of the conversations which have taken place between him and me, would immediately discover that I was the author, and I know would be greatly offended. It must be evident to you that, unless I was on good terms with him, it would be very disagreeable, if not impossible, to remain as his surgeon. Therefore may I beg of you to confide this only to such persons as you know will not put the contents in the newspapers?"

But the character of O'Meara (thus self-tarnished) is not the question. The conduct of much higher persons is involved. Who was it that encouraged O'Meara to pursue this conduct? Let the Admiralty clerk tell.—

"Your letters of the 16th of March and 22nd of April came duly to hand, and furnished a real feast to some very great folks here. I also received a letter from you on your first arrival, which was considered very interesting; not a line of anything you have written to me since you sailed was ever made public. The moment your letters came they were given to Mr. Croker, who considered them extremely interesting, and circulated copies among the Cabinet Ministers; and he desires me to assure you that they never have been, nor shall they ever hereafter be, seen by any other person. I conjecture also that your letters have even amused His Royal Highness the Prince Regent: they are written with that discrimination, good sense, and *naïveté*, that they could not fail to be acceptable; and I am quite sure that they have done you a great deal of good at the Board, a proof of which is, that the other day Captain Hamilton of the *Havannah*, and Sir E. Thornbrough, reported in a public letter that, a few hours after the ship's arrival a letter was inserted in the Portsmouth paper about Bonaparte, and that it had been traced that you were the author of it. Mr. Croker sent for me, and desired me to request you to be careful in respect to your private letters to any other person, as everything now-a-days gets into the papers; but to me he repeated his hopes that you would write in full confidence, and in the utmost possible detail, all the anecdotes you can pick up, resting assured that none but the Government ever will see them, and to them they are and must be extremely interesting, as showing the personal feelings of your great state prisoner."

There is something that revolts the mind in the idea of the "very great folks" having "a real feast" in a near sight of the writhings and gnashings of the great captive on the rack,—a "feast" to which they were admitted by the continual violation of professional and gentlemanly confidence. But we have the letter of Sir Hudson Lowe to confirm the Finlaison statement. Referring to other matters relating to O'Meara, Sir Hudson addresses Lord Bathurst:—

"I did not fail immediately to point out to Dr. O'Meara all the impropriety of his conduct, and even the danger as affecting his life, by meddling in such matters. He said Count Montholon had left the letter in his room without his giving his consent to it—that a motive of curiosity had led him not to return it—that he had no intention to give it publicity, but that he should probably have given extracts of it in his letters to Mr. Croker; and he here produced to me a letter he had received from a Mr. Finlaison, who holds some office in the Admiralty, marked 'Confidential and Secret,' and therefore, perhaps, not furnishing a fit matter for reference, in which he

is most particularly requested to give all the details possible to Mr. Croker of everything interesting he can collect respecting General Bonaparte, and made acquainted that the letters he may write will not pass beyond the perusal of the Cabinet Ministers. Mr. Finlaison tells him of the pleasure the perusal of many of them have afforded to a *Royal Personage*; and Dr. O'Meara is encouraged by every species of praise to continue his communications both to Mr. Croker and Mr. Finlaison, the official situation of the former of whom may perhaps afford some grounds for the request, but certainly not that of the latter. The letter from Mr. Finlaison concludes with requesting Dr. O'Meara to procure him a scrap of Bonaparte's handwriting for Mr. Croker, and, on the whole, manifests a kind of interest in everything relating to the extraordinary personage referred to, which if communicated to him could not fail, I think, of proving in a certain degree flattering to him, and with a person of his artifice lead, through Dr. O'Meara, to communications for the ear and observation of the Prince Regent himself. . . . He founds his vindication principally on the strict injunctions he has received from persons in public situations to send home accounts of what is passing here, and the approbation given to his letters at the Board as confidentially communicated to him by Mr. Finlaison."

—To which the author has appended these notes.—

"The following extract from the postscript to a letter from O'Meara to Mr. Finlaison, written on the 14th of October this year, will show the persevering efforts made to send this letter clandestinely to England, and also the necessity for the closest vigilance on the part of the Governor. It proves also that, after all, O'Meara did send to England a copy of Montholon's letter. 'This letter *De Las Cases* and Montholon have been endeavouring by all means in their power to send to England. *De Las Cases* showed it and explained it to Capt. Shaw of the 'Termagant,' and, I believe, offered a copy to Capt. Gray of the Artillery, and Lieut. Louis of the Northumberland, to whom also a copy was offered, which he refused taking, as Sir Hudson expressed his earnest wish to me that it should not be sent even to the Admiralty: as he said he had not given the Admiral a copy of it, perhaps it would be as well not to allow it to come to his knowledge that I had sent it, though I conceive it a duty incumbent on me to furnish Mr. Croker with all the intelligence possible through you, and which I shall not fail to do in every one of my letters.' It was a mistake of Sir Hudson Lowe to suppose that O'Meara corresponded with Mr. Croker, then the Secretary of the Admiralty. The latter merely received and communicated to the Cabinet the letters which Mr. Finlaison put into his hands."

What mere special pleading it is for Mr. Forsyth to say that O'Meara did not correspond with Mr. Croker! Surely it ought not to be necessary for laymen to remind a lawyer of the maxim, "*Qui facit per alium facit per se*." But the scandal gets deeper at every step. The following passage from a letter to Finlaison tells very favourably for Sir Hudson Lowe, while it puts parties nearer home deeper in the mire.—

"I told Sir Hudson, this day, that Montholon had done so, and that he had given me the letter. He was very much displeased at the idea of its being made known, and also with me for having read it, so that I was obliged in my own defence to make known to him that I was authorized to make communications respecting Bonaparte to the Admiralty. He appeared surprised and annoyed at this, and said that it was not proper; that the Admiralty had nothing to do with what took place respecting him; that he did not communicate it to the Duke of York; that it ought not even to be made known to any of the *Cabinet Ministers*, except the Secretary of State, with whom he corresponded himself, and that he would make some arrangements accordingly. He added, that my correspondence ought to go through him. I replied very respectfully, that, as I had been in the habit of obeying those received from the Board of Admiralty, under whose orders I naturally was, I had not thought it improper to communicate to them such information and anecdotes as I thought they might be pleased with, and concluded with

submitting to him that it would be much better for me to resign the situation, which I was ready to do. To this he replied, he was far from desiring such a step, and said that the subject altogether required some deliberation, and thus the matter rests. Until, however, I have received directions from you not to correspond, I will continue to do so, or will, as I told him, resign a situation always delicate, and now peculiarly and embarrassingly so."

Let us recapitulate the startling revelations of this clandestine correspondence. 1. In the Preface quoted before, Mr. Forsyth vouches for the genuineness of the Finlaison and O'Meara, or what some would call the Wilson Croker, correspondence. 2. That O'Meara, in violation of professional confidence, wrote to the Admiralty his notes on the sayings and confidential thoughts of Napoleon. 3. That his letters were "a feast to very great folk" in England. 4. That Mr. Wilson Croker encouraged O'Meara to provide ample provender for the "feast." 5. That this clandestine correspondence, this *espionage*, was carried on without the knowledge of Sir Hudson Lowe, who was very angry when he found it out.

This is certainly one of the most serious "revelations" that have appeared amongst our copious historical memoirs of the last few years. It is fortunate that Mr. Wilson Croker is still living, as he will doubtless be able to cast further light upon the whole subject. What is very curious in the matter is, that though the government of the day suffered sorely from the effects of O'Meara's 'Voice from St. Helena,' with a word of the revelations in this work they might have destroyed their antagonist's character. But his destruction by such a process would have been most dangerous to his enemies. His reviewer in the *Quarterly* assailed him in all the moods and tenses of vituperation,—but he took special care to avoid the name of *Finlaison*, and the previous services in which O'Meara had been used. Though in the power of the Government, O'Meara wrote with great audacity, as he knew well that he had Government also in his grasp, and that official people could not blast him without awfully scorching themselves. If such scandal as this had oozed out in those days, what investives would have come from Henry Brougham and quiet bursts of scorn from Lord Althorp,—to say nothing of emphatic rebukes from young Lord John Russell and the leaders of the Opposition of that time! What a brilliant political satire the author of 'Tom Crib's Memorial to Congress' and 'The Twopenny Post-Bag' would have written on a theme so fertile in suggestion!

These revelations are so very interesting a chapter in the "Curiosities of Literature," that we have taken this rapid survey in our desire not to withhold them from the early notice of our readers. On the subject of Napoleon himself the work is not so interesting as we expected; but its historical importance is of the highest value,—and whether we agree or not with the various conclusions to which its author would fain lead the reader, it amply deserves and will reward the careful perusal of every person who is interested in the subject of Napoleon.—We will return to it next week.

The British Jews. By the Rev. John Mills. Houlston & Stoneman.

THE Asian mystery is a subject on which there has been not a little romantic speculation: that the same kind of mystery lies at our own doors—that forms of life as ancient as the Pyramids—that a cyclopædia of thought and emotion as strange as anything to be found in the pages of Paulo or the story of the Aztec cities—may be found in the Minorities or Houndsditch, is a circumstance on which few perhaps give themselves

time to reflect. Yet so it is. Within a minute's walk of the Exchange, under the shadow of the great edifice which is the seat of our Eastern empire, dwells a race of men whose story is bound up in a marvellous way with that of all mankind, yet who live in a state of permanent isolation from their fellows, following a law which almost antedates civilization itself, and spurning in their pride and tenacity of purpose every light of more recent ages as for them unavailing or superfluous. If we pause to consider, it will probably strike us as strange that the circumstance has not inspired a deeper interest. A living Jew, faithful to the rite of his fathers, is an historical document of the most remarkable kind. He is a witness for past modes of thought. He is a proof of the enduring power of such institutions as happen to be in harmony with national character. He is a guarantee, certain and involuntary, of the truth of the leading lines of the world's history for nearly four thousand years.

Most readers have read in Mr. Disraeli's novels of the poor child of Israel going forth to some Whitechapel market in search of "the palm leaves, the myrtle, and the weeping willow" with which he is commanded by the ancient law to decorate his humble dwelling in the fall, and to celebrate even amidst the filth and fogs of London the harvest of the vine. In his adherence to this ancient law the Hebrew defies time and place alike. He makes his bower in a yard in Houndsditch as his fathers built their bowers in the sunny gardens of Palestine ages before the captivity of Babylon. He treats his child just as Abraham treated the children of his house. He still says his prayers in the old Chaldee *patois*, though he does not comprehend one word of what he utters. In the service of his festival he wears a cabalistic garb the form of which remains though the meaning has long been lost. He holds it a deadly crime to light the lamp with his own hand. He is inspired with hopes and actuated by passions to which all men else are strangers,—and in the lowest depths of poverty and degradation he nurses in his soul the consoling thought of a future return to material prosperity and intellectual sway. Had some Mandeville fallen in with such a people, his accounts of them would scarcely have helped to sustain his reputation as a truth-teller,—had a Stephens found them clustered round some ancient temple of Mexico, scientific and literary missions would have been sent out to study their manners and modes of life. Yet the London Hebrew, the living riddle of the world, was until now a being all but unknown to the other dwellers in the great city.

Mr. Mills, the writer of the able and interesting work before us, says, that there are about 30,000 Jews in the United Kingdom:—of these 25,000 reside in London and its suburbs. They are divided into two grand parties:—as is the case with almost all religious bodies—Christians, Mohammedans, Buddhists and Confucians. These parties are, the Sephardim, the descendants of the Jews of Spain and Portugal, and the Ashkenasim, the immigrants from Germany and Poland. The Ashkenasim are the most numerous,—and from this branch of Israel have sprung nearly all the Hebrew poets and writers who in modern times have contributed to the intellectual movements of Europe. The Sephardim, however, affect to be of purer blood and higher rank in the nation:—Sidonia, as will be remembered, claims to be of the Sephardim.

It has not been easy, however, to close the synagogue against the searching and subtle spirit of reform. Of late years there have appeared, even in Israel, seceders and protesters:—the great point of the dispute being thus far, the divine authority of the Talmud or oral law,

together with some minor differences about long rituals and other matters not quite in harmony with English habits. On these grounds of appeal a new Synagogue has been built,—and some members of the Sephardim and the Ashkenasim have been drawn away to the Reformed Congregation.

After thus much of preliminary remark, we turn to Mr. Mills's pages for a few curious extracts and illustrations. On the oldest and newest of all subjects—love and marriage—he writes:—

"There is a great antipathy among the Jewish people to celibacy. The Rabbins teach that every Jew ought to marry, and that early. This is founded upon the command in Genesis i. 28: 'Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth.' The proper age, generally recommended, is from Bar Mitsvah to eighteen. This rule, however, is not strictly kept by the British Jews—they, frequently, marry at a similar age to that of their Gentile neighbours. The restriction in intercourse among the two sexes, and other circumstances in Jewish society, have given rise to a class of persons called *Shadchanim*, whose business it is to act as match-makers. The *Shadchan*, after selecting the parties, and settling the affair in his own mind, makes the first proposals to the parents, or guardians; and if approved of on both sides, the young couple begin their courtship. The *Shadchan* is not so much in request as formerly, nor as he yet is in some other countries on the Continent; as most marriages here are from mutual affection."

The law of divorce among the Jews is very curious, and very much against the weaker sex,—more perhaps than even Milton would have desired. Every Hebrew has a right to put away his wife. Mr. Mills, however, says—

"The British Jews, as far as we have learned, are not allowed to divorce their wives, unless, from a lack of love and sympathy, they should lead a quarrelsome and miserable life, or that she be proved guilty of adultery."

What follows would be difficult to reconcile with the laws of England.—

"There is another method of divorcement, which is called *Get negal Tenai* a conditional divorcement. This is usually done when a husband goes to any remote part of the world for a length of time exceeding three years. Upon such an occasion the *Get* is drawn up to the following import:—'That unless the husband returns to his wife, or sends for her to reside with him abroad, within the time therein specified, all former agreements, contracts, deeds, and other matrimonial engagements between them, are to be, and to remain cancelled and destroyed, and totally null and void for ever after—and that it shall, is, and may be, from and after the expiration of the time, specified in the bill of divorcement aforesaid, lawful for her to dispose of herself in marriage to whom she pleases, the same as if no marriage had ever subsisted or been contracted between her and any other person heretofore. And that the aforesaid conditional bill of divorcement shall, at the end of the time therein set down for the husband's return, in case of his not returning, be deemed an absolute bill of divorcement, irrevocable for ever.' The *Get* is read by the Rabbi, and signed by the parties, in the presence of a *Minyan*. The ceremony being over, the *Get* is delivered to the custody of the wife. Sometimes Jewish parents marry their children at a very early age, although the marriage cannot be consummated until they reach the years of maturity. Under such circumstances, if a girl under ten years be married to a man whom she loved not, she is entitled to a divorcement till she be of age, i. e. twelve years and a day. This she does in the following manner. She seeks out two witnesses, who are men of good character in the Jewish faith, when she declares to them that she will not have such an one. This declaration they put down in writing, sign it, and deliver it to her; when she is at liberty to marry whom she pleases. The divorced couple may marry again if they choose. This has occurred in many instances. But if the divorcement took place for adultery, they are never allowed to come together a second time—nor is she to marry the person impli-

eated with her in the guilt; but she may marry any one else."

A chapter on the "Jewess" may be safely recommended to the strong-minded women of England as an exposition of their favourite doctrine of "Woman and her Master." Here is one instance out of many.—

"In a social point of view there is no more distinction made between the sexes among the Jews than among their Gentile neighbours; but in a religious sense there is a deep line of demarcation made between male and female. The females constitute no part of the congregation; consequently they are separated from the males; nor are they allowed to join in any part of the public worship. All the duties of congregational worship, whether in a private *Minyan* or in the Synagogue, devolve entirely upon the male portion. On account of this religious difference, the Jew is taught to repeat in his daily prayers,—'Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, who hast not made me a woman.' The Jewess, on the other hand, says,—'Blessed art thou, O Lord, King of the universe, who hast made me according to thy will.'

What follows, while it may be taken as part of the same argument, is also an interesting illustration of a very curious passage in sacred story.—

"The Jewish wife, as well as her Gentile neighbour, may become a widow. When such happens, and she be without issue, it is the duty of her husband's brother to take her in marriage, or to set her free to marry any other person; this ceremony of giving her leave to marry another, is called *Chalitah*, i. e., the taking off of the shoes, and is founded on Deut. xxv. 5.—10. Should the living brother be born after the decease of the dead brother, he is not under obligation to marry his sister-in-law; or should he already be married, he is only expected to put her free, for without this freedom she cannot marry a second time. This ceremony is performed in the following manner:—The parties having informed the authorities of the fact, it is announced in the Synagogue in the evening that a *Chalitah* will take place the following morning. After the morning service, according to the announcement, three Rabbies, the required witnesses, and the parties, meet; after hearing their statement, the Chief Rabbi questions the young man, and when he finds him determined not to marry his brother's widow, calls for the shoe. This shoe is of a peculiar make, and used for this purpose only. It is made of black cloth list, of pointed form, and two long laces attached thereto; it is always kept in the Synagogue. When brought forward, the Rabbi commands the man to put it on, after doing which, he twists and ties the laces around his leg. The woman is then led by the Rabbi to the man, and taught to repeat the following in Hebrew:—'My husband's brother refuseth to raise up unto his brother a name in Israel; he will not perform the duty of my husband's brother.' In answer, he repeats:—'I like not to take her.' The woman then unravels the knots, which is rather a troublesome affair, as she must do it with her right hand only,—takes off the shoe, throws it upon the ground, and spits before the man, repeating, after the Rabbi, the following:—'So shall it be done unto that man that will not build up his brother's house: and his name shall be called in Israel, "The house of him that hath his shoe loosed."' All those present respond, 'His shoe is loosed! his shoe is loosed! his shoe is loosed!' After this the Rabbi declares the woman free to marry whomever she may, and the secretary of the Synagogue gives her a writing to that effect, when the ceremony is over."

As a "better observance of the Sabbath" is one of the questions under discussion at many tables, and in all newspapers among ourselves, it may be interesting to see how these things are managed by the stern Hebrew.—

"It is unlawful to ride on horseback, or in a carriage—to walk more than a mile from their dwellings—to transact business of any kind—to meddle with any tool—to write—to play upon any musical instrument—to bathe—to comb the hair; and even to carry a pin in their clothes which is unnecessary. These, and a great many others, are complied with by the most rigid. There is one command, however,

in the law of Moses, to which all Jews most scrupulously adhere.—'Ye shall kindle no fire throughout your habitations upon the Sabbath day,' (Exod. xxxv. 3.) Consequently they never light fire, or a lamp, or a candle on the Sabbath, nor eat food prepared on that day—all must be done on the Friday. As it is impossible to spend the Sabbath, in cold climates, without fire and light, the Jewish families who keep servants make it a point to have a Gentile in their service to do these things; and amongst the humbler classes, a number of families generally unite in securing the service of a Gentile neighbour for the day. We believe that nothing could wound the conscience of a Jew more than to be under the necessity of putting fuel on his fire or snuffing his candles on the Sabbath."

Further than this we may not follow our expositor of Hebrew manners and customs; but we will not close our notice of a book from which we have gained instruction without warmly recommending it to the reader's attention.

Life of Benjamin Robert Haydon, Historical Painter, from his Autobiography and Journals. Edited and Compiled by Tom Taylor. 3 vols. Longman & Co.

In dealing with this interesting contribution to the history of modern painting in England, the critic's first duty is, to praise the manner in which the editor has executed his laborious and delicate task. Besides the necessity of weeding the autobiographical fragments left by Haydon, Prof. Tom Taylor had to condense and arrange the matter contained in twenty-six bulky, parchment-bound, ledger-like folio volumes of journals so as to complete the story. It can have been no light matter for an editor—without disguising the personality of their writer, who set down many things in the rage and malice of the moment, with a view to their vengeful reappearance on some future day—to avoid all revelations needlessly damaging to the deceased or offensive to survivors. Further, a large mass of correspondence had to be dealt with. All this seems to have been done in good proportion and with wise discretion, showing that respect for the deceased, that respect for the public, and that self-respect which distinguish the literary artist from the literary jobber for money. Who would have expected that the 'Life of Haydon' should turn out a more sterling and interesting addition to English biography than the 'Life of Moore'? Such, however, proves to be the case.

As the study of an imperfect man of genius, thoroughly made out, without sickly extenuation or severe caricature, this biography of Haydon is full of interest, full of character, full of instruction. From his boyhood, upwards, poor Haydon was one of those who fall perversely wrong on life;—who are resolute to break fate and circumstance in accordance with their own will and pleasure, without having ever considered that though there are things which can be broken, there are others that resist the most arrogant determination.—With such persons the motto is, not "Genius conquers by conceding;" but "Genius insults, Genius takes by storm."—Conscious of his own energy—hot with admiration of his own purposes—aware that he had no common strength in attack, in persistence, in aspiration,—never was man less sufficient to himself than Haydon,—never was man driven to greater abasement in the vindication of his flaming and fiery independence. He took from the outset the attitude of the missionary of high Art in England,—and, therewith, the resolution, also, of being accepted, crowned, and enriched as its King and Priest. With him, moreover, high Art meant exclusively colossal historical pictures. Our small houses—our Protestant habits of worship, which then, at least,

excluded from our churches the solitary loiterer or the passive contemplator—every taste, habit, and circumstance of English life and civilization—every peculiarity of English climate—were of no weight with this violent enthusiast, who was resolved that there should be an instant demand for works as huge as the Sistine 'Judgment,'—of higher merit too (since of Michael Angelo he speaks slightly),—and who had vowed no less vehemently that he would paint and be nobly paid for them. Grand as these dreams sound, and glorious as such ambition looks when viewed from afar,—hailed, too, as both were by many of the ardent thinkers and transcendental poets of the time, when they burst out with an almost volcanic frenzy,—it is surprising how these should have failed to perceive that a strain of what is vulgar, theatrical, conventional ran through them. We wonder that they should not have asked the questions, how far high Art depends on scale alone?—how far Raphael's cabinet 'Ezekiel,' in the Pitti, is high Art?—how far Correggio's 'Reading Magdalen,' in the Dresden Gallery, is high Art?—how far Albrecht Dürer's 'Trinity picture' in the Belvedere Gallery at Vienna is "high Art"? It is true, that Sir George Beaumont, with reference to the commission given by him to young Haydon for a "Macbeth," appears in a courteous and timid manner to have suggested some such question,—but Sir George was thereupon walked over, "written down an ass," exposed as a shuffling and capricious patron by the fierce young reformer,—his wishes totally disregarded,—the practicabilities of his house and the delicacies of his taste scouted. To resume our line of comment for one more illustration:—this "high-Art" slogan, or war-cry, was, of course, to doom for ever those who paint portraits as mercenary and mechanical hirelings; just as if there were no *Mona Lisa* by Da Vinci, no *Ariosto* by Titian, to remind the rash and one-sided that high Art can exist wherever the true painter pleases to take it, and does not depend on miles, or furlongs, or inches of space,—no, not even on religious spiritualities or on antique fable for its subject.

Even in our wiser days, the above speculations will be indignantly thrown back and cavilled at by aspirants bursting with desire to "be at" gallery pictures. In Haydon's youth, the converse was embraced by him with the passion of a discoverer;—but the self-sacrifice and patience which may make the discoverer a martyr, but which may also make him a victor, were left out of Haydon's composition. If it was his nightly prayer to paint well, it was also his daily wrangle to compel patrons into submitting to his views. He early in life reached the time when home-help must be exchanged for eleemosynary support; and from that moment his life became a frantic struggle downwards. The friendship of generous, influential, and indulgent men of fortune, of rank, and of genius never failed him,—though he belaboured their doors with his petitions and beset their ears with his disappointments and distresses:—but his self-respect and self-confidence were sapped away by a long course of years of skirmishing with money-lenders and bill-brokers, and by ceaseless pleas for indulgence and ceaseless supplications for loans. When the public could no longer be won, it must be wearied,—when it could be no longer wearied, it must be stung by sarcasm into remembering the unpaid servant, the disregarded prophet, the outraged genius! Terrible as is such a tragedy to contemplate, we believe it may have been more tolerable to the main actor during its progress than seems possible to the bystander. When the elasticity and energy which had borne Haydon up failed

—when the whole misery of such a stormy, ill-balanced life revealed itself—when his entire failure burst upon him,—the end came at once:—on which, at present, we have no will—and no call—to dwell.

Benjamin Thomas Haydon was born in 1786, at Plymouth. His grandfather had been fond of painting;—his grandmother (a Baskerville, a descendant of the great printer) was a woman whose prejudices were stronger than her womanhood.—

“She hated the French, and she hated the Americans; and once, when an American prisoner, who had escaped, crept into her house, and appealed to her for protection until pursuit was over, though alone in the house, she told him ‘she hated all Americans,’ and turned the poor fellow out into the street.”

Benjamin’s father was a bookseller, who seems to have been as sensitive to the “skiey influences” as *Mr. Jarndyce* of ‘Bleak House.’ The family—one of the oldest in Devonshire—had been ruined by a Chancery suit, and its representative when our painter was born “had sunk into dissipation” and fondness for wine. It is fair in considering such a case as Haydon’s to allow for hereditary peculiarities and loose unsympathetic training. The boy, however, at a very early period, determined to set himself and his fortune to rights in his own way. Having shown the usual indications of aptitude for drawing, he announced his resolution of going up to London, and studying painting at his father’s cost. The poor man’s circumstances were then in disorder,—and his prospects were seriously endangered by the departure of a young, active assistant, capable of reviving the decayed business. But these were secondary considerations to our youthful genius. Fame he would have:—only, others were to help him up the ladder! To London he came in 1804.—

“I was resolved,” says he, “to be a great painter, to honour my country, to rescue the Art from that stigma of incapacity which was impressed upon it. However visionary such aspirations may seem in a youth of eighteen, I never doubted my capacity to realize them. I had made up my mind what to do. I wanted no guide. To apply night and day, to seclude myself from society, to keep the Greeks and the Great Italians in view, and to endeavour to unite form, colour, light, shadow, and expression, was my constant determination. At Cawthorne’s in the Strand I met with John Bell’s work on the bones, joints and muscles. Its admirable perspicuity cleared my understanding at once. I saw its beauty, and admired its sense in reducing all muscular action to flexion and extension. I took the book home, hugging it, and it has ever since been the text-book of my school. The Sunday after my arrival, I went to the new church, and in humbleness begged for the protection of the Great Spirit, to guide, assist, and bless my endeavours, to open my mind and enlighten my understanding.”

After a short solitary sojourn in London, the need of counsel and of introductions suggested itself. A letter of introduction to Prince Hoare procured for this contemner of English painters letters to Northcote and to Opie.—

“Northcote being a Plymouth man I felt a strong desire to see him first. I went. He lived at 39, Argyle Street. I was shown first into a dirty gallery, then upstairs into a dirtier painting-room, and there, under a high window with the light shining full on his bald grey head, stood a diminutive wizened figure in an old blue striped dressing-gown, his spectacles pushed up on his forehead. Looking keenly at me with his little shining eyes, he opened the letter, read it, and with the broadest Devon dialect, said, ‘Zo, you mayne tu bee a painter doo-ee? what zort of painter?’—‘Historical painter, sir.’—‘Heestorical painter? why yee’ll starve with a bundle of straw under yer head!’ He then put his spectacles down, and read the note again; put them up, looked maliciously at me, and said, ‘I remember yee vather,

and yee grand-vather tu; he used to peint.’—‘So I have heard, sir.’—‘Ees; he peinted an Elephant once for a Tiger, and he asked my vather what colour the inside of’s ears was, and my vather told-un reddish, and your grand-vather went home and peinted un a vine vermilion.’ He then chuckled inwardly, enjoying my confusion at this incomprehensible anecdote. ‘I zee,’ he added, ‘Mr. Hoare zays you’re studying anatomy; that’s no use.—Sir Joshua didn’t know it; why should you want to know what he didn’t?’—‘But Michel Angelo did, sir.’—‘Michel Angelo! What’s he tu du here? you must peint portraits here!’ This roused me, and I said, clinching my mouth, ‘But I won’t.’—‘Won’t?’ screamed the little man, ‘but you *must!* your vather isn’t a monied man, is he!’—‘No, sir; but he has a good income, and will maintain me for three years.’—‘Will he? hee’d better make-ee mentein yeezelf!’ A beautiful specimen of a brother artist, thought I. ‘Shall I bring you my drawings, sir?’—‘Ees, you may,’ said he, and I took my leave. I was not disconcerted. He looked too much at my head, I thought, to be indifferent. ‘I’ll let him see if he shall stop me,’ and off I walked to Opie, who lived in Berners Street. I was shown into a clean gallery of masculine and broadly painted pictures. After a minute down came a coarse-looking intellectual man. He read my letter, eyed me quietly, and said,—‘you are studying anatomy—master it—were I your age, I would do the same.’ My heart bounded at this: I said, ‘I have just come from Mr. Northcote, and he says I am wrong, sir.’—‘Never mind what *he* says,’ said Opie; ‘he doesn’t know it himself, and would be very glad to keep you as ignorant.’ I could have hugged Opie. ‘My father, sir, wishes me to ask you if you think I ought to be a pupil to any particular man.’ I saw a different thought cross his mind directly, as with an eagerness I did not like, he replied, ‘certainly; it will shorten your road. It is the only way.’ After this I took my leave, and mused the whole day on what Northcote said of anatomy, and Opie of being a pupil, and decided in my mind that on these points both were wrong. The next day I took my drawings to Northcote, who as he looked at them, laughed like an imp, and as soon as he recovered, said, ‘Yee’ll make a good engraver indeed.’ I saw through his motive, and as I closed my book, said, ‘Do you think, sir, that I ought to be a pupil to any body?’—‘No,’ said Northcote, ‘who is to teach-ee here? It’ll be throwing your vather’s money away.’—‘Mr. Opie, sir, says I ought to be.’ ‘Hee zays zo, does he? ha, ha, ha, he wants your vather’s money!’ I came to the conclusion that what Opie said of Northcote’s anatomy and Northcote of Opie’s avarice was equally just and true: so took my leave, making up my mind to go on as I had begun, in spite of Northcote, and not to be a pupil, in spite of Opie, and so I wrote home.”

Fuseli—“the terrible Fuseli” (as he was styled)—was next to be consulted; but he proved to be a tame lion as compared with the waspish and false-hearted man of Plymouth when young Haydon called on him.—

“I deliberated a minute or two,” he says, “and at last making up my mind to see the enchanter, I jerked up the knocker so nervously, that it stuck in the air. I looked at it, so much as to say, ‘is this fair?’ and then drove it down, with such a devil of a blow that the door rang again. The maid came rushing up in astonishment. I followed her into a gallery or show room, enough to frighten anybody at twilight. Galvanized devils—malicious witches brewing their incantations—Satan bridging Chaos, and springing upwards like a pyramid of fire—Lady Macbeth—Paolo and Francesca—Falstaff and Mrs. Quickly—humour, pathos, terror, blood, and murder, met one at every look! I expected the floor to give way—I fancied Fuseli himself to be a giant. I heard his footsteps, and saw a little bony hand slide round the edge of the door, followed by a little white-headed, lion-faced man, in an old flannel dressing-gown, tied round his waist with a piece of rope, and upon his head the bottom of Mrs. Fuseli’s work-basket.”

Fuseli praised the youth’s sketches, invited Haydon to draw at the Academy, entered into correspondence with him when he returned to Plymouth, and “swore that he learnt by looking at my anatomical studies.” At the Academy,

our aspirant was thrown into comradeship with good-natured Jackson, Lord Mulgrave’s *protégé*, whose besetting sin was idleness,—with poor Hilton, “so pale and cadaverous, that we used to call him ‘the anatomical figure,’”—and with Wilkie, who had come up from Culter, with as sturdy an intention to make “the town his oyster,” which his pencil was to open, as animated the more showy son of the Plymouth bookseller. The two became fast friends. After the exhibition of ‘The Village Politicians,’—

“On the Sunday (the next day), says Haydon, I read in the News, ‘A young man by the name of Wilkie, a Scotchman, has a very extraordinary work.’ I was in the clouds, hurried over my breakfast, rushed away, met Jackson, who joined me, and we both bolted into Wilkie’s room. I roared out, ‘Wilkie, my boy, your name’s in the paper!’—‘Is it ren-al-y,’ said David. I read the puff—we huzzed, and taking hands, all three danced round the table until we were tired!”

Throughout Haydon’s journals—especially after the paths of the two young painters began to diverge, the Scot’s upward towards success, the Southern’s downward towards embarrassment—we find entries to the disparagement of Wilkie, insinuating his time-serving timidity, his caution, his worldliness, &c. But we have not met with such a trait or episode hallowing the first hour of one of Haydon’s successes as the following, which he records in regard to his cautious comrade.—

“Now that he was richer than he had been for some time, his first thoughts were turned towards his mother and sister. Something of vast importance was brewing—we could not imagine what—I feared a large picture, before I was ready; but at last I, as his particular friend, received an invitation to tea, and after one of our usual discussions on art, he took me into another room, and there—spread out in glittering triumph—were two new bonnets, two new shawls, ribbons and satins. * * I never saw such amiable simplicity of rustic triumph, as glittered in Wilkie’s expressive face. I felt my attachment increased. I saw through his selfish exterior, that there was a heart, certainly, underneath—but I am not quite certain after thirty-six years! Then came the packing, then the dangers by sea, and the dangers by land. Then the landlady, and her daughter, and all her friends, were in consultation deep, and profound were the discussions how to secure ‘those sweet bonnets from being crushed,’ and ‘those charming ribbons from sea-water.’ * * All the time Wilkie stood by, eager and interested beyond belief, till his conscience began to prick him, and he said to me, ‘I have just been very idle;’ and so for a couple of days he set to, heart and soul, on ‘The Blind Fiddler’ for Sir George.”

The autobiographer goes on to narrate how, in 1806, two years after his arrival in London, “he went to —, and got furiously in love, forgot blind fiddlers for blind Cupids, never drew, nor painted,” &c. Meanwhile the heartless Scot, who had by this time got to Mulgrave Castle, recollected his comrade, and sought the latter out “while in *Armida*’s lap he lay,” with a commission for his first historical picture from Lord Mulgrave,—this being a hearsay tribute to the interest excited in the patron by the commendations of Wilkie and Jackson, both young, struggling men! Yet, who was so bitter concerning the jealousy of artists, their rancour, their want of sympathy, as in after-life was Haydon? There is an enthusiasm of self-occupation which is not very far from selfishness and ingratitude.

On his return to town, Haydon immediately commenced a picture, “six feet by four,” of ‘Joseph and Mary resting on the Road to Egypt.’ Wilkie advised his painter “while rubbing it in,” and brought the Beau-monts to see it in progress. Sir George and my Lady praised what they saw, asked Haydon to dinner,—and Haydon had the great joy (after many spasms

of vanity) of outshining the friend who had introduced him.—

"God only knows how I shall go into the room," thought I: "I will keep behind Wilkie; at any rate I am a match for him, and I will not drink Lady Beaumont's health in porter." * * We reached the house, the door opened, and we marched through a line of servants, who bawled out our names from the entrance. In went Wilkie, and in went I, and in five minutes was much more at ease than I had ever been in my life, sitting on an ottoman talking to Lady Beaumont."

The picture when finished was well hung at the Royal Academy Exhibition,—thanks to Fuseli, and in spite of Northcote's "petty malignity."—

"On the day the Exhibition opened, we all dined with Hoppner, who hated Northcote, who in his turn hated Hoppner. Hoppner was a man of fine mind, great nobleness of heart, and an exquisite taste for music, but he had not strength for originality. He imitated Gainsborough for landscape, and Reynolds for portrait. We talked of art, and after dinner Hoppner said, 'I can fancy a man fond of his art who painted like Reynolds; but how a man can be fond of art who paints like that fellow Northcote, heaven only knows.'—'As to that poor man-milliner of a painter, Hoppner,' Northcote used to say to me, 'I hate him, sir, I ha-a-a-te him!'"

In the year 1807 the English students at the Academy subscribed to present Fuseli, the then Keeper, with a vase. The affair, says Haydon, would have been mismanaged had not he taken it in hand, organized the proceedings of the committee, and made the speech when the tribute was presented. The affair was altogether too dashing not to give huge offence.—

"Hoppner was in a fury, and on the first opportunity, gave Wilkie a tremendous rowing, called the students a set of impudent puppies, and declared that had he been in the Council, he would have turned us all into the streets! When we were discussing the thing in its early stages, the Council used to listen at the door, and say, 'Now they are talking about it, shall we do anything?' Northcote was on the Council, and confessed this to me. Within a very short time, so jealous were the Council and the general meeting of this deserved honour to Fuseli, that they actually passed a law, forbidding the students ever again to exercise their judgment in such matters, as it belonged to the Academicians, and to the Academicians alone, to decide on the merits of their officers. As if, in such a case, the students, the people really benefited by the Keeper, were not the best judges whether they were benefited or not! The malignant feeling that this simple mark of respect roused among Fuseli's brother R.A.'s excited every one's contempt. They never forgive me, and I never respected them afterwards. Just before Wilkie went to Scotland poor Opie died, and we both went to his funeral."

—As a marking trait of character may be added the confession at a later page of Haydon's journals, that at this funeral of Opie "he felt angry that he was not in the first coach."

The picture commissioned by Lord Mulgrave was not the 'Repose,' but the 'Dentatus,' which was next commenced. While this was in projection Haydon had still Wilkie for counsellor and crony, and was of use, he assures us, to his friend, by compelling him to go home and paint "when he was longing to see Mother Goose." Our autobiographer, himself, was fired by another spark—the appearance in London of the Elgin Marbles,—which threw him into a delirium of rapture.—

"Utterly disgusted at my wretched attempt at the heroic in the form and action of my Dentatus, I dashed out the abominable mass, and breathed as if relieved of a nuisance. I passed the evening in a mixture of torture and hope; all night I dozed and dreamed of the Marbles. I rose at five in a fever of excitement, tried to sketch the Theseus from memory, did so, and saw that I comprehended it. I worked that day, and another, and another, fearing

that I was deluded. At last I got an order for myself; I rushed away to Park Lane; the impression was more vivid than before. I drove off to Fuseli, and fired him to such a degree, that he ran up stairs, put on his coat, and away we sallied. I remember that first a coal-cart with eight horses stopped us, as it struggled up one of the lanes of the Strand; then a flock of sheep blocked us up; Fuseli, in a fury of haste and rage, burst into the middle of them, and they got between his legs, and jostled him so much that I screamed with laughter in spite of my excitement. He swore all along the Strand like a little fury. At last we came to Park Lane. Never shall I forget his uncompromising enthusiasm. He strode about saying, 'De Greeks were godes! de Greeks were godes!' We went back to his house, where I dined with him, and we passed the evening in looking over Quintilian and Pliny."

The 'Dentatus' was all this time advancing; and its painter, in fancy, "at the top of the wave," though not yet independent in fortunes, began to play a great part in the world.—

"I dare say I talked rather more grandly to the artists; I suspect I looked down upon poverty; I did not relish the society of the middle classes; I thought their manners gross, and their breeding hideous. I dressed better than usual: after a splendid party of Stars and Garters at the Admiralty, I thought an attempt in my own class a very dull affair. I dined with Lord Mulgrave, frequently three times a week, and it was delightful to be, as I have been, alone with his Lordship, and to listen to him talking on past policy. * * I was often invited when Wilkie and Jackson were not, and it is not vain in me to say that I think it was because, as I have said before, Lord Mulgrave found me better informed on general topics, and perhaps with more interest in politics and the war. My room now began to fill with people of rank and fashion, and very often I was unable to paint, and did nothing but talk and explain. They all, however, left town at Christmas, and I worked away very hard, and got on well, so that when they returned I was still the object of wonder, and they continually came to see 'that extraordinary picture by a young man who had never had the advantages of foreign travel.' Wilkie was for the time forgotten: at table I was looked at, talked to, selected for opinions, and alluded to constantly. 'We look to you, Mr. Haydon,' said a lady of the highest rank once, 'to revive the Art.'"

The 'Dentatus' was finished; and the Academicians, instead of going on their knees before the sublimities of the work, and the growing popularity of the man who consorted with statesmen when brother artists and old friends were not let in,—not merely lung in it a bad place, but talked "dear Lord Mulgrave" (Mr. Haydon assures us) into a temporary discontent with his bargain. Next began to rise up clouds betwixt the painter and Sir George Beaumont. At first the Baronet of Coleorton "behaved nobly," the Autobiography informs us, and "talked up" 'Dentatus' to the painter's heart's content. Presently, however, Haydon began to suspect insincerity, caprice, and to imagine that invitations into the country meant nothing,—and that a commission which Sir George had given him for a 'Macbeth' would, in reality, prove merely a "commission of straw." Patron and painter began to discuss the scale on which the picture should be painted—the former courteously, the latter stubbornly.—

"While I was sitting in this state, the next morning in walked Sir George, and began to abuse the picture, even to ridicule. Among other things, he said, 'figures less than life look dwarfish.' His first impression had been that the figures were life-size, if not larger. He would listen to no argument, and concluded by insisting upon having a smaller picture. I ran away to Northcote for advice. He chuckled like an imp. 'I told 'ee so,' said he; 'he hopes to disgust 'ee, and so you will give up the picture altogether.' This was certainly Job's comfort. Wilkie, Jackson, Seguier, and I had a consultation on what was to be done. Wilkie advised submission, and to begin the small picture. Jackson said,

'You will be equally worried, small or large.' Seguier said, 'It is no use to oppose him.' The next day we all met at Lord Mulgrave's, and Lord Mulgrave, in the kindest manner, after dinner, said, 'Haydon, if you consent to oblige Sir George, you will please us all.' I looked at Sir George across the table, but his face expressed rigid indifference. Lady Beaumont chattered away to Lady Mulgrave. Wilkie and Jackson cast down their eyes, and said nothing, and Seguier looked arch, as if he smoked us all."

—A pleasant beginning, the above, for a new "thing of beauty"!—Haydon finished his 'Macbeth' according to his own humour, on the condition that the picture was to be no commission unless it gave satisfaction,—offended Sir George Beaumont, who offered him 100*l.* when the work was done, by way of compensation for the time and anxiety invested, declining the picture,—complains in his journal of the transaction as one implying meanness, hypocrisy, and obtuseness on the part of the *dilettante*,—yet later in life registers having been indebted to this smooth, false, and courtier-like patron for pecuniary assistance. Not long after this period, Haydon's home-supplies from the poor, old, worn-out father having failed, he became at once, and thenceforth, an habitual borrower,—a borrower, too, from needy men who, like himself, were fighting for a principle, such as the Hunts.

We should have said, that before this time, Mr. Haydon had entered into that open "charge" of the Royal Academy, out of fury, as he openly confesses, at neglect of his rare merits shown by that body, which sealed his disunion from its members as a corporation,—including "the abject Wilkie," the absurd Payne Knight, the tricky Sir George, and the malignant President. People of fashion, for whose sake "he had talked grandly to the artists," deserted him,—but he went on painting at the 'Solomon,' still on borrowed money—still aided by men of letters and people of genius—still frequenting their houses, and journalizing what was amiss in their housekeeping.—But we must have done with Haydon's independence and high Art for awhile; though we shall return to this interesting book,—since, whether, as an illustration of a career or a mine of peculiar and characteristic anecdote, the biography increases in interest and richness as it advances.

The Works of William Shakespeare; the Text formed from a New Collation of the Early Editions: to which are added, all the Original Novels and Tales on which the Plays are founded, copious Archæological Annotations on each Play; an Essay on the Formation of the Text, and a Life of the Poet. By James Orchard Halliwell, Esq. Vol. I. Only 150 Copies printed.

A Few Words in reply to the Animadversions of the Rev. Mr. Dyce, on Mr. Hunter's 'Disquisition on the Tempest' (1839), and his 'New Illustrations of the Life, Studies, and Writings of Shakespeare' (1845),—contained in a Work entitled, 'A Few Notes on Shakespeare: with Occasional Remarks on the Emendations of the Manuscript-corrector in Mr. Collier's copy of the Folio, 1632.' By the Author of the 'Disquisition' and the 'Illustrations.' J. R. Smith.

Mr. Hunter's title-page sufficiently explains his pamphlet. It is a defence of his old suggestions,—third of my own life instead of thread,—line tree instead of hair line,—carving for craving,—the place of depth instead of death,—and the rest. He yields to Mr. Dyce on the meaning of *cot-quean*:—and writes altogether in a good spirit.

Mr. Halliwell states his design in the publi-

cation of this new edition of 'The Works of Shakespeare' in the following words:—

"The object proposed to be accomplished is, to offer the student an edition of the works of Shakespeare, accompanied by a collection of all the facts and documents respecting their literary history, of any importance, that have yet been discovered; by copious and discursive annotations on their obsolete phraseology and obscure allusions, elucidated, wherever requisite, by archaeological engravings, and by illustrative extracts from contemporary works, exhibiting the popular opinions of the time on natural history, science, and philosophy, many of which are adopted, or alluded to, by the great dramatist. It is also proposed to investigate the materials which have been collected by previous editors, with the view of determining those which are authentic, and those respecting the genuineness of which any doubts can be fairly entertained."

This explanation indicates that the edition now offered is, in fact, another Variorum,—a Variorum "superseding entirely," as Mr. Halliwell states in his Prospectus, the 'Variorum edition of 1821, with the addition of all Shakspearian discoveries of any importance which have been made since that period.' Such a design is a bold and ambitious one,—a design which indicates either great rashness or a consciousness of great power in the person who proposes it. For ourselves, we so earnestly desire to encourage every rational attempt to bring Shakspeare criticism and illustration into a more satisfactory condition, that we have from the first been willing to give to Mr. Halliwell's attempt not merely a fair and candid, but a kind and deliberate attention,—uninfluenced by any consideration of how far his past labours, either in this or in any other branch of literature, indicate his possession of those qualities which are absolutely necessary to carry an editor through a task of so much difficulty and moment. Competent learning, painstaking carefulness, unimpassioned calmness; and a sound discriminating judgment, are attributes obviously indispensable. From the first announcement of this scheme we have waited in the hope that, in due time, Mr. Halliwell would establish his claim to these invaluable possessions.

His first volume is now before us. We cheerfully commend it as a favourable example of modern typography. It is handsomely printed by Messrs. Adlard; and contains a multitude of pretty little illustrations by Fairholt and fac-similes by Netherclift,—all which have been worked most carefully, and show to great advantage on stout paper manufactured by Dickinson. It would, however, have been a great improvement if the separate fac-similes had been printed on tinted paper. The illustrations of Stratford scenery and objects have all been borrowed from other works of Mr. Halliwell and Mr. Fairholt; but they tell well in their present places, and enable Mr. Halliwell to make a great display in his first volume. They give, indeed, a profuseness of illustration which—when united to the position of the notes, at the end of the acts—impresses on the work the appearance of being an enlarged edition of Mr. Knight's 'Pictorial Shakspeare' combined with the old Variorum. Certainly, if Mr. Halliwell is able to borrow as many illustrations for his subsequent volumes, and shall carry out his scheme with anything like the spirit of this beginning, the subscribers will have good reason to congratulate themselves—if they can find a subject for congratulation in such a circumstance—on possessing a handsome-looking set of books which can be in the hands of only very few people. They may also live in the expectation held out by Mr. Halliwell's prospectus, that this work "can never come into the market, but in its pecuniary relations [it] will stand

somewhat in the position of a proof engraving, only to be possessed by a very limited number,"—in which way, as Mr. Halliwell thinks, his edition will secure "the permanency of a high price," a price "not only retained but in all probability greatly raised within a few years"; the subscribers, we say, (good easy souls,) may live in the expectation of all these fine Prospectus-anticipations being realized:—it is all in vain. They will find that they, like other people, must submit to the general laws which regulate value, demand, and price. Forty guineas* can never be retained as the price of any edition of Shakspeare, unless there be valuable information exclusively contained in it, and unless, also, such information can be kept shut up in it.

And this brings us to consider whether anything of this kind can be asserted to be in the volume before us. We will state its contents. It is divided into three parts. The first part is, a reprint, with some few alterations, of Mr. Halliwell's 'Life of Shakspeare,' published in one volume, octavo, 1848. This occupies half of the volume,—running from p. 1 to p. 263. The second part is, an essay 'On the Formation of the Text,'—or, as it might have been better entitled, "On the Peculiar Phraseology of Shakspeare,"—which extends from p. 266 to p. 303. Then follows 'The Tempest,'—which, with introduction, text, and glossarial and illustrative notes appended to each act, runs from p. 305 to p. 515—and closes the volume.

The only important alteration in the biographical portion of the volume relates to the manuscripts discovered by Mr. Collier in the possession of the Earl of Ellesmere. In the first edition of his 'Life of Shakspeare' Mr. Halliwell argued stoutly for their genuineness,—and "snubbed" Mr. Hunter, after the accustomed fashion of Shakspeare critics, for maintaining the contrary. Mr. Halliwell has now changed his mind, and supports the view taken by Mr. Hunter. His present arguments *con.* do not seem to be much more valuable than his former arguments *pro*;—but we agree with him that it would be desirable that these documents should be submitted to the special examination of a number of competent persons. On a proper representation to their noble owner, we have no doubt that he would permit them to be produced for that purpose.

We have seen it stated in print, that this new edition of Mr. Halliwell's 'Life of Shakspeare' contains fresh documentary evidence of the occupation of the house in Henley Street by the poet's father. We have not been able to find in it anything of the kind. There are now published two or three fac-similes of formal legal documents relating to the Henley Street house which were before printed only in ordinary type. But the only use of these is, to enable readers to correct the mistakes in Mr. Halliwell's copies of these documents both in his former and in his present editions. A gentleman who is very sharp on the blunders of other people should be a little more accurate himself. Mistakes which Mr. Halliwell sets down as evidences of the ignorance of the scrivener are shown by these fac-similes to be mere mis-readings by himself.

The Essay on the formation of the text is perhaps the best of Mr. Halliwell's additions to Shakspeare criticism. It has, however, but slender claims to originality. It is an enlargement of a paper printed in the first volume of the old Variorum, entitled 'Essay on the Phraseology and Metre of Shakspeare and his Contemporaries.' Mr. Halliwell should have distinctly acknowledged his obligations to this

* The subscription list not being full, Mr. Halliwell has raised the price of the remaining copies to sixty guineas.

essay, and also to Malone's Preface. In both of them there is much valuable information on the same subject. What Mr. Halliwell has done is, to endeavour to systematize and extend the principles of his predecessors.—And although we commend the pains which he has taken, it may be feared that he has not executed this part of his task either so correctly or so carefully as might have been hoped. We will give one example.

Shakspeare is found occasionally to disregard the proper relation in number between verbs and substantives. A singular verb sometimes follows a plural substantive,—and the contrary. In some cases this seems to have been the result of a compliance with the laws of rhyme or rhythm; but there are other cases which cannot be explained on any such ground. The questions arise in reference to the latter cases:—Did Shakspeare really write thus designedly? If so, did he follow an accustomed, although vulgar, phraseology of the time? Or, are these inaccuracies mere mistakes of the press? In any case, how should an editor now deal with them? Mr. Halliwell concludes that the corruptions alluded to were written by Shakspeare,—that they were "due to a careless adaptation to vulgar usage,"—and that an editor is justified in correcting them. That an editor should correct such mistakes we agree;—but is it quite clear either that they were written by Shakspeare, or that they arose from the assigned cause? Take the case of Mr. Halliwell himself. The same error is ten times more palpable now-a-days than it was in Shakspeare's time,—and yet Mr. Halliwell is made, in this very book, to commit it quite as frequently as Shakspeare. In the part of this Essay in which he is discussing this very question, we find the following:—"There seems to be good reasons for believing that the poet was merely following the accustomed phraseology of the day;"—and again, in other places in the same Essay: "Several instances of this usage occurs in Shakspeare,"—and, "The enumeration of the principal differences between the two editions . . . include, &c." Now, of course, we do not suppose that Mr. Halliwell actually wrote thus. But if he, in a specimen volume of considerable pretence, cannot avoid being misrepresented by his printers after this fashion, why may we not suppose that the same occurrence might have happened to Shakspeare, who did not correct the press, and who wrote at a time when such things were far less regarded? In Shakspeare's day a man might have written thus without any imputation, except perhaps on the score of taste,—but if we could presume that such things were now-a-days to pass from the pen, or even under the eye, of an editor, a great part of whose business consists of verbal criticism, it certainly would not tend to inspire us with confidence in his competency or his care.

Nor does it appear that Mr. Halliwell carries out his own canon, that such mistakes should be corrected by the editor. The following is an instance in which he might very well have acted on his rule,—and there are others in the single play now printed.—

The powers, delaying not forgetting, have
Incens'd the seas and shores, yea, all the creatures,
Against your peace. Thee, of thy son, Alonso,
They have bereft; and do pronounce by me,
Ling'ring perdition—worse than any death
Can be at once—shall step by step attend
You and your ways; whose wraths to guard you from—
Which here, in this most desolate isle, else falls
Upon your heads—&c. *Tempest*, iii. 3.

—Surely, if we might venture to enter the angry arena of the Shakspeare commentators—without drawing upon ourselves all the phials of their wrath—the singular noun which we have just written would in this case be a manifest improvement.

We come now to 'The Tempest':—the single

play included in this volume. Mr. Halliwell describes, as we have seen, the task which he has set before him as an endeavour to supersede entirely the present Variorum, and to present us, not merely with all the real information contained in it, but with an account, also, of all subsequent discoveries. In his Introduction he, therefore, rightly notices the suggestions of Mr. Hunter respecting 'Lampedusa,' and those of Tieck respecting Ayer's play of 'The Beautiful Sidea,' partially made known to English readers by Mr. Thoms. But here we are at once struck with what appears to be a considerable defect, which the editor may remedy in his subsequent volumes. He professes to write for students,—he ought therefore to give the means of verifying his statements. It is not enough in a book like this to say, "Mr. Hunter perceived," "Mr. Thoms thinks," "Tieck concludes,"—or, as in other places, to produce the authority of "Verses written by Henry Peacham," or by "an Elizabethan poet," with such like general vouchers. There ought to be a full and distinct reference in every particular case. Without this, carried out in the most precise and accurate manner, all idea of superseding the necessity of reference to previous writers or books is out of the question. What Mr. Halliwell has written about Ayer's play, for example, although he undervalues its importance when excusing himself for not saying more, is really of sufficient interest to stimulate fresh inquiry on the subject. But where is this play to be seen? Whence did Mr. Halliwell derive his knowledge of it? If from an account by Mr. Thoms, where is that to be found? Information of this kind ought never to be omitted. Editors should remember that they do not write for those who know, but for those who do not,—and that their judgments are valueless unless they give the most distinct opportunity of going to their authorities. Mr. Halliwell frequently does so:—he ought to do it universally.

The Introduction treats of the origin, date and chronology of the play,—but without, so far as we have noticed, clearing away any of the various doubts which hang over all those subjects. Mr. Halliwell believes that the story was derived from some old romance, not from any earlier English drama. The piling the logs, and the exposure in the rotten carcase of a boat, he thinks incidents derived from mediæval fiction. He judges the diction of the ballad of the 'Inchanted Island' to belong "to a somewhat recent period"; he extracts the passages thought to have been borrowed from Florio's 'Montaigne'; he thinks the passage in the prologue to 'Every Man in his Humour' does not allude to 'The Tempest'; he prints in fac-simile the entry found by Mr. Peter Cunningham in the Audit Office accounts respecting the performance of 'The Tempest' in 1611; he goes over the history of the Dead Indian, the strange fish, and other exhibited monsters; he describes how it was customary to dress ancient magicians on the stage; and he gives Inigo Jones's representation of an "aery spirit";—but without any hint of where he got it from. In all this—and these subjects comprise everything of importance in the Introduction—there is nothing new,—nothing worthy of being "shut up" for the exclusive use of the 150.

Mr. Halliwell's text of 'The Tempest' differs but little from that of the old Variorum:—the new readings of Mr. Collier's manuscript-annotator being generally dismissed very contemptuously. We do not pretend to have gone through the play; but we have dipped into it here and there, and we have seldom read far without finding some passage or other which has rather raised questions than settled them. We will give two or three examples.

Act iii. sc. 1, Ferdinand, having discontinued bearing his logs for a few moments, resumes his task with—

I forget:

But these sweet thoughts do even refresh my labours.

So the final word stands in the first three folios, in the old Variorum, in Knight, in both Collier's editions, and in the one-volume edition published by Moxon:—all that we have at hand; and in the same passage, a few lines before, Ferdinand himself designates his work—as all editors agree—"my labours." Mr. Halliwell, without notice that he is making a change, prints the word in the singular, not plural,—"my labour." Why was a change made at all? When made, why was it not explained? The alteration is trifling in appearance,—but not so in reality; for this is a part of the sentence which concludes with the obviously corrupt line—

Most busy-less when I do it,—

and the change from "labours" to "labour" looks as if it might have been made with a view to the concluding "it." We cannot think Mr. Halliwell would alter the word for the mere purpose of supporting a passage which he allows to be "unquestionably corrupt,"—but if not, we fear we must conclude that this has arisen from mere carelessness.

Again, in a subsequent part of the same scene, Miranda weeps from excess of joy on hearing the avowal of Ferdinand's affection. He asks, in astonishment, "Wherefore weep you?" She answers—

At mine unworthiness, that dare not offer
What I desire to give,—and much less take
What I shall die to want.

This is the reading of the first three folios, and of all the other editions which we have named. Mr. Halliwell prints "*dares* not offer," without any notice that he has made an alteration. We think we need not defend the superiority of the old reading. It seems obviously better; but at any rate, it is clearly right that no alteration should have been made without authority and notice.

In the next scene, where Ariel creates confusion with Caliban, Stephano and Trinculo, by giving the lie,—on the third occasion his words are addressed to Stephano. He immediately strikes Trinculo, exclaiming,—“As you like this, give me the lie another time.” Trinculo answers—"I did not give the lie!" Mr. Halliwell inserts "*thee*"—again without notice—and prints "I did not give *thee* the lie." What can be said in defence of this, we cannot conjecture. It seems entirely unnecessary and wrong.

We will not carry this minute examination further. The alterations which we have quoted occur within a few pages. If there are many such, Mr. Halliwell bids fair to give as much employment to the commentators as Mr. Collier's annotator.

All the difficulties in the text remain entirely untouched by Mr. Halliwell; not one of them—so far as we have noticed—is got rid of, or even lightened. We fear that the bias of his mind is against all alteration. Because some conjectures are rash, he suspects all; and not having any taste or talent that way himself, is afraid of what he terms, in a kind of contempt, the "conjectures" of other people.

The Notes, which we have last to notice, are of two kinds,—glossarial and antiquarian. The latter, with one or two exceptions, have no more merit than belongs to ordinary antiquarian illustration. Things which nobody doubts are proved to demonstration,—phrases which nobody misunderstands are learnedly explained,—and passages which assert one thing are thought to be "illustrated" by proofs of the contrary. The last is a process in high favour amongst genuine antiquaries,—and certainly Mr. Halliwell does not fall behind the most ingenious of his brethren.

Thus, having properly told us that the mode in which Ariel was summoned by Prospero—that is, by a simple kindly call—stands in beautiful contrast with the long, vulgar incantations repeated by the ordinary practisers of magic, he thinks it necessary to print more than seven folio pages of these vulgar incantations, extracted verbatim from that "well-known" book, Scott's 'Discovery of Witchcraft,'—and all, as he oddly remarks, "unfortunately impious."

Other examples of the excess to which antiquarian illustration will run are common. Look, for example, at the note on the passage in which Ferdinand tells Miranda that she is "created of every creature's best." The sense is plain enough; but Johnson dreamt that there was some allusion to the Venus of Apelles. This tickled Steevens's fancy; and in return—absurdity for absurdity—he suggested that "every creature" comprised not only all the charms of Venus, but also all the best qualities of the brute creatures. He added a brief extract from some lines in the 'Arcadia' which commemorate the principal qualities of all the animals:—

The horse good shape, the sparrow lust to play, &c.

Mr. Halliwell expands Steevens's idea,—and gives the whole thirty-five lines of the passage to which Steevens directed his inquiry, with the addition of several other similar passages which have occurred in his own reading. This sort of annotation is one of the greatest blots in the old Variorum. It should be the business of a new editor to emancipate his author from the heavy weight of "illustration" under which he now well-nigh lies buried.

The best examples of proper illustration given by Mr. Halliwell are, the leathern jug called a "bombard," in his note to Act ii,—and the picture of Nobody pursuing his course amidst broken articles of domestic use. It may be doubted, however, whether the latter hits the point of Trinculo's allusion so well as the picture of a man all head and legs published by Mr. Knight, and repeated by Mr. Halliwell; but the new illustration has the merit of oddity, and is a good specimen of the pictorial wit of our ancestors.

In the Glossarial Notes we occasionally find traces of the editor of the 'Dictionary of Archaic Words,'—but these notes are sadly overdone. Open where we will, there is "a whole book of words" in explanation of things which are as clear as daylight. We have turned by mere chance to p. 415. The notes on that page run thus:—

1. Four references, with extracted passages, to prove that *foison* means "plenty."
2. Three references, and extracts, to explain the meaning of "*fallen flat-long*."
3. An extract from Cotgrave to explain what is meant by "gentlemen of *brave mettle*."
4. The occurrence of "I go a *bat-fowling*" gives occasion for nearly a page of explanation of the whole process and art of taking birds at night.

Again, we have turned to p. 474.

1. We have a note on "If thou dost break her virgin *knot*"—very learned about the *girdle* or *zone of virginity* worn amongst the ancients.
2. Three extracts to prove that *aspersion* means "sprinkling."
3. An extract informs us that Lampus and Phaeton were the names of the "Phæbus' steeds" alluded to by Ferdinand.
4. An explanation of *rabble*.
5. Three extracts to prove that *vanity* was used for the physical or mental affection designated by *light-headedness*,—that, however, being admitted not to be the sense in which Shakespeare used the word.
6. An extract in proof that *presently* meant "at this present."

—Surely the greater part of annotation like this is mere cloud-covering thrown over the palpable meaning of the author. Much of it is derived from the old Variorum,—the rest is conceived in its worst spirit.

We sincerely regret not being able to speak of this book more favourably. It would have been a subject of positive rejoicing to us if we had found that the editor really designed to emancipate his author from the chains thrown around him by successive commentators. We fear he will but add to their weight. If Mr. Halliwell really possesses powers adequate to such a task as he has assumed, he must arouse himself,—shake off his drowsy antiquarian fondness for heaping illustration upon illustration, emancipate himself from the commentator-like propensity to pick holes in the labours of other men, extend his mental vision beyond the letter of the text, and strive to amend obvious corruptions by entering into his author's spirit—not merely endeavour to prop them up by far-fetched allusions derived from a discursive, but incomplete and almost worthless reading.—Above all things, he must attain greater accuracy and carefulness. We could present a rare garland composed of strange peculiarities in phraseology and grammar, mistakes in copying and errors of the press, which we have noticed in a hurried perusal of this single volume; but we forbear. Such carelessness may go down with an audience of 150,—but would never find favour with the general public. The man who is now wanted as an editor of Shakspeare, is one who will raise him out of the darkness of antiquarianism into the broad daylight of common sense!

OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

Results of the System of Separate Confinement as administered at the Pentonville Prison. By John T. Burt.—The system of separate confinement—a system vicious in practice and illogical in theory—has here met with a singular advocate. Mr. Burt is an assistant chaplain to what the Australian Legislature calls our "Pentonvillians,"—and this fact stated, the character of his advocacy may be pretty safely inferred. We have read the published statements of the chaplains of many prisons and many systems,—from the text-relying plan at Reading to the philosophic teaching of Preston—from the solitary regions of Pentonville to the fast-and-loose methods of Manchester,—but we do not call to mind a single instance in which the reverend writer does not begin and end with the old argument of "nothing like leather." Circumstances, however, have made it more than usually difficult for Mr. Burt to adopt the straight course of praising his own system and its patrons at the expense of all other gaols, gaolers and gaol systems:—for the so-called "philosophical and inflexible" system of Pentonville has been undergoing changes from the first year of its trial, so that it is no longer the same. Once the most penal, it is now one of the most relaxed, of prisons. Instead of absolute isolation and silence, there is now a degree of association allowed which gaols on the old systems would not tolerate. And why?—because the stern method failed,—because it drove men mad,—because it produces no moral result comparable in extent to the mischief produced in brain and body. That system of strict isolation was commenced under the most favourable auspices, had the fairest trial, and was administered by its warmest advocates. Year after year these men clung to their theory in spite of the evidence of facts,—and gave up their cherished notions only when the public would no longer tolerate the disastrous policy. They then modified their discipline:—with what amount of success, we will not now pronounce. But here is Mr. Burt, assistant chaplain, anxious to make some stir in the matter, with a proposal to go back from the present mildness to the old severity. We have seldom perused a volume on a grave subject of which the logic was so faulty and the humane feel-

ing so questionable as the one under notice. It is doubtful whether Mr. Burt will make many converts to his theory.

Lectures on Political Atheism. By Lyman Beecher, D. D.—Dr. Lyman Beecher was the father of Mrs. Stowe,—and an apologetic preface advertises the reader that it is at the special desire of this well-known lady that these 'Lectures' are reprinted in England. This apology for their publication seems to us bad in point of taste, and unnecessary in regard to fact. 'Political Atheism' is a clever enough book to stand on its own merits; and although it is specially addressed to the American people with reference to their republican institutions, it is quite worthy of attention on this side of the Atlantic.

The West India Colonies: Demerara after Fifteen Years of Freedom. By a Landowner.—This is an attempt, honestly and ably made, to enlist the sympathies of the philanthropist and the utilitarian in favour of the settlement of British Guiana as a field of emigration for the slave race of the American continents and islands. A case is made out well worth the attention of benevolent men.

The British West India Colonies in connexion with Slavery, Emancipation, &c. By a Resident in the West Indies for Thirteen Years. With an Introduction and Concluding Remarks by a late Stipendiary Magistrate in Jamaica.—The argument of this pamphlet is the same as that of the preceding,—and we fancy from the style and modes of thought that they are the production of one author.

Coalition Cabinets, Past and Present. A Letter to the Right Hon. the Earl of Aberdeen.—A Cassandra wail of lamentation and denunciation against the successor of a Premier who "had consistently opposed those commercial changes which have inflicted incalculable injuries on various classes" (!) It would be waste of time and space further to describe or refute the statement of this letter writer.

Sans Changer, the Real Basis of the Morality of Public Men. A Snowball for "an Englishman," thrown by J. W. W.—This is a party pamphlet of some ingenuity and greater spirit. It is meant as a defence of a late Prime Minister for his abandonment of an anti-free trade policy when events carried him to power.

Bradshaw's Continental Railway Guide and General Handbook. Illustrated with Local and other Maps. Special Edition.—There is a good deal of information closely printed and neatly arranged in this volume; but some of it is of Mr. Murray's, and not of Mr. Bradshaw's, collecting. The "General Instructions," pp. 6 and 7, are many of them so many directions re-written from the 'North German Handbook.' That which has happened in one page has probably happened in others,—and the process, to call things by the gentlest of epithets, is "disingenuous."

A country vicar, who "has seen more than twenty years of hard service in the Church of England," puts forth a calm and logical pamphlet with the title, sufficiently descriptive, of Jewish Emancipation a Christian Duty.—Are more bridges required for London?—is a question put, and answered in the affirmative, by Mr. F. Bennoch in The Bridges of London. Our readers are already acquainted with Mr. Bennoch's proposal to erect a new bridge, and to continue the thoroughfare of St. Martin's le Grand to the Elephant and Castle:—here we have the data on which the proposal is based.—The Emperor of China versus the Queen of England: a Refutation of the Arguments contained in the seven Official Documents transmitted by Her Majesty's Government at Hong Kong, who maintain that the Documents of the Chinese Government contain Insulting Language, is a paper by Mr. P. P. Thoms, of which our readers have also heard before.—In the Pedigree of the Family of Scott of Stokoe we have one of those laborious compilations which can be of no interest to any one beyond the family circle at Stokoe; as we cannot find that one of the seventeen generations here recovered or supposed was of any importance in his own day or can possibly be so hereafter.—Mr. Nathan Mercer has written a useful little work called The Chemistry of Gold, with a Sketch of its Natural History and Geological Distribution: more especially with reference to Information valuable to Australian Emi-

grants; to which he has added some statistical tables likely to be of service to the gold-seeker.—A Catalogue of the Library belonging to the Northampton and Northamptonshire Mechanics' Institute, prepared and published under the Direction of a Committee, has been sent to us, we presume, as a specimen of classification. It is compiled on Horne's system,—and is very cumbersome. We were several minutes in ascertaining whether a certain work—a work with a simple title, and of which we knew the author's name—was in the library; and in a small catalogue such a loss of time is intolerable.—Dr. Shapter, encouraged, we suppose, by the success of his 'History of Cholera in Exeter in 1832,' has written a sequel to that work under the title of Sanitary Measures and their Results. This work should be read by every man who professes to be doubtful of the value of sanitary precautions in the face of such terrible diseases as that here described; there could hardly be a more forcible illustration of the truths of sanitary science than it affords.—The thirty months' Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the New York Mercantile Literary Association has reached us, exhibiting that institution in a state of active prosperity greatly to be envied by our own less energetic popular Societies. But we have already given the chief features of interest in our Gossip columns.—Mr. A. J. Morris's Religion and Business; or, Spiritual Life, and one of its Secular Departments, though formally professing a practical aim, would very much puzzle the pundits on 'Change. The style is that of popular platform oratory,—vehement and high sounding, but signifying very little.—An "Englishwoman," stung into mild remonstrance by certain criticisms in New York journals on the Stafford House Ladies' Address "to their sisters of America," volunteers "on her sole responsibility" a reply of forty closely-printed pages, in Remarks occasioned by Structures in the Courier and New York Enquirer of December, 1852, in a Letter to a Friend in the United States:—and "An American in his Fatherland" has addressed to R. D. Webb, Esq.—whoever this gentleman may be—some strong observations and reflections, not untrue in the main, on American and English Oppression and British and American Abolitionists.

LIST OF NEW BOOKS.

- Adventures of a Gentleman in Search of Church of England, 2s. cl.
Alison's History of Europe, people's edition, Vol. 1, post 8vo. 4s. cl.
Bacon's Essays, revised by Markby, 8vo. 1s. 6d. cl.
Bakerwell's (F. C.) Electric Science, 8vo. 2s. cl.
Bartholinus (Dr. H.) Memoirs and Correspondence, 8vo. 2s. cl.
Beatrice, by Miss Sinclair, new edition, 3 vols. post 8vo. 31s. 6d. cl.
Bentley's Politics made Easy for Englishmen, 16mo. 1s. 6d. cl.
Best, J. H. Possible to make the East a better country, 8vo. 1s. 6d.
Bodenstedt's The Morning Land, trans. second series, 3 vols. 21s.
Bohn's Antiq. Lib. 'Matthew of Westminster's Flowers of History,' 2 vols. 12mo. 5s. each, cl.
Bohn's Class. Lib. 'Aristotle's Organon,' trans. 2 vols. 2s. 6d. each.
Bohn's Illust. Lib. 'China, Pictorial and Descriptive,' 12mo. 5s. cl.
Bohn's Misc. Lib. 'Milton's Prose Works,' Vol. 5, 12mo. 2s. 6d. cl.
Bohn's Misc. Lib. 'The Bible and Phrases in the Bible,' 8vo. 1s. 6d.
Bohn's Illustrated London Architectural Drawing-Book, 8vo. 2s.
Burner's Discourse of Pastoral Care, with Address, by Dale, 8s. 6d.
Chambers's Edinburgh Journal, Vol. 19, new series, 4s. 6d. cl.
Chapman's Lib. for People, 'Emerson's Postscript,' First Series, 2s.
Chapman's Lib. for People, 'Crimes of the House of Hapsburg,' 1s.
Crosland's (Mrs. N.) Stray Leaves from Shady Places, 8vo. 5s. cl.
Cunningham's (Rev. J. G.) Chronology of Ancient History, 8s. 1s.
Dallas's (Rev. A.) Look to Jerusalem, 2nd edit. 6s. 2s. 6d. cl.
Disraeli's Works, 'Alroy,' 8vo. 1s. 6d. 1s.
Disraeli's Works, 'Henricetta Temple,' library edition, 3s. 6d. cl.
Fletcher's (H.) Poetic Sketches, 8vo. 5s. cl.
Franklin's (J. A.) Decimal System Facilitated, 4to. 5s. cl.
Haydon's Life, from his Autobiography, &c., by Taylor, 31s. 6d. cl.
Herbert's (W.) School Education, 8vo. 2s. 6d. cl.
Hind's (J. R.) Illustrated London Astronomy, 8vo. 2s. cl.
Hints for the Improvement of Early Education, 16th edit. 3s. 6d.
Hoffman's Chronicles selected from Wandering Jew, Vol. 1, 21s.
Hogg's (J.) Elements of Experimental Philosophy, 8vo. 1s. 6d.
Hooper's Ten Months among the Tents of the Tusk, 8vo. 14s. cl.
Howe (Mary C.) The Bridesmaid, and other Poems, 8vo. 6s. cl.
Howe's (Mrs. W.) Poems, 3 vols. 8vo. 12s. 6d. cl.
Lectures on Gold, 2nd edition, post 8vo. 2s. 6d. swd.
London City Tales. 'Stewart's Bride of Bucklebury,' 8vo. 1s.
Low's Journals of the Captivity of Napoleon, 3 vols. 8vo. 42s. cl.
Lynch's Essays on some of the Forms of Literature, 8vo. 3s. 6d.
Lyde (Rev. S.) The Assyriac and the Israelitish, post 8vo. 10s. 6d.
Malan's Twenty Pictures from Switzerland, 8vo. 2s. 6d. cl.
Marshall's Travels of an Irish Gentleman in Search of a Religion, 8vo. 5s. cl.
Moore's Poetical Works, Vol. 3, 8vo. 3s. 6d. cl.
Morris's (Dr.) Practical Treatise on Neutralities, 8vo. 2s. cl.
Murray's Railway Reading, 'Lockhart's Ancient Spanish Ballads,' 8vo. 2s. 6d. 1s.
Nat. Hist. Lib. 'Gautier's Wanderings in Spain,' 8vo. 2s. 6d. cl.
Newland's Confirmation and Communion, post 8vo. 7s. 6d. cl.
Pocket Library, 'One Year, by Carlen,' 8vo. 1s. cl.
Punch's Vol. 21, 4to. 8s. 6d. cl.
Reverend's Village, 12mo. 1s. 6d. cl.
Report of the Committee on National Education, 8vo. 8s. cl.
Robert's Plain Sermons, 2nd Series, 2 vols. 8vo. 10s. cl.
Ruff's Guide to the Turf, 1853, Supplement to 12mo. 1s. 6d. swd.
Shakspeare's Works, edit. by Phelps, Vol. 8, royal 8vo. 12s. 6d. cl.
Silas Barnstark, Life and Death of, by Wynne, post 8vo. 10s. 6d. cl.
Smith's (Alex.) Poems, 2nd edition, 8vo. 5s. cl.
Spicer's (H.) Facts and Fancies, post 8vo. 2s. swd.

Strickland's Lives of Queens of England, Vols 7 & 8, 10s. 6d. each.
Table-Moving and Table-Turning, 8s. 6d.
Traveller's Lib., Ferguson's Swiss Men and Swiss Mountains, 1s.
Universal Lib., Luther's Life by Mischlet, trans. royal 8vo. 1s.
Walker's (W.) Magnetism of Ships, 8s. 6d.
Waterston's Manual of Commerce, new edition, 8s. 3d.
Warner's (H. W.) Liberties of America, cr. 8vo. 6s. 6d.
Woolnough's Art of Marbling Book Edges and Paper, 8s. 10s. 6d.

THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES.

WE are now enabled to fulfil our promise of laying before our readers some particulars of the alterations suggested by the Committee for revising the laws of this important body. We say deliberately "this important body,"—for whatever may have been its past history, we are of those who think that a Society invested with valuable privileges by royal charter, recognized and housed by the nation, possessed of considerable funds, a valuable library and a museum, and bound to apply itself to the encouragement of the study of history and antiquities, is essentially a "very important" body—a body in the welfare and proper working of which every person who is in any way connected with our literature is directly interested.

In the observations which we are about to make we shall avoid as much as possible all reference to the past. If the suggestions of this Committee are in any degree valuable, it is because they are calculated to introduce a new era into the history of this Society; and we shall examine them principally with a view to the question of how far the new constitution which is here suggested is calculated to put this body into a position to answer the requirements of the present age. The duty of the Society is, to encourage the study of History and Antiquities:—can it do so effectually under the new laws which are now proposed?

The Charter granted to the Society in 1731 directs the annual election of a governing body, called a Council, consisting of twenty-one persons,—out of whom one is to be elected as the President of the Society. It also empowers the President to appoint four of the Council to be his Vice-Presidents, and gives to the Society the election of a Treasurer, Secretaries, and all other necessary officers. Of this Council of twenty-one, eleven are directed to be annually elected from the Council of the past year, and ten new members are to be annually added out of the general body.

In practice, this scheme of government has been found to throw the uncontrolled management of the Society into the hands of the officers,—who constitute a great majority of the continuing eleven members of the Council, and (under ordinary circumstances) a majority of the whole attending members of the Council. They amount to nine,—the President, four Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, and a Director—all honorary officers,—with two paid Secretaries, one of them being resident. Any one at all acquainted with the ordinary management of business by public bodies must see that under such an arrangement the Secretaries must infallibly be the absolute masters of the Society. The President and Vice-Presidents, persons of high station, can give little attention to the practical working of antiquarian business; the Treasurer and Director—unpaid officers—must be obliged to rely as to the minute details of much of their business on assistance from the paid officers;—and the solid phalanx of nine officers continuing from year to year, and united by official *esprit de corps* must constitute a power which will have the sole knowledge and the sole government of everything. Such a scheme seems peculiarly to invite abuse,—and the first object of the Committee has been, to effect such alteration in it as was practicable. The Charter bound the Committee, as it does the Society, hand and foot; but the Committee have been able to suggest two great improvements:—I. The removal of the Secretaries from the Council; and II. The limitation of the term of service of the Vice-Presidents, so that the Society shall elect one new Vice-President every year. The old nine is thus to be reduced absolutely to seven, with the addition of a new broom introduced yearly amongst the Vice-Presidents.

That the exclusion of the Secretaries from the Council is an improvement, few, we think, will dispute. The distinction, in this respect, between paid management and unpaid superintendence is

now universally recognized, and found practically to be essential to the proper performance of official duties in all cases to which it applies.

The election of a new Vice-President every year is also a clear improvement. It will give an annual opportunity of acknowledging zeal in the service of the Society, or in that of historical or antiquarian science,—and will thus operate as a spur to exertion in the general body. The Vice-Presidentship will be the blue riband of the Society.

These changes will produce a considerable alteration in the spirit and character of the Council; but such a body, consisting principally of noblemen and gentlemen of name and standing in general society, cannot by any alterations be rendered a really efficient and practical working body. Such men, with the many other calls on their time and attention, cannot meet often enough, nor enter deeply enough into the minute details of the business before them. All that they have hitherto been able to do has been to direct, and to leave the results—that is, the whole efficient practical working of the Society—in the hands of the paid officers, who have generally had other and not less important duties to perform elsewhere. No ghost need come from the grave to tell us what must be the consequences:—and the Council have been so convinced of the real character of these consequences, and of their own inability for practical management, that for several years past they have turned over two important branches of their business—their Library and their Finance—to standing Committees appointed annually by themselves. The Revising Committee recommend a very important addition to this machinery, in the similar appointment of an Executive Committee of five. This is the greatest of their suggested improvements. An Executive Committee, sitting as often as need be, and on fixed days, during the Session of the Society, and at intervals afterwards,—regulating the general business, directing the correspondence, and seeing to the prompt and efficient execution of the orders of the Council,—laying their minutes before the Council at their monthly meetings,—appealing to the Council for guidance or authority whenever necessary, and to distinguished members of the Society in cases in which knowledge of any peculiar kind is required,—such a body seems to be the necessary requisite supplement to the machinery provided by the Charter. With the assistance of such a Committee, the Council becomes a body of great value,—a regulating tribunal of the highest use. With such a Committee properly appointed of competent working men, ready to give their attendance and do their duty, there can be no reason why this Society should not be as efficient as any other Society whatever. Want of activity will be remedied by the existence of a body which may be called together at any time,—want of zeal in the officers, if anything of the kind should exist, by the presence of a Committee whose business it will be to receive their report and watch the progress of whatever is to be done. Looking at the matter *theoretically*, we think the Committee by this suggestion has happily supplied the obvious defects of a management vested solely in a Council of twenty-one,—and, *practically*, we believe that such a scheme has been found to work well in other public bodies.

Zeal in the officers will be further promoted by other important alterations,—and especially by those affecting the Secretaryship. The Society has for many years had two Secretaries—both Fellows of the Society,—of whom it has required only partial services, and to whom it has consequently paid small salaries. No system could be more erroneous. The Committee recommends that in future there shall be only one Secretary, that he shall not necessarily be a Fellow of the Society, that he shall devote his whole time to their business, and that he shall be adequately paid. Nothing can prove more fully how much the labours of this Committee were required, than that it should be left to them at this time of day to make such palpable suggestions.

To facilitate the carrying out of the new arrangements as to the Secretaryship, Lord Strangford

resigns his honorary office of Director,—to which is attached the superintendence of the publications of the Society,—and Sir Henry Ellis is proposed for the Directorship in lieu of one of the Secretaryships,—retaining, however, his salary as Secretary, which, after forty years' service, the Council declare themselves unwilling to disturb.

On the subject of the election of the Council, the Committee recommend a house-list, in the formation of which they suggest the adoption of the practice of the Royal Society,—viz. "That each Member of the Council should deliver in the name of any person whom he may think it desirable to place in the succeeding Council, and that, at the following meeting of the Council, the names so delivered in should be put to the ballot." This is a suggestion which requires consideration; but as we are not informed what has been the old practice, we cannot say how far it may be an improvement. We direct attention to it.

The Society may now congratulate itself on the adoption of the financial reform which we so strongly urged. Without the change in their payments, and their consequent altered position in the points of numerical and financial strength, it would have been impossible for them to encounter the additional expenses which will be entailed by the adoption of the suggestions of the Revising Committee. What would have been a rash speculation in a falling Society and with a decreasing income, is rendered perfectly safe by increasing numbers and a flourishing exchequer.

It is not worth while to speculate on the practical consequences to which these suggested changes must lead. The Revising Committee point out, that the duty of the Executive Committee will be, to "direct antiquarian operations or excavations carried on by the Society," and also, "to superintend the correspondence of the Society." Connected with the latter subject, they suggest the appointment of "Local Secretaries in different parts of the country, whose province shall be to communicate regularly with the Executive Committee, and to give the earliest intimation of any discovery relating to the History or Antiquities of this country." Judiciously carried out, this is a suggestion of the highest importance, and which will be fruitful in practical results. Indeed, it is impossible that any such body as the proposed Executive Committee, if properly constituted, can exist, backed by a competent and zealous Secretary, and supported by a band of Local Secretaries, without making the Society known and its uses felt throughout the kingdom, or without rendering its publications nationally credible, on the score both of Literature and of Art, and its apartments an important centre and depository of knowledge on every subject connected with History and Antiquities.

Mr. Hawkins and the other gentlemen of the Committee considered the subject referred to them with great attention. All of them have signed the report,—and the President and Council have intimated their concurrence in the proposed alterations. We trust the Society will imitate this creditable and encouraging unanimity. The Council have put the New laws forward for adoption on the 1st of December:—the earliest day on which, in conformity with the present laws, a ballot on such a subject can take place.

THE SALE OF MOORE'S LETTERS.

THE Moore sale is over,—and some of the best materials for the life of a great poet have been dispersed for, on the whole, a very insignificant sum. Some of the lots were, we believe, bought in; but the entire collection was over-catalogued,—and what should have been sold in one lot has been divided into some five hundred lots, and is now irrecoverably scattered. The sale, to our thinking, should never have taken place. Who is there with any kind of name that is not now in danger of having his most private letters knocked down by an auctioneer's hammer? A printed catalogue is too often a striking example of violated confidence. There are many penalties attached to greatness; but few more painful than that the love of money and the thirst of public

curiosity should induce the proprietors of private letters to put up to auction the private dealings of a great man with, for instance, his little men of business.

There has hitherto been on the part of publishers generally a studied resistance of every inducement to reveal the private transactions of an author. What should we say of a solicitor who sold his correspondence with his querulous clients? Fortunately, however, with all the sympathy that is shown for plaintiffs and defendants, prosecutors and criminals, there is not that enduring interest attached to the correspondence of a man eminent in a case before a Chancellor or a jury which there is in the correspondence of an author writing about books and persons and things with which he was concerned. Here, the interest is permanent and ever increasing. The temptation to violate is not equal in the two cases,—or it may be feared that, notwithstanding all the honesty of Chancery Lane and Bedford Row, the inducement to sell, even at Moore prices, would be too great for even legal honesty to withstand.

The value of the Moore letters dispersed by Messrs. Puttick & Simpson did not consist so much in the particular importance of any letter as in the general results to be derived from a careful perusal of the whole correspondence. Moore was not a good letter-writer. He wrote now and then naturally,—but his style and thought are too often tainted with the sin of affectation. It is in the accumulation of minute but important particulars that Moore's correspondence with Power would have been found of value to the poet's biographer. It is clear that in writing to his music publisher he is at least telling half the truth without the fear of revelation,—while in his Journal it is just as evident that he is entering his jestings, sayings and doings with an eye to Lord John Russell and the price which his manuscript is likely to fetch hereafter in the Row. Mr. Moore's Journal was not written as Mr. Peppys's was, without the remotest view to publication. We feel in reading Moore that a printer's boy is waiting for the copy of his Journal,—while in reading Peppys we are confident that his Journal was intended for his own eye only.

We gave last week a taste of the Moore and Power correspondence in some extracts from the letters,—and we now propose to give a further taste, taken from the poetry.—Here is the original reading of 'The Young May Moon is beaming, Love,'—taken from the score in Moore's own handwriting of one of the best known of the Irish Melodies:—

The midnight moon is beaming, love,
The glow-worm's lamp is gleaming, love,
How sweet to walk the greenwood maze
While the drowsy world is dreaming, love!
Then awake! the heavens look bright, my dear,
'Tis never too late for delight, my dear,
And the best of all ways
To lengthen our days
Is to add a few hours to the night, my dear!

Now, it runs,—

How sweet to rove
Through Morna's grove,—

and the last line ends,—

Is to steal a few hours from the night, my dear.

'The Minstrel Boy' seems to have come into the world complete as we now see it:—not so 'The last Rose of Summer.' The well-known lines—

Thus kindly I'll scatter
Thy leaves o'er the bed,
Where thy mates of the garden
Lie scentless and dead—

were originally written:—

Thus saying, I scattered
Her leaves o'er the bed,
Where her mates of the garden
Lay withered and dead.

—Moore soon saw, that "withered" and "dead" were too much alike; and the "scentless" change reminds us of Waller,—who says, with truth, that—

Poets lose half the praise they should have got,
Could it be known what they discreetly blot.

Here is another instance from Moore of the truth of Waller's couplet. Who would have thought that such lines as these, in 'Come, rest in this Bosom'—

Let me but be near thee, 'tis all I require,
Though thy pathway should lie through the furnace of fire,
Love, love, like the angel, thy steps would pursue,
And soothe thee and save thee, and perish there, too—

would have grown into—

Thou hast called me thy angel in moments of bliss,
And thy angel I'll be 'mid the horrors of this—
Through the furnace unshrinking thy steps to pursue,
And shield thee, and save thee,—or perish there, too.

—There are few lessons afforded to a young writer that are more instructive than that which is supplied by the alterations made by a great poet in the construction and language of a popular poem.

When Annuals were in fashion, Moore had made arrangements with Power for the publication of a kind of Musical Keepsake or Anniversary. He next started a Miscellany—and even went so far as to write a 'Preface':—the original of which was sold by Messrs. Puttick & Simpson.

The Preface—"From a feeling of reverence for some of those great names which adorned the brief and bright era of Irish History from 1782 to 1790, I was induced near thirty years since, to set about collecting the various poetical trifles with which some of the most distinguished Ornaments of that period, Hussey, Burgh, Sir Hercules Langrishe, Curran, and our illustrious Grattan himself, were known occasionally to have amused their leisure hours. Of these poems it was my intention to form a small Volume, and they were placed in the hands of their present publisher for that purpose. Other pursuits and avocations have interfered with that design; and it was for a time almost forgotten by me. In the meanwhile, the literary genius of the Age advanced with rapid steps, and, in the department of poetry more especially, gave birth to a succession of works which have considerably altered, if not elevated, the public taste. Under these circumstances, it appeared doubtful whether I should be acting fairly towards the memory of my great Countrymen in inviting attention to compositions which, had they been published at the period when they were written, might have doubtless secured for themselves a prescriptive right to fame, but which, making their first appearance in these fastidious times, can hardly hope for any such honorary distinction. Indeed, the circumstance that would most attract notice to these poems, the distinguished names of their authors, might also be found the most fatal to their success; and, unfitted as many of them are, in themselves, to encounter the modern School of criticism, it was to be feared that, under the Shadow of the Giant names prefixed to them they would appear but the more disproportioned and insignificant. In these apprehensions, however, I was myself, perhaps, fastidious: at all events, some circumstances having occurred lately to place the Manuscripts of these Poems beyond my control, they are here laid before the Public, and being at least curious relics, will, I trust, meet with all the notice and success which they deserve."
"THOMAS MOORE."

It would be curious to reflect on the fate of a poet's papers and correspondence. Gray's papers, after sixty years of neglect, are now mounted on drawing paper, bound in the richest sea-green morocco, and inclosed in purple cases of the same material. Burns's correspondence with Thomson now forms part of the far-famed Ashburnham MSS. Cowley's letters were destroyed by Sprat, because that coxcomb of a Bishop thought them too good for publication. The sweepings of Pope's study are known to have contained literary treasures of which we now lament the loss:—while the long-lost treatise of Milton—the paper that settled the question of the character of his religion—was found within our own time in the State Paper Office, and published by the desire and at the expense of a King of England.

PROFESSOR FARADAY ON TABLE-MOVING.

THE following account of the methods pursued and the results obtained by Prof. Faraday in the investigation of a subject which has taken such strange occupation of the public mind, both here and abroad, has been communicated to our columns by that high scientific authority. The subject was generally opened by Mr. Faraday in the *Times* of Thursday: it being therein intimated that the details were to be reserved for our this day's publication. The communication is of great importance in the present morbid condition of public thought,—when, as Professor Faraday says, the effect produced by table-turners has, without due inquiry, been referred to electricity, to magnetism, to attraction, to some unknown or hitherto unrecognized physical power able to affect inanimate bodies, to the revolution of the earth, and even to diabolical or supernatural agency:—and we are tempted to extract a passage from Mr. Faraday's letter to the *Times* which we think well worth adding to the experimental particulars and the commentaries with which he has favoured ourselves. "I have been," says the Professor, "greatly startled by the revelation which this purely physical subject has made of the condition of the public mind. No doubt, there are many

persons who have formed a right judgment or used a cautious reserve,—for I know several such, and public communications have shown it to be so; but their number is almost as nothing to the great body who have believed and borne testimony, as I think, in the cause of error. I do not here refer to the distinction of those who agree with me and those who differ. By the great body, I mean such as reject all consideration of the equality of cause and effect,—who refer the results to electricity and magnetism, yet know nothing of the laws of these forces,—or to attraction, yet show no phenomena of pure attractive power,—or to the rotation of the earth, as if the earth revolved round the leg of a table,—or to some unrecognized physical force, without inquiring whether the known forces are not sufficient,—or who even refer them to diabolical or supernatural agency, rather than suspend their judgment, or acknowledge to themselves that they are not learned enough in these matters to decide on the nature of the action. I think the system of education that could leave the mental condition of the public body in the state in which this subject has found it must have been greatly deficient in some very important principle."

Experimental Investigation of Table-Moving.

The object which I had in view in this inquiry was not to satisfy myself, for my conclusion had been formed already on the evidence of those who had turned tables,—but that I might be enabled to give a strong opinion, founded on facts, to the many who applied to me for it. Yet, the proof which I sought for, and the method followed in the inquiry, were precisely of the same nature as those which I should adopt in any other physical investigation. The parties with whom I have worked were very honourable, very clear in their intentions, successful table-movers, very desirous of succeeding in establishing the existence of a peculiar power, thoroughly candid, and very effectual. It is with me a clear point that the table moves when the parties, though they strongly wish it, do not intend, and do not believe that they move it by ordinary mechanical power. They say, the table draws their hands; that it moves first, and they have to follow it,—that sometimes it even moves from under their hands. With some the table will move to the right or left according as they wish or will it,—with others the direction of the first motion is uncertain:—but all agree that the table moves the hands and not the hands the table. Though I believe the parties do not intend to move the table, but obtain the result by a quasi involuntary action,—still I had no doubt of the influence of expectation upon their minds, and through that upon the success or failure of their efforts. The first point, therefore, was, to remove all objections due to expectation, having relation to the substances which I might desire to use:—so, plates of the most different bodies, electrically speaking,—namely, sand-paper, millboard, glue, glass, moist clay, tinfoil, cardboard, gutta serena, vulcanized rubber, wood, &c.,—were made into a bundle and placed on a table under the hands of a turner. The table turned. Other bundles of other plates were submitted to different persons at other times,—and the tables turned. Henceforth, therefore, these substances may be used in the construction of apparatus. Neither during their use nor at other times could the slightest trace of electrical or magnetic effects be obtained. At the same trials it was readily ascertained that one person could produce the effect; and that the motion was not necessarily circular, but might be in a straight line. No form of experiment or mode of observation that I could devise gave me the slightest indication of any peculiar natural force. No attractions, or repulsions, or signs of tangential power, appeared,—nor anything which could be referred to other than the mere mechanical pressure exerted inadvertently by the turner. I therefore proceeded to analyze this pressure, or that part of it exerted in a horizontal direction:—doing so, in the first instance, unawares to the party. A soft cement, consisting of wax and turpentine, or wax and pomatum, was prepared. Four or five pieces of smooth slippery cardboard were attached one over the other by little pellets of the cement, and

the lower of these to a piece of sand-paper resting on the table; the edges of these sheets overlapped slightly, and on the under surface a pencil line was drawn over the laps so as to indicate position. The upper cardboard was larger than the rest, so as to cover the whole from sight. Then, the table-turner placed the hands upon the upper card, and we waited for the result. Now, the cement was strong enough to offer considerable resistance to mechanical motion, and also to retain the cards in any new position which they might acquire,—and yet weak enough to give way slowly to a continued force. When at last the tables, cards, and hands all moved to the left together, and so a true result was obtained, I took up the pack. On examination, it was easy to see by the displacement of the parts of the line, that the hand had moved further than the table, and that the latter had lagged behind;—that the hand, in fact, had pushed the upper card to the left, and that the under cards and the table had followed and been dragged by it. In other similar cases when the table had not moved, still the upper card was found to have moved, showing that the hand had carried it in the expected direction. It was evident, therefore, that the table had not drawn the hand and person round, nor had it moved simultaneously with the hand. The hand had left all things under it behind, and the table evidently tended continually to keep the hand back.

The next step was, to arrange an index, which should show whether the table moved first, or the hand moved before the table, or both moved or remained at rest together. At first this was done by placing an upright pin fixed on a leaden foot upon the table, and using that as the fulcrum of a light lever. The latter was made of a slip of foolscap paper, and the short arm, about $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch in length, was attached to a pin proceeding from the edge of a slipping card placed on the table, and prepared to receive the hands of the table-turner. The other arm, of $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, served for the index of motion. A coin laid on the table marked the normal position of the card and index. At first the slipping card was attached to the table by the soft cement, and the index was either screened from the turner, or the latter looked away; then, before the table moved, the index showed that the hand was giving a resultant pressure in the expected direction. The effect was never carried far enough to move the table, for the motion of the index corrected the judgment of the experimenter, who became aware that, inadvertently, a side force had been exerted. The card was now set free from the table, *i. e.*, the cement was removed. This, of course, could not interfere with any of the results expected by the table-turner,—for both the bundle of plates spoken of and single cards had been freely moved on the tables before; but now that the index was there, witnessing to the eye, and through it to the mind, of the table-turner, not the slightest tendency to motion either of the card or of the table occurred. Indeed, whether the card was left free or attached to the table all motion or tendency to motion was gone. In one particular case there was relative motion between the table and the hands: I believe that the hands moved in one direction; the table-turner was persuaded that the table moved from under the hand in the other direction:—a gauge, standing upon the floor, and pointing to the table, was therefore set up on that and some future occasions,—and then, neither motion of the hand nor of the table occurred.

A more perfect lever apparatus was then constructed in the following manner:—Two thin boards, $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 7 inches, were provided; a board, 9 by 5 inches, was glued to the middle of the underside of one of these, (to be called the table-board), so as to raise the edges free from the table; being placed on the table, near and parallel to its side, an upright pin was fixed close to the further edge of the board, at the middle, to serve as the fulcrum for the indicating lever. Then, four glass rods, 7 inches long and $\frac{1}{4}$ in diameter, were placed as rollers on different parts of this table-board, and the upper board placed on them; the rods permitted any required amount of pressure on the boards, with a free motion of the upper on the lower to the right and left. At the part corre-

sponding to the pin in the lower board, a piece was cut out of the upper board, and a pin attached there which, being bent downwards, entered the hole in the end of the short arm of the index lever: this part of the lever was of cardboard; the indicating prolongation was a straight hay-stalk 15 inches long. In order to restrain the motion of the upper board on the lower, two vulcanized rubber rings were passed round both, at the parts not resting on the table: these, whilst they tied the boards together, acted also as springs,—and whilst they allowed the first feeblest tendency to motion to be seen by the index, exerted before the upper board had moved a quarter of an inch sufficient power in pulling the upper board back from either side, to resist a strong lateral action of the hand. All being thus arranged, except that the lever was away,—the two boards were tied together with string, running parallel to the vulcanized rubber springs, so as to be immovable in relation to each other. They were then placed on the table, and a table-turner sat down to them:—the table very shortly moved in due order, showing that the apparatus offered no impediment to the action. A like apparatus, with metal rollers, produced the same result under the hands of another person. The index was now put into its place and the string loosened, so that the springs should come into play. It was soon seen, with the party that could will the motion in either direction, (from whom the index was purposely hidden,) that the hands were gradually creeping up in the direction before agreed upon, though the party certainly thought they were pressing downwards only. When shown that it was so, they were truly surprised; but when they lifted up their hands and immediately saw the index return to its normal position, they were convinced. When they looked at the index and could see for themselves whether they were pressing truly downwards, or obliquely so as to produce a resultant in the right or left handed direction, then such an effect never took place. Several tried, for a long while together, and with the best will in the world; but no motion, right or left, of the table, or hand, or anything else, occurred.—[A passage from the letter in the *Times* is worth reproducing here,—as illustrating in other words the value of this method of self-conviction. —“The result,” says Prof. Faraday, “was, that when the parties saw the index it remained very steady; when it was hidden from them, or they looked away from it, it wavered about, though they believed that they always pressed directly downwards; and, when the table did not move, there was still a resultant of hand force in the direction in which it was wished the table should move, which, however, was exercised quite unwittingly by the party operating. This resultant it is which, in the course of the waiting time, while the fingers and hands become stiff, numb, and insensible by continued pressure, grows up to an amount sufficient to move the table or the substances pressed upon. But the most valuable effect of this test-apparatus (which was afterwards made more perfect and independent of the table) is the corrective power it possesses over the mind of the table-turner. As soon as the index is placed before the most earnest, and they perceive—as in my presence they have always done—that it tells truly whether they are pressing downwards only or obliquely, then all effects of table-turning cease, even though the parties persevere, earnestly desiring motion, till they become weary and worn out. No prompting or checking of the hands is needed—the *power is gone*; and this only because the parties are made conscious of what they are really doing mechanically, and so are unable unwittingly to deceive themselves. I know that some may say that it is the cardboard next the fingers which moves first, and that it both drags the table and also the table-turner with it. All I have to reply is, that the cardboard may in practice be reduced to a thin sheet of paper weighing only a few grains, or to a piece of goldbeaters' skin, or even the end of the lever, and (in principle) to the very cuticle of the fingers itself. Then the results that follow are too absurd to be admitted: the table becomes an incumbrance, and a person holding out the fingers in the air, either naked or tipped with goldbeaters'

skin or cardboard, ought to be drawn about the room, &c.; but I refrain from considering imaginary yet consequent results which have nothing philosophical or real in them.”]

Another form of index was applied thus:—a circular hole was cut in the middle of the upper board, and a piece of cartridge paper pasted under it on the lower surface of the board; a thin slice of cork was fixed on the upper surface of the lower board corresponding to the cartridge paper; the interval between them might be a quarter of an inch or less. A needle was fixed into the end of one of the index hay-stalks, and when all was in place the needle point was passed through the cartridge paper and pressed slightly into the cork beneath, so as to stand upright: then any motion of the hand, or hand-board, was instantly rendered evident by the deflection of the perpendicular hay-stalk to the right or left.

I think the apparatus I have described may be useful to many who really wish to know the truth of nature, and would prefer that truth to a mistaken conclusion: desired, perhaps, only because it seems to be new or strange. Persons do not know how difficult it is to press directly downward, or in any given direction against a fixed obstacle: or even to *know* only whether they are doing so or not; unless they have some indicator, which, by visible motion or otherwise, shall instruct them: and this is more especially the case when the muscles of the fingers and hand have been cramped and rendered either tingling, or insensible, or cold by long continued pressure. If a finger be pressed constantly into the corner of a window frame for ten minutes or more, and then, continuing the pressure, the mind be directed to judge whether the force at a given moment is all horizontal, or all downward, or how much is in one direction and how much in the other, it will find great difficulty in deciding; and will at last become altogether uncertain: at least such is my case. I know that a similar result occurs with others; for I have had two boards arranged, separated, not by rollers but by plugs of vulcanized rubber, and with the vertical index: when a person with his hands on the upper board is requested to press only downwards, and the index is hidden from his sight, it moves to the right, to the left, to him and from him, and in all horizontal directions; so utterly unable is he strictly to fulfil his intention without a visible and correcting indicator. Now, such is the use of the instrument with the horizontal index and rollers: the mind is instructed, and the involuntary or *quasi* involuntary motion is checked in the commencement, and therefore never rises up to the degree needful to move the table, or even permanently the index itself. No one can suppose that looking at the index can in any way interfere with the transfer of electricity or any other power from the hand to the board under it or to the table. If the board tends to move, it may do so, the index does not confine it; and if the table tends to move, there is no reason why it should not. If both were influenced by any power to move together they may do so,—as they did indeed when the apparatus was tied, and the mind and muscles left unwatched and unchecked.

I must bring this long description to a close. I am a little ashamed of it, for I think, in the present age, and in this part of the world, it ought not to have been required. Nevertheless, I hope it may be useful. There are many whom I do not expect to convince; but I may be allowed to say that I cannot undertake to answer such objections as may be made. I state my own convictions as an experimental philosopher, and find it no more necessary to enter into controversy on this point than on any other in science, as the nature of matter, or inertia, or the magnetization of light, on which I may differ from others. The world will decide sooner or later in all such cases, and I have no doubt very soon and correctly in the present instance. Those who may wish to see the particular construction of the test apparatus which I have employed, may have the opportunity at Mr. Newman's, 122, Regent Street. Further, I may say, I have sought earnestly for cases of lifting by attraction, and indications of attraction in any form, but have gained no traces of such effects.

Finally, I beg to direct attention to the discourse delivered by Dr. Carpenter at the Royal Institution on the 12th of March 1852, entitled, 'On the influence of Suggestion in modifying and directing Muscular Movement, independently of Volition':—which, especially in the latter part, should be considered in reference to table-moving by all who are interested in the subject. M. FARADAY.
Royal Institution, June 27.

OUR WEEKLY GOSSIP.

As will be seen in our advertising columns of today, the next Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science is appointed to commence on Wednesday, the 7th of September. The place of meeting, our readers already know, is Hull.—In the same quarter, the annual meeting of the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland is announced to take place at Chichester, on Tuesday, the 12th of July.

The Commissioners appointed to inquire into the state, discipline, studies, and revenues of the University of Dublin and of Trinity College have made some apposite remarks on the subject of a printed Catalogue of Trinity College Library. Dr. Todd, the librarian, had stated in evidence that he had discontinued his labours on the printed Catalogue, in order to enable him "to consider fully the controversy raised about the Catalogue of the British Museum." As Dr. Todd, it is clear, has not quite made up his mind on this much-mooted matter, the Commissioners give him the aid of their judgment in the following words:—"In considering this question, both here and in England, it seems to us that two descriptions of Catalogues have been commonly confounded together; the one, a list of books arranged alphabetically, or according to subjects of a moderate size, and sufficiently accurate,—the other, a complete description of the books perfectly arranged. Now, the Catalogue which Dr. Todd has commenced is of the second description,—and hence the great labour and delay in its completion. Such a Catalogue possesses great value in a bibliographical point of view; but for the more immediate purpose of increasing the utility of the library as a collection of books for reference and consultation,—for the purpose of economizing the time of readers and authors, by enabling them at once in their own studies to ascertain what books on any subject they could find in the College Library,—for such a purpose a Catalogue of the first kind would be extremely useful, if not perfectly sufficient."—When we reflect that two of the Commissioners to whom we are indebted for these sensible remarks are Archbishop Whately and the Earl of Rosse, they gain additional value; and they will, we trust, have their due weight, not only within the walls of Trinity College, but within the gates of the British Museum also.

The pressure of the debate on Hindustan, and other matters on which talk seems to grow "by what it feeds on," keep back the expected debate on the Ministerial scheme of Education. In answer to a question in the House, Lord John Russell speaks doubtfully of its prospects during the present sitting of Parliament. He said that, "until the session was further advanced he was unwilling to give an opinion as to whether the bill could be proceeded with."

The Scotch universities have so far succeeded with their agitation against the present tests applied to Professors, as to have induced the Government to concoct a measure of relief. A bill is now in the hands of the Lord Advocate of Scotland:—and it may be some comfort to those of our readers who, seeing the lateness of the session, begin to fear that it will prove to be one of the still-born offspring of ministerial care, if we report Lord John's assurance that it "is the Lord Advocate's intention to bring forward the University Test Bill before he proceeds with any other bills which are under his care." The consolation offered is not very positive in its promise; but it has progressed so far towards fulfilment that the bill has been read a second time.

For the benefit of those of our readers who may be visitors to the military operations going on at

Chobham, we may mention that Mr. Wyld has issued a plan of the camping ground and the surrounding neighbourhood,—showing the lines of railway by which on every side it is approached:—the whole folded within cloth boards, in a size convenient for the pocket.

It has been officially announced that the Industrial Exhibition at New York will be opened on the 15th inst.

Tidings have been received from Dr. Barth dated up to the 23rd of November last. He was then still at Kuka,—but had fixed on the 25th of the same month to leave that place en route to Timbuktu. He had arranged and completed all his journals and papers up to that time; and it was his intention not to take with him on his journey to Timbuktu, but to forward to Tripoli, there to be deposited with the English Consul. He had already taken leave of the Sultan of Bornu,—and had received from him two very fine camels as a present for his journey. The wish of the Sultan was, that Dr. Barth should remain in Bornu as British Consul; and when the latter explained to him that this for several reasons was out of the question, the Sultan begged him to urge the sending of another suitable person to his country, in order to keep up friendly and commercial relations with the English. Dr. Barth alludes to the aggressive tendencies and the continued intrigues which the Barbary States have recently shown against that country,—and expresses a hope that it may not come under their devastating supremacy and ruinous misrule. The enterprising traveller was in the best of health and spirits.—As to Dr. Vogel, this traveller, according to the last communications still hoped to reach Lake Tsad in August. Dr. Barth at the date of his letter was not yet aware of that gentleman's coming.

Dr. Reid's claim for 10,250*l.* on account of his services in the ventilation of the New Houses of Parliament has been cut down by the arbitrators to 3,250*l.*—7,000*l.* less than the amount claimed. The sum awarded has been paid to the Doctor,—and his services are discontinued. The arbitrators, Mr. William Forsyth and Dr. John Forbes, held "upwards of thirty meetings" before they made their award.

The great gold nugget from Ballarat, weighing 134 lb. 11 oz., and valued, we believe, at about 6,000*l.*, and other specimens of Australian gold, found by Messrs. D. Evans, J. Evans, J. Lees and W. P. Green, have been added, for present exhibition, to the interesting mineral collection, in the Great Globe building, in Leicester Square, of which we recently gave our readers some account.

Some sheets of a new work have been sent to us from New York—"An Index to Periodical Literature," made by a librarian of Boston. A joke going about literary circles attributes to a person whose claims to the honours of literature are of the slenderest, a threat that he would bring out a collection of his works—a volume of indexes! Now, we for ourselves would not refuse to acknowledge the merits of the maker of a good index—for there is some art required and not a little book-knowledge desirable to that end (as, for example, such an index as that of the Harleian Miscellany); but a bad index is worse than no index at all,—and such we are bound to say is the specimen now before us, both as to its conception and as to its execution. As we turn over its pages, we are struck with wonder that so much time—we can scarcely add, skill—should have been thrown away in work so profitless. The idea is this:—it is professed to give references to the English and American periodicals in which literary and other subjects have been treated. What is the use of pages of reference like those before us? They are not an index to the state or the sources of our knowledge on any topic. They give no information about books—nor even references to organs which specifically devote themselves to literature and the arts. The idea of a work on a plan so barren seems to us a blunder to begin with,—but the execution makes a double blunder. We notice guesses at authorship which are sometimes misleading, sometimes in bad taste. Most of the references will puzzle English readers:—being to works of which we never heard, or which we cannot recognize in

abbreviation,—such as, 'Liv. Age,' 'South. Lit. Mess.' and many more. What use can a person make of an index to series of which there are probably no copies in this country?

ROYAL ACADEMY OF ARTS, TRAFALGAR-SQUARE.—THE DISTRIBUTION of the ROYAL ACADEMY is NOW OPEN. Admission (from 8 o'clock till 7), 1*l.*; Catalogue, 1*s.* JOHN PRESCOCK KNIGHT, R.A. Sec.

BRITISH INSTITUTION, Pall Mall.—The GALLERY with a Collection of PICTURES by ANCIENT MASTERS and deceased BRITISH ARTISTS, is OPEN daily from Ten to Six.—Admission, 1*s.*; Catalogue, 6*d.* GEORGE NICOL, Secretary.

SOCIETY OF PAINTERS IN WATER COLOURS.—THE FORTY-NINTH ANNUAL EXHIBITION is NOW OPEN, at their Gallery, 5, Pall Mall East, from Nine till Dusk.—Admission, One Shilling. Catalogue, Sixpence. GEORGE FRAPP, Secretary.

THE NEW SOCIETY OF PAINTERS IN WATER COLOURS.—THE NINETEENTH ANNUAL EXHIBITION of this SOCIETY is NOW OPEN, at their Gallery, 53, Pall Mall, Daily, from Nine till Dusk.—Admission, 1*s.* JAMES FAHEY, Secretary.

The AMATEUR EXHIBITION, PALL MALL, comprising upwards of 400 Original Works, entirely by Amateur Artists, is NOW OPEN, at the Gallery, 131, Pall Mall opposite the Opera-House Colonnade.—Admission, 1*s.* from Ten till dusk daily; Catalogue, 6*d.* Professional Artists free. Gallery, 131, Pall Mall. E. C. DECKER, Secretary.

THE NEW DIORAMA of the OCEAN MAIL (with the Cape) illustrating every object of interest from PLYMOUTH to INDIA and AUSTRALIA, is now exhibiting daily, at 3 and 8 o'clock, at the GALLERY of ILLUSTRATION, 14, Leguat Street.—Admission, 1*s.* Stalls, 2*s.* 6*d.* Reserved Seats, 3*s.*

GOLD NUGGETS at the GREAT GLOBE.—A Large Collection of AUSTRALIAN GOLD, together with Rocks, Minerals, and Fossils, from Australia, at Mr. WYLD'S LARGE MODEL of the EARTH, Leicester Square. Lectures hourly upon every subject of Geographical Science.—Open daily from 10*o.* Children under 12 years of age and Schools, half-price.

ROYAL POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTION.—PATRON:—H.R.H. PRINCE ALBERT.—A FEW and INTERESTING ATTRACTIONS.—On TUESDAYS and FRIDAYS at Four o'clock, and EVERY EVENING (except Saturday) at Nine, the FIRST PART of an HISTORICAL LECTURE on "THE THAMES," from its source to its Estuary, by GEORGE BUCKLAND, Esq., assisted by Miss Blanche Young, with APPROPRIATE SONGS and DISSOLVING SCENERY, in addition to the varied SCIENTIFIC LECTURES and EXHIBITIONS.—Open Mornings and Evenings.—Admission, 1*s.*; Schools, and Children under Ten years of age, Half-price.

ZULY KAFFER.—Notice.—In consequence of the increasing demand for places to witness this extraordinary and highly interesting Exhibition, the ST. GEORGE'S GALLERY, Hyde Park Corner, will be OPEN EVERY MORNING and EVENING. Doors open at Three and Eight. Stalls at Mr. Mitchell's Royal Library, 35, Old Bond Street. Descriptive Books, 6*d.* each, may be had at the Gallery.—Admission, 1*s.*

MEETINGS FOR THE ENSUING WEEK.

- Mon. Entomological, 8.
- Royal Institution, 2.—General Monthly Meeting.
- Wed. Society of Arts, 7.—Election of Officers.
- Ethnological.—The Antee (Mexican) Lilliputians will be introduced to the Society, and described by the Honorary Secretary.
- THURS. Zoological, 3.
- Sat. Horticultural, 2.—Exhibition.
- Society of Arts, 6.—Council's Report.

MUSIC AND THE DRAMA

MUSICAL UNION.—LAST MATINÉE of the SEASON, TUESDAY, July 1, for which Bassini and Hiale are engaged.—Members are required to deliver up their Tickets at this Concert. J. ELLIS, Director.

WILLIS'S ROOMS.—HARP UNION.—THE LAST CONCERT on TUESDAY, July 5, at Half-past Two o'clock.—Miss Ursula Barclay, Miss Thirlwall, Messrs Foster, Lead, Montem, Smith, and Lawler, Signor Guglielmi, Mr. G. F. Kjalmark, Herren Jansa and Hildebrand-Rombert, Mr. R. Ringrove, and M. Vogel. Conductor, Mr. Aguilar.—Tickets to be had of Mr. T. H. Wright; Herr Oberthur; Mr. H. J. Trust; and the principal Music-sellers.

MISS EMMA BUSBY'S ANNUAL SOIRÉE MUSICALE, New Beethoven Rooms, 27, Queen Anne Street, TUESDAY, July 5.—Vocalists, Mlle. Jenny Burr and Miss Stabach. Instrumentalists, Miss Emma Busby, Herr Molière, and Signor Piatti. Conductor, Mr. Lindsay Sloper.—Tickets, Half-a-Guinea: to be had at the principal Music sellers; and of Miss E. Busby, 15, Upper Gloucester Place, Dorset Square.

Mr. W. STERNDAL BENNETT respectfully announces that his MORNING PERFORMANCE of CLASSICAL PIANO-FORTE MUSIC will take place at the Hanover Square Rooms on MONDAY, July 4, to commence at Three o'clock. Vocalists: Miss Dolby, Mrs. Enderobu, Madame Ferrari, Signor Gardoni, and Signor Ferrari. Instrumentalists: Pianoforte, Mr. W. Sternedale Bennett, Mr. Robert Barrer, Violin, Mr. Dando; Violoncello, Signor Piatti; Clarinet, Mr. Williams.—Tickets, 10*s.* 6*d.* each. Programmes to be had of the principal Music-sellers; and of Mr. W. S. Bennett, 15, Russell Place, Fitzroy Square.

GERMAN PLAYS, ST. JAMES'S THEATRE.—Second Season, 1853.—Mr. Mitchell respectfully announces that in consequence of the necessary preparations requisite for the GERMAN PLAYS, they will be COMMENCED at this Theatre, on MONDAY EVENING NEXT, July 4, when will be performed, for the first time this season, Goethe's Play of EGAR, Goethe's celebrated Play of FAUST will be produced during next week.—Boxes, Stalls, and Tickets may be secured at Mr. Mitchell's Royal Library, 35, Old Bond Street.

ROYAL ITALIAN OPERA.—The revival of 'Benvenuto Cellini,' by M. Berlioz, at Weimar, in November last, was described at some length in

the *Athenæum* [No. 1810]:—mention being made of the circumstances attendant on the production of this opera in a theatre which has a Court and a *Kapellmeister* rather than a public, that gave a graceful peculiarity to the ceremony. But the interest excited in the world of Art on the occasion, was too real to be allowed to die away without attempts to diffuse it, and, considering the position last year given to M. Berlioz in England, Mr. Gye did well to bring the opera to a fair hearing in Covent Garden Theatre. We regret that the experiment, made on Saturday last, displeased the public so entirely as was the case; not merely because such failure is discouraging to managerial enterprise, but because it offers a cruelly unforeseen check to one whose career in composition, be it wise or unwise, has been intrepid and consistent.—The historian who records events without searching for causes may call such a result singular, when he recollects how rapturously the 'Romeo and Juliet' of the same composer was, in 1852, received at Exeter Hall. The critic who adjusts and compares has a right to arraign it as unjust,—if, assuming those raptures to have been real, he agrees with us, that the opera contains some of its writer's freshest thoughts and most picturesque combinations.

One reason for the ill success of 'Benvenuto' in London may be found in the *libretto* of MM. Leon de Wailly and Barbier. This sets forth how *Benvenuto* (Signor Tamberlik) loves one *Teresa* (Madame Julienne), daughter to the Pope's treasurer, *Signor Balducci* (M. Zelger). The lady is, like *Beatrice*'s *Rosina*, closely guarded by her ancient guardian; but she is followed by another artist-lover, a silly sculptor, *Fieramosca* (Signor Tagliafico). The rivals are thrown together in chase of the nymph, at Carnival time; and during a brawl, *Cellini* stabs *Pompeo* (Signor Mei), whom *Fieramosca*, being a coward, has put forward to fight for him. Owing to all this serenading and masking, the casting of the statue of Perseus, which has been commissioned from *Cellini*, has been retarded. The officers of justice are on the sculptor's track; and with the assistance of his page *Ascanio* (Mdlle. Nantier-Didié), he is about to escape,—when the *Cardinal Salvati* (Herr Fornes) enters with pardon and full indulgence for the fiery sculptor if he will accomplish the casting of the statue. This process there and then takes place in the Coliseum. After some anxiety, it comes to a good issue:—and the opera closes.

Now, though this story has found some favour in Germany,—to the point, we believe, of being re-set by Herr *Kapellmeister* Lachner for Munich, (that city "where men's minds," as a correspondent drily wrote some years ago, "run so much on the casting of statues,")—it is needless to explain why it failed to be enjoyed by Londoners, in spite of the attempt made to give it local colour and character by setting forth the Carnival scene with due decoration, action, and costume. Still, for the interests of Art, we must go on to say, that it was not the story alone which wrecked 'Benvenuto' at Covent Garden,—but certain inherent qualities in the music which are more antipathetic to a play-goer in England than in Germany, and which perhaps would be found everywhere more fatal in an opera-house than in a concert-room.

On these we must dwell for a moment; beginning with a repetition of our last year's praise for the treatment of the orchestra throughout the opera,—the lustre, fancy, and variety of which must engage the ear of every musician capable of analyzing his sensations and of separating qualities and attributes.—Further, as was said on the occasion of the Weimar revival, the first ideas in this opera are remarkable among their creator's thoughts for freshness and vigour. The duett betwixt *Benvenuto* and *Teresa* in the first act, and the ingenious and spirited *terzett* into which it runs, are built on happy phrases. The *cabaletta* to the *prima donna*'s first air is elegant in subject,—the *solo* of *Benvenuto* in the second act is expressive. The music to the Roman carnival is animated,—and the *stretto* to the *finale* is based on a phrase capable of having been turned to excellent account. In the third act may be specified, the melancholy of

the opening scene of the *studio*—a true expression of the down-heartedness of discouraged men,—the agitated duett betwixt the lovers,—and the pomp of the Cardinal's entry; incense put into sound, if such a fantasy may be permitted. Why, then, should fancies so distinct, with the advantage of orchestral colouring so luminous, delicate, and voluptuous, so utterly have failed to please? Because our opera public is narrow and partisan?—Because a cabal was raised "to damn" the work, and this not "with faint praise"?—Neither solution is the real one. Because—we reply—the composer has been self-willed, without being mighty enough to bear down and to fascinate his audience by a personality which is musically defective. Because no technical ingenuity of colour can in music of effect (which all theatrical music *must* be) make amends with a general audience for the disdain of known rules and for the mystification of form. The catastrophe of this day week is ascribable to the errors of the system which M. Berlioz has substituted for ordinary construction,—of which we have never lost sight nor varied in our expressed judgment of their taste and tendency. His plan of action—though far less remorselessly followed out in the Opera which has failed than in the Symphonies which have succeeded here—reminds us of nothing so much as of the tactics of a late English manager, who was laughingly accused of always keeping "several good plays in his strong box which were too good to be brought forward just at that moment." Let M. Berlioz exhibit a glimpse of a bright and characteristic and beautiful thought, lo and behold! it is forthwith snatched away, and the listener, denied the expected sequel, is dragged into labyrinths where all is vague and crude under pretext of his being raised above commonplace and meagre pedantries. Yet, what is so odd as confusion,—what so poor as disorder? That is no real affluence of design in which the artist, heaping up fancies, blots and scrawls one above the other,—tantalizes the amateur with an impression that some child's random and feeble hand has been wantonly straggling over the master's sketch. It is of no avail to misapply terms,—to call that composition which is *de-composition*, to plead for new forms, when all form is perversely obliterated.—It is of no use for us to recollect that after a time zealous sympathy with an interesting heresiarch can work itself into oblivion of grave defects for the sake of the great qualities that exist by their side. This no opera-goer has leisure to do: unless, like the Germans, he has long graduated in chaotic no-meaning—long tampered with *no* ideas for *new* ideas—ere he enters the Opera-house. Nay, even among the Germans, it may be asserted, individual likes and dislikes have more to say on these occasions than revolutionary aesthetic convictions. Dr. Schumann's congregation—for instance—is cold to those who burn incense at Wagner's altar, and *vice versa*. Both parties are recalcitrant against the inroad of the French iconoclast—though he be far more original in his doctrine than either Dr. Schumann or Herr Wagner. For, that M. Berlioz has indicated the true genius of a discoverer in his treatment of the orchestra few open-minded persons will dispute. We are satisfied, also, that he has within him the materials of a great poetical musician. That he possesses command over these materials—that he has in any entire work brought them out—are assertions to maintain which must involve the sacrifice of every known principle, practice and proportion in Music. We are inclined to fancy, that could he recommence his career, with his present experience, we should have that which is incomplete in him completed—that which is crude mellowed—that which is inaccessible simplified.

A last explanation of the partial success or total failure of M. Berlioz will be found in the terrible difficulty of studying and preparing his music. This, too, must not only be always a reason for its rare performance, but it is a grave drawback as having withheld from its writer needful opportunities of self-correction.—On Saturday last Signor Tamberlik as the hero did his utmost, and made every exertion to draw out every interesting and effective passage of his part. Mdlle. Nantier-Didié got an *encore* in *Ascanio*'s song in the third

act,—having already established herself here as a young artist of promise possessing an agreeable and peculiar voice.—Signor Tagliafico produced an effect in his fencing song by an outburst of odd vigour of acting with which no one had credited him. As a whole we can only say that the music was generally not given amiss:—oftentimes the notes had been caught, but not the spirit. As the heroine, Madame Julienne was not fortunate. Her voice is this year out of order—tremulous, shrill, and uncertain in tune. The chorus did its best; but the best can never be certainly good in a case where the vocal writing is so ungracious in interval and so merciless in its disregard of breathing-time. The orchestra was brilliant,—directed by M. Berlioz in person, who was warmly received when he took his place in the conductor's desk:—but the work was a more complete failure than has been often witnessed in either of our Italian Opera houses.

PHILHARMONIC SOCIETY.—The last *Philharmonic Concert* for this season included Dr. Spohr's 'Historical Symphony'—at the close of which the composer, who was present, was warmly greeted,—Herr Lindpaintner's overture 'Genneserinn',—and a *Pianoforte Concerto*, composed and executed by Herr Ferdinand Hiller. The other *solo* was one of Herr Molique's *Violin Concertos*, played by Mr. Blagrove,—not by Herr Molique, as might have naturally been expected. Truth to say, the *programme* thus made up was not exciting. The 'Historical Symphony' of Dr. Spohr is, at best, a heavy pleasantry,—inferior to his works of an earlier time, written when his object was to produce music according to the recognized forms, and without any strain after fantastic, or romantic, or sarcastic meaning. In Dr. Spohr's later productions the cloying peculiarities of his manner do not disappear, while much of what is excellent in his individuality must needs be laid aside. The freaks of a heavy hand, the enforced sportings on an invention anything but sportive, serve only to draw attention to the generic want of brilliancy of touch or the monotony of the fancy.—Herr Hiller's *Concerto*, though meritoriously written and well played, is dull,—and produced small effect.—Such light as was let into this heavy concert scheme belonged to Beethoven's Symphony in B flat, and Weber's overture to 'Oberon',—and to the capital singing of Madame Viardot. That lady has, indeed, been the awakener of such vocal interest as belongs to this busy concert-season; and the versatility of her power has never before been proved to the Londoners, owing to the prohibitions laid on the artists by the opera-managers. The other vocalist was Madame Castellan,—who sang her best.—Thus closed a season which has been full of activity and variety,—and, though open to comment on its omissions and its commissions, has afforded the lover of Art more to interest and occupy his mind than any season of late years.

CONCERTS OF THE WEEK.—Artists and amateurs will alike understand why in a week like the past one, containing musical matters calling for elaborate report, benefit entertainments can receive at our hands little more than mere announcement.—Mr. Howard Glover's great entertainment was held in Exeter Hall on Monday; most of the artists of note in London—home and foreign—appearing on the occasion.—On Tuesday Mr. Elio's grand *Matinée* took place: this being a supplementary performance of the *Musical Union* not included in the subscription. At this Mdlle. Emma Standich, a *pianiste* new to England, and Herr Blumenthal were to perform two *Allegros* from Onslow's duett in F minor:—the *Allegro* to which is among the finest modern pieces of pianoforte music for four hands.—Herr Blumenthal, whose elegant drawing-room playing seems to be thoroughly appreciated in elegant drawing-rooms, to judge from the patronage bestowed on his Concert, received his friends on Wednesday:—also, Signor and Madame Marchesi. The former should be made much of, as the most rising and ready concert *basso* in the market,—having advanced, ripened and refined himself more rapidly than most vocalists in our recollection.—Madame Marchesi, too, has

made progress, and is more than ordinarily agreeable and available as a *mezzo-soprano*. Nor is concert singing any longer the sinecure which it used to be, when a few Italian *Cavatins* or English ballads made up the singer's repertory. He must now command serious and comic music in four styles, and as many languages, if he is to pass for being thoroughly accomplished.—A third of *Herr Molique's Soirées* (which are fixed so inconveniently late as almost to preclude the possibility of the attention deserved by them),—a fourth of *Miss Rainforth's Entertainments*, devoted to songs by Scottish ladies,—and Concerts by *M. Levy* and *Miss Reldas* have also been on the list of the week:—from which we may have omitted some items, long as the above paragraph is.

OLYMPIC.—Acting at this theatre has been suspended for some time, owing to the repairs of sewerage in progress, and the consequent tunnelling of the surrounding streets. On Monday, it reopened; and on Tuesday, a new piece was produced—adapted from the French by Mr. J. V. Bridgman—'La Fille de l'Avare.' The story is derived from the novel of 'Eugénie Grandet,' by De Balzac. The title of the English version is 'Love and Avarice,'—the latter passion being the subject of especial development. The persons of the translation are all of English character:—Mr. H. Farren performs the part of the old miser, *Hoardall*, who lives in the country with his daughter *Jessie* (Miss Anderton)—and his housekeeper *Margaret* is played by Mrs. Bartlett. Their peculiar domestic arrangements are interfered with by the arrival of a visitor,—*Gaston Herbert* (Mr. Marston), the miser's nephew; who is equally surprised at his uncle's penuriousness and pleased with his cousin's beauty. He is surprised, too, at his father's having sent him on such a visit; but a letter explains the enigma, by declaring his parent's bankruptcy, and his intention to commit suicide unless he can raise 12,000*l.* *Jessie*, of course, comes to the rescue, and steals the required sum from her father's hoards. Suspicion is roused by this act, and much complication ensues;—but ultimately all is made clear enough, if not quite clear, and the lovers are united.

On Wednesday, Mr. Frederick Robinson, the rising young actor of Sadler's Wells, engaged the theatre for the evening,—and Sir Bulwer Lytton's play of 'Money' was performed. Mr. Robinson assumed the part of *Afred Evelyn*,—and never played to better advantage. His polite bearing and expressive action exactly fitted him for the character, while his youth and natural elegance added to its usual interest. In the more pathetic passages Mr. Robinson was frequently fine; and altogether he may be pronounced to have justified the claim implied in his having appeared on these West-end boards under exceptional conditions. The house was well attended; and at the fall of the curtain the plaudits in the actor's favour were "loud and long."

HAYMARKET.—On Saturday, the comedy of 'Married Life' was revived here,—and Mr. Buckstone was very rich in *Mr. Dove*. The humour literally "oozed out" at all the salient points of the character,—to the gratification of a full house.

MUSICAL AND DRAMATIC GOSSIP.—There is again a rumour of English Opera at Drury Lane,—to commence in October, to close in December,—in the establishment and arrangements connected with which Mr. Jarrett, the professor of the horn, is said to take a leading part.—It was strange (not to say decisive of the success of the enterprise) to hear, as we heard a few days since, that the work proposed for the opening of this English campaign has been 'The Prophet' or 'The Huguenots' of Meyerbeer.—Meanwhile, a version of the same composer's 'Robert' in English is advertised as drawing crowded houses at the Surrey Theatre.

At the state christening of H. R. H. Prince Leopold George Duncan Albert, on Monday evening last, a part of the service-music performed was a Psalm by His Majesty the King of Hanover.—A new Anthem composed by Signor Costa to

words selected by Mr. Bartholomew, was also performed in the chapel.

It is said, that Mr. H. Leslie, whose 'Festival Anthem' has been more than once commended in the *Athenæum*, has made considerable progress in an Oratorio, which may probably be produced during the next season's performances of the *Harmonic Union*.

Last week the epistolary communications betwixt the author of 'The Irish Melodies' and his publisher—so totally unconsidered, it would seem, by Moore's so-called biographer as if they could contain no matter of interest or importance—were referred to on the occasion of their being brought to sale by Messrs. Puttick & Simpson:—and elsewhere in our columns will be found further mention of them to-day. One of these gentlemen's recent catalogues, besides the engraved music plates for Moore's set of *Glees*—his two 'Evenings in Greece'—his 'Summer Fête'—his 'Legendary Ballads'—and his 'Vocal Miscellany,' vols. i. and ii.,—offered also a third unpublished volume for the same 'Vocal Miscellany,' and twenty-six unpublished songs by Moore, prepared for engraving, with accompaniments by Sir H. K. Bishop.—At the same sale to which this catalogue refers, the "literary and musical collections" of the late Mr. Richard Clark, "gentleman of H. M. Chapels Royal," were to be disposed of; also some relics, differing in the order of their preciousness,—the nature of which is a curious commentary on that odd thing called collection. One of these was—

Handel's Tuning Fork, giving the note A, very curious and interesting, not only from its connexion with the immortal composer, but as showing the rise in pitch since his time, amounting to nearly a whole tone. This tuning-fork sold for 2*l.* 12*s.* Such an implement suggests odd comparisons, present and past,—increased wonderment at our Zerris and De la Granges who manage to squeeze out an *F altissimo*, which of old times must have been almost a *G*,—increased respect for the bass gentry of other days who, in Purcell's Anthems and Mozart's 'Il Serraglio,' had to sing down to *D* below the octave, which, following the same law of changes, must have then been very near what would now be *C*! This pitch question is less simple a matter than old-fashioned folks imagine. Is it an ascertained fact, that metal retains its sonority from century to century without the slightest variation of tone?—But we must not get too far from Piccadilly. Another of Mr. Clark's treasures had a touch more of "Little Pedlington" in its curiosity than the Handel relic we allude to—

The Anvil and Hammer of Thomas Powell, with which he beat the accompaniment to the Air sung by the Blacksmith in the hearing of Handel, afterwards printed in the 'Suites de Pièces,' and subsequently called *The Harmonious Blacksmith*. Mounted on an oak block from a tree in Caenons Park, with brass plate having an engraved inscription.

—This anvil sold for 5*l.*—At the same sale, which included the musical possessions of the late Dean of Peterborough and Dr. Stokoe, a Straduarus violin brought the high price of 240*l.*

Madame Ronzi de Begnis has just died in Italy,—the journals state, aged fifty-two. So long does she seem in memory to have been on the stage, and so many years ago does she seem to have retired from it, that many like ourselves will have been unprepared to find her comparatively so young. The *début* of Madame Ronzi de Begnis is said by foreign journals to have taken place at Paris in 1819 as Rossini's *Rosina*. Her great beauty and archness established her as a favourite comic artist in England and France for some years. As time wore on, Madame Ronzi de Begnis took up more grave and pompous parts,—and for many seasons, if we mistake not, was *prima donna seria* in the great Italian Opera-houses. She returned to England some years ago, and, we think, sang once or twice for Mr. Bunn, in some of that gentleman's strangely-ordered opera speculations. But all charm of youth or voice had then passed away, and her appearance—or rather apparition—excited no interest.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.—J. M.—B. D. S.—A Subscriber of many Years.—J. F.—Miss C.—R. T.—received.

A STUDIOUS TRAVELLER.—The letter about the old Lewis-ham Library next week.

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