

tage. I do not, however, undertake to assert that this prohibition was then issued by the Church for the first time; but, certainly, the indocility and spirit of revolt which then appeared among the Laity,—the neglect of the Pastors to explain the Scriptures, and the contempt which the people began then to shew for their instructions, made it manifest that it had become unsafe to permit the people at large to read the Sacred Text; and consequently made it necessary for the Church to withhold from the Laity the perusal of it without the permission of their Pastors."

Thus far the venerable Prelate. I will observe, that the disorganizing tendency of the doctrines of the Waldenses and Albigenses, and their equal hostility both to the State and to the Church, are not always sufficiently attended to; and as these Sectaries propagated their doctrines, among the Laity, principally by a misapplication of the Sacred Text, the withholding of it from general perusal was an obvious remedy. If it be thought an extreme remedy, it should not be forgotten that the evil which it was intended to cure was also extreme.

Fenelon next proceeds to state the principal Councils, Synods, and Episcopal Ordinances, by which the general perusal of the Scriptures by the Laity was restricted. In a further part of his Letter, he enumerates several passages, both of the Old and New Testament, which are likely to be understood in a wrong sense by the ignorant or ill-disposed, and to be wrested by them, as he terms it after St. Paul, to their own perdition.—Hence Fenelon concludes, "that the Church acted wisely in withholding the Sacred Text from the rash criticisms of the vulgar." He says, that "before the people read the Gospel, they should be instructed respecting it; that they should be prepared for it by degrees, so that, when they come to read it, they should be qualified to understand it, and thus be full of its spirit before they are entrusted with its letter. The perusal of it should only be permitted to the simple, the docile, and the humble—to those who wish to nourish themselves with its divine truths in silence. It should never be committed to those who merely seek to satisfy their curiosity, to dispute, to dogmatize, or to criticize. In a word, it should be given to those only who, receiving it from

the hands of the Church, seek for nothing in it but the sense of the Church." This is, and ever has been, the doctrine of the Church. "Her discipline in this article," says Fenelon, in another part of his Letter, "has sometimes varied; her doctrine has ever been the same."

III. I shall proceed to state the *actual Dispositions of the Church of Rome on this important point of her Discipline*. For this purpose, I beg leave to copy what Mr. Alban Butler says, in his Sixth Letter on Mr. Archibald Bower's "History of the Popes."

"The people (these are his words) daily hear the Scriptures read and expounded to them, by their Pastors, and in good books. Even children have excellent abridgements of the Sacred History, adapted in the most easy and familiar manner to their capacity, put into their hands. The divine books themselves are open to all who understand Latin, or any other of the learned languages, in every Catholic country; and every one may read them in the vulgar languages, if he first ask the advice of his Confessor, who will only instruct him in what spirit he is to read them."

IV. From what I have said, it seems evident that the limitation with which the Roman Catholic Church allows the general body of the Laity to peruse the Scriptures in a vulgar tongue has not a very extensive operation; and I must observe, that some eminent Protestants so far agree with the Roman Catholic Church on this head, as to think that the indiscriminate perusal of the Scripture by the Laity is attended with bad consequences, and should therefore have some limitation.

1. For proof of this, I particularly refer you to the Treatise of Dr. Hare, a late Bishop of Chichester, "On the Difficulties which attend the Study of the Scriptures in the way of Private Judgment."

2. In respect to the Protestant practice of putting the Scriptures into the hands of Children in their tender years, Mr. Benjamin Martin, in his Preface to his "Introduction to the English Tongue," laments and censures the "putting of the Sacred Book into the hands of every bawling schoolmistress, and of thoughtless children, to be torn, trampled upon, and made the early object of their aversion, by being their most tedious task, and their punishment." He seems inclined to ascribe the growth

of irreligion, and the contempt of holy things, to this source.

3. Mr. Edmund Burke thus expresses himself in his "Speech on the Act of Uniformity :—"

"The Scripture (he says) is no one summary of Christian doctrine regularly digested, in which a man could not mistake his way; it is a most venerable, but most multifarious collection of the records of the Divine economy; a collection of an infinite variety of Cosmogony, Theology, History, Prophecy, Psalmody, Morality, Apologue, Allegory, Legislation, Ethicks, carried through different books, by different authors, at different ages, for different ends and purposes.

"It is necessary to sort out, what is intended for example, what only as a narrative; what to be understood literally, what figuratively; where one precept is to be controuled or modified by another; what is used directly, and what only as an argument *ad hominem*; what is temporary, and what of perpetual obligation; what appropriated to one state, and to one set of men, and what the general duty of all Christians. If we do not get some security for this, we not only permit, but we actually pay for all the dangerous fanaticism which can be produced to corrupt our people and to derange the public worship of the Country. We owe the best we can (not infallibility, but prudence) to the subjects; first, sound doctrine—then ability to use it."—Speech on the Act of Uniformity, Works of the Right Honourable Edmund Burke, vol. V. page 335.

4. I request your attention, in the last place, to that numerous portion of the Protestant Subscribers to the Bible Societies, which contends that the Bibles distributed should be accompanied with the Common Prayer Book, "as a safeguard," to use the expression of Dr. Herbert Marsh, (whose learning justly places him at the head of these gentlemen,) "against the misinterpretation of the Bible." Surely the Protestant who, by a general adoption of safeguards against the misinterpretation of the Scriptures, must admit such misinterpretation to be probable, cannot quarrel with the Roman Catholic for his cautionary preventatives of it.

V. This leads me to mention a strange opinion, which prevails much among Protestants, that it is *contrary to the General Principles of the Catholic religion to publish the Bible in a vulgar tongue, without Notes.*

To be convinced of the erroneousness of this opinion, it is only necessary to walk into the shops of the French Booksellers in this town, where several French Catholic versions of the New Testament, without any notes, are constantly on sale. I will refer you to six only of the most common of these versions.

The first is the version published by *Father Amelotte*, an Oratorian. It was originally published by him in 1666, in 4 vols. 8vo. with notes, principally relating to the literary difficulties of the text; but, soon after the publication of this edition, he published the version by itself, in one duodecimo volume. The approbations of several persons of high rank and authority in the Catholic Church are prefixed to it; a table of the Epistles and Gospels follows. At the top of each page of the Gospel, the age of Christ is mentioned; and small asterisks are sometimes introduced, to shew where the text of the Vulgate introduces words which are not in the original. But it contains no note; it does not even contain summaries of the contents of the chapters. The edition before me is of the year 1683.

2dly. The next edition is that of *Mons.*, by the gentlemen of Port Royal, originally published with notes; but repeatedly published without them.

3dly. To these, *Father Bouhours*, a Jesuit, opposed his version. It has passed through various editions; and has neither comment nor note.

4thly. Neither the translation of *Mons.* nor that of *Father Bouhours*, was so current as *Amelotte's*; but *Amelotte's* was greatly superseded by "*Le Manuel Chretien.*" This publication contains, in one small cheap octavo, the Psalms, all the New Testament, the Imitation of Christ, and the Ordinary of the Mass, in the French language, without a single note. It is the version of the New Testament generally used by the French Laity.

5thly. Among persons of liberal education, *M. de Sacy's* version is in request. The original edition, and many of the subsequent editions, are accompanied by copious annotations; but many (some of which are noticed by *Le Long*) have been published without them.

6thly.

6thly. Among the versions without notes, I must contend that the *versions of our Missal* into the vulgar tongue should have a place. Our Missal, which in this instance has been followed by the Common Prayer Book, contains so much of the Gospels as gives the heads of the history and doctrine of Christ. The versions of it are numerous, and many of them have no notes.

7thly. I must add, that *no Syriac, no Armenian, no Æthiopic, no Arabic version of the Bible has any notes*; yet those are the vulgar tongues of large portions of the world.

I beg, however, not to be misunderstood. While I mention the multitude of Roman Catholic Bibles and versions of Bibles without notes, I admit, most unequivocally, that it is the acknowledged right of our Church and her Pastors to direct when, where, and what notes should accompany them. But I must think that the various instances in which I shew that they have been published without notes, prove incontrovertibly how unjustly we are charged with admitting it, as a principle of our religion, that the versions of the Bible into a vulgar tongue should not be published without them.

VI. I shall now cite a few *miscellaneous facts, to shew how much the Church of Rome has at all times desired to promote the general circulation and perusal of the Sacred Writings, both in the original language, and in Translations from it.*

1. To begin with the *Practice of the Church in the Middle Ages*, I refer you to the second part of Dr. Hody's "*Historia Scholastica Textus Versionumque Græcæ et Vulgatæ.*" It is impossible to peruse it, without acknowledging it to prove beyond controversy, that there never was a time, even in the darkest ages, when the study of the Scriptures, and that, too, in their original languages, was not cultivated and encouraged by the Roman-Catholic Clergy. In our own country, the works of the Venerable Bede, of Holy Robert of Lincoln, and of Roger Bacon, shew how much Biblical learning was cultivated and encouraged in those days.

2. Every candid scholar must surely own it to be principally owing to the labours of the Monks of the Middle Ages, that we are now in pos-

session of the Sacred Writings. This will appear clear to every one who peruses the Tenth Chapter of Mr. Lingard's invaluable "*Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church,*" and the Fourth Chapter of the Third Book of Dr. Henry's History of Britain. Gerhardus Tyschen, Professor of Philosophy and Oriental Literature in the United Universities of Butzow and Rostock, in his "*Tentamen de variis Codicibus Hebræorum Veteris Testamenti MSS. Rostochii, 1772,*" expresses himself in terms of astonishment at the labours of the Monks in the transcription of the Sacred Writings; and the singular felicity of their execution. "I am sensible (he says) that it is the general opinion that the study of the fine arts was buried during the middle ages. It is, however, certain, that while Literature was crushed every where else, she found a refuge in Monasteries." He particularly mentions how much the inhabitants of those pious abodes studied the Hebrew language; and how many of them were employed in transcribing Hebrew manuscripts. He says, that Calligraphy arrived in them at its summit of excellence; the beauty of their transcriptions, he remarks, is such as could not have been attained, unless they possessed some art of fixing the forms of written letters, to which we are strangers.

3. The typographic art was no sooner discovered, than the *Catholic presses* were employed in printing, in every size, from the folio to the twenty-fourth, the Old and New Testament, or particular parts of them, in the Hebrew and Greek originals, and the Latin Translations.

4. Every Catholic acknowledges with readiness the transcendent merit of the London *Polyglott*; and every candid Protestant should admit with equal readiness, that the London *Polyglott* was preceded by the Catholic *Polyglotts* of Complutum, Antwerp, and Paris; and that without them the London *Polyglott* would not have existed.

5. Many examples shew, that when any Nation has been converted or recalled to the Catholic religion, the Church of Rome has been careful to supply it with a Translation of the Scriptures in its vernacular language. The numberless Translations of the whole Scriptures, or of different parts of

of them, into the *Latin*, which was once the language of the whole Western Empire, are well known. So early as the fourth century, St. Augustin observed, that "the number of those who had translated the Scriptures from the Hebrew into the Greek might be computed; but that the number of those who had translated the Greek into the Latin could not: for that, immediately on the introduction of Christianity, if a person got possession of a Greek manuscript, and thought he had any knowledge of the two languages, he set about translating the Scriptures."

6. The *Peshito*, or *Sincere* version of the Four Gospels into *Syriac*, was certainly made before the Fourth; and there are circumstances which render it probable that it was made at the end of the First, or the beginning of the Second, Century. In 1552, the Maronite Christians having, under the direction of Ignatius their Patriarch, sent Moses of Marden to Pope Julius the Third, to acknowledge the supremacy of the See of Rome, and to be received into his communion; the Emperor Ferdinand caused a new edition of this version to be printed at his own expence at Vienna, and transmitted to Syria.

7. In 1548, there appearing to be an opening for the introduction of Christianity into *Æthiopia*, Pope Paul the Third caused an *Æthiopic* version of the New Testament to be published at Rome for the use of the new *Æthiopic* Christians.

8. An *Arabic* version of the whole Bible was published at Rome in 1591; and in 1671, the Congregation at Rome *de Propagandâ fide*, published, for the use of the Arabic Christians in communion with her, an Arabic version of the whole Bible, in three volumes folio, under the direction of Sergius Risius, Bishop of Damascus. We are informed by Abbas Nazarias, in his *Diarium Eruditum*, that it was the labour of 46 years. With the same beneficent view, an Arabic version of the Four Gospels was printed in 1591, at the *Médicæan* press in Rome.

9. The extreme difficulty of acquiring even a slight knowledge of the *Chinese* language; the small number of those who can but imperfectly read it, and the immense expence attending the printing of the smallest work

in it, prevented the Catholic missionaries from publishing any version of the Scripture in that language. It was, however, their wish to do it when such a version should be generally useful; and when the means of printing and publishing it should be in their power. With this view the Jesuits prepared a *Harmony* of the Four Gospels in the *Chinese* language; it is preserved in the British Museum. The British and Foreign Bible Society mention this circumstance in the First Report of their proceedings, and commend the elegance of the version.

VII. I shall now notice a charge often brought against the Catholics—that they were forced against their will to print versions, in vernacular languages, of the Sacred Text, in consequence of the effects produced by the versions made in those languages by the Protestants.

For this charge there is no foundation.

1. The earliest printed Protestant version is that, in the *German* language, by Martin Luther. The New Testament of that version was printed in 1522; the Old in 1530.

It had been preceded, first, by Fust's celebrated Bible, printed at Mentz in 1462; secondly, by Bemer's, printed at Augsburg in 1467; and, thirdly, by the four versions mentioned by Beausobre (*Hist. de la Réformation*, Liv. 4).

2. The earliest printed *French* Protestant version is that of Olivetan, assisted by Calvin. It contains the whole Bible, and was finished in 1537; the year 1535 (which is the date mentioned in the title-page) being the year in which it was first committed to the press.

This version had been preceded, first, by the French version of the New Testament, by Julian, an Augustinian monk, printed in 1477; secondly, by the French version of the whole Bible, by Guyards des Moulins, printed in 1490; and, thirdly, by that of Estaples, the New Testament of whose version was printed in 1523, and the Old in 1528. The last of these editions was particularly used by Olivetan.

3. The earliest printed *Italian* Protestant version appeared in 1562.

It had been preceded, first, by Malermi's, printed in 1471; and, secondly, by Bruccioli's, in 1532, which last version

version the Protestant Translator generally followed.

4. The first printed Protestant *Belgic* version was made from Luther's, and appeared in 1527.

It had been preceded by a version of the Four Gospels, printed in 1472; and by one of the whole Bible, printed at Cologne in 1475; at Delft in 1477; at Gouda in 1479; and both at Antwerp and Louvain in 1513.

It is needless to extend these enquiries.

VIII. I shall close this letter, already too long, by *some account of the English Catholic versions of the Bible.*

1. An *English* version of the New Testament was printed in 1582, in one volume quarto, by the Clergy of the English College, first established at Doway, but then removed to Rheims. Their translation of the Old Testament was published at Doway (to which town the College had then returned), in two volumes quarto, in the years 1609 and 1610.

2. The *Rhemish* version of the New Testament, but with some variation, both in the text and notes, was reprinted at Douay in 1600. The version of the New Testament was often reprinted. In 1738 it was beautifully printed in London, in one volume folio; and in the title-page is called the Fifth Edition.

3. In 1780 an English Translation of the New Testament, but on the ground-work of the *Rhemish* and *Douay* version, was published, at Douay, by *Dr. Witham*, the President of the English College in that town, with many concise and useful notes.

4. In 1749-50 a new edition, both of the Old and New Testament, with some alteration in the text, and much in the notes, was published from this version, by *Dr. Challoner*, in 5 vols. 8vo. The New Testament of that edition has been often reprinted; but it is asserted that the editions subsequent to that of 1749 are incorrect, and that the edition of 1749 is to be preferred to any of them.

It is much to be desired that we had a good literary history of the English versions of the Bible by the Roman-Catholics; and of the controversies to which they have given rise. The account given of them by Mr. Lewis, in his "*History of the Trans-*

lations of the Holy Bible and New Testament into English," is very imperfect, and written with an evident prejudice against the Catholic religion.

5. Two editions of the Catholic version of the whole Bible, in folio, and one of *Dr. Challoner's* version of the New Testament, in octavo, are now in the press. A stereotype edition also of the latter, in octavo (in which cheapness has been particularly consulted), will soon make its appearance.

It is highly probable that, with more time for the inquiry, and (I should certainly add) with more knowledge of the subject, many other instances of the zeal of the Catholic Church to spread the Sacred Writings might be collected. But surely those which I have mentioned abundantly shew that it has always been her wish that the Sacred Volumes should be circulated in every country into which the Christian religion has penetrated; and that the charge made against her of withholding the Bible from her flock, has, to say no more, been unmercifully exaggerated. The exaggeration has been carried so far, as to have made it nearly the universal belief of Protestants, that withholding the Bible from the general body is the rule, and the liberty to read it the exception; whereas it is much nearer the truth to say, that the withholding of it is the exception, and the liberty the rule. Yours, &c. C. B.

Mr. URBAN,

Jan. 18.

IT is not any narrow view of civil society, any bigoted attachment to any thing which has existed, merely because it has been sanctioned by Time, which can support itself in these days of bold inquiry and philosophic light. That which was proper for one stage of national progress to wealth, glory, and greatness, may be unsuited to another. Evils gradually cease with their causes; and imperceptibly change their course, when the disadvantage of the accustomed channel is greater than the good.

It is thus, I presume, that we are to console ourselves, while looking closely at the violent changes which have taken place in the internal structure and combination of ranks in old England within the present reign. We know well enough that social institutions

tions are not made for the happiness of one or two classes, but of the whole. The convulsions of the world have shaken to pieces, and huddled together, all minor partitions; and have left no traces of them in minds not exquisitely formed—such as those which, when the pressure is removed, can shew the original images in all their freshness.

Among the many great and enviable advantages of a popular government, like that of this Country, are some difficulties which are in constant operation. A Minister must too often resort to temporary expedients. A thousand engines of intrigue and corruption are at work; and he can neither have the sagacity to foresee, nor the fortitude to resist, the tendency of each. The wheels of administration, clogged with multiplied and indescribable obstacles during the last eventful period of twenty years, have driven too many of our rulers to leave remote and contingent evils to themselves!

During this sad period, the race of Country Gentlemen has—I will not say become absolutely extinguished, but has approximated to the verge of extinction. If this class have not formed an useful link in society; if they have not contributed widely to the happiness of others, and those a most important branch of the national strength,—then, perhaps, their extinction ought to excite no long and serious regret. But I am indubitably convinced that all the peasantry—all the agricultural classes of the lower orders, that first and best source of national power, feel it in the loss of comforts, morals, gentleness, loyalty, and patriotism!

I do not blame the rich Farmer! I do not expect that he will be without education that which nothing but education can make him! I do not expect that, with intellects bent from boyhood to look upon the earth, and all around him in his employ, solely with a view to his own selfish profit, he should be impressed with the relative demands of complicated interests! that custom—that the impulse of sentiments treasured up in youth, and daily renewed by conversation or reading, or both, should do no more for the man of more liberal birth and independence, than Nature, narrowed by a vulgar occupation, does for him!

“If we admit these facts, and their consequences,” it may be asked, “who is to blame for the cause?” Perhaps they may arise partly out of events beyond the controul of a single kingdom; out of the dreadful convulsions on the Continent; out of the financial difficulties we have undergone; out of the very glut of Commerce, which has flowed in upon us as the only safe depository of its stores! Hence the cunning and successful application of a paper currency! Hence stock-jobbers, loan-jobbers, contractors, and enormous sudden wealth!

All these things may happen without any fault in our rulers! They may be necessary evils connected with a preponderating good; and such, I presume, they have been considered. But I am by no means convinced that we could not have had all the beneficial effects, without quite as much of the ill. Mr. Pitt was a great Minister; great in intellect, and patriotic in intention; but even in Mr. Pitt’s mind there were strange prejudices and weaknesses, which I think still pervade almost all of his school. Mr. Pitt came too early into the fullest employment of public life to have laid up a deep store of digested wisdom. There were certain opinions, which he seems to have inherited from his Father, not equally suitable to his own times; but which he had never leisure enough so to examine, as to see their fallacy, and throw them off. When Lord Chatham emerged into public life, the boldness of his aspiring mind induced him to attack, overcome, and trample under foot those great family cabals which governed parties, and which stood in the way of his solitary interest. Hence there grew in him an inveterate scorn for the hereditary predominance of an established aristocracy. “Give me,” he cried, “the man who is fittest for my purpose! I care not for his education, his birth, or his fortune!”

That this was the principle, sentiment, and rule of conduct with the Son, will scarcely be denied. If strictly and justly applied, I do not deny its rectitude; but the danger lies in the application. The temptations to the abuse of this principle are, alas! constant and frightful; and I reluctantly express my conviction that Mr. Pitt himself, wise as he was, continually fell into the snare, of which the whole system

system of our domestic society will long feel the effects! Many of the arrangements, and even some of what are called the prejudices of civil life, are but aids to the human understanding, which the combined experience of ages has formed. There is a little too much presumption in any man who trusts too much to his own unassisted judgment on first appearances in the human character. "To take the fittest man for your purpose," is right; but the question is, "who is fittest?" A cunning man, without education, who is practised in the world, may often appear fitter for some important business than an educated man of talent, because he is readier; but cunning and readiness are not wisdom, as Mr. Pitt often found out in his instruments, alas! too late.

The advantages of Commerce are great; but Mr. Pitt over-estimated them, and consequently the importance of that class who are engaged in it. He came into power on the shoulders of the East India Company, who always retained too great an influence over his mind. He was the god of the City; and the City and Stock Exchange were his gods in return. He considered a Coronet a feather, which was light payment for any favour, without caring on whose head it fell. The House of Lords he nearly, if not quite, doubled; taking out of the other House almost all the large landed property.

When a Coronet became thus cheap, a Baronetage sunk into perfect insignificance. Then it fell in profusion on Citizens, East-Indians, Placemen, and small Country-gentlemen, of new families, or sudden fortunes. Society was turned upside-down; and the mud came uppermost! Superficial thinkers laughed at these things; more especially while they heard the roar of the great game which was playing on the Continent. They were comparative trifles; but, if we should survive the shock of that great game, they were not likely to continue trifles hereafter. Why, so plentiful has been this work, that men as new as the revolutionists of France are considered here as already grey in their honours! They have taken place of the old Country Gentlemen in almost every County in England, and shoved them into insignificance. A. F. A.

(To be continued.)

Mr. URBAN, *East Retford, Nov. 3.*

IN your last Volume, Part II. p. 308, is given, from a book printed in 1599, "*A Licence for a Man to kepe on his Cappe.*" The same form of licence occurs in a volume in my possession, printed by Tottell in 1576, intituled, "*A Booke of Presidents exactly wrytten in Maner of a Register, newlye corrected, with additions of diuers necessary Presidents, meete for al suche as desire to learn the Fourme and Maner howe to make al Maner of Euidences and Instrumentes, as in the Table of this Booke more playnlye appeareth.*" The person licensed is designated by the same initials [T. M.], and the date is the same [20th May, in the 36th year of our Reigu]; but the spelling is more antient, and there is a slight transposition of the words. I take it for granted, by this Form of Licence being inserted in this *Book of Presidents*, that it was a licence in common use, and not specially granted to any favourite or sect. But the reason of my thus addressing you is not to make comments on the above instrument; but to ask any of your Correspondents, skilled in the games and sports of our ancestors, what they understand by the "*Game of Closing.*" for I am at a loss to know the import of a Royal Licence to use *that* game which is contained in Tottell's Book, p. 121, in these words—

"A Licence to use the Game of Closing.

"Henry the Eight, &c. To the Maior, Shiriffes, and Aldermen of our City of Londo' y^e now be, and y^e hereafter for y^e time shal be, and to al other our officers, ministers, and subjects, these our Letters hearing or seeing, greeting. We let you wit y^e wee of our special grace haue lice'ced, and by these presents do lice'ce our wel-beloued R. P. and hys deputy or assignes, to kepe in any place w^hin oure City of Londo' and y^e suburbs of the same fro' henceforth from time to time during his life onely for *Ale* and *Bere*, and no Money, y^e game of Closing, for y^e disporte and recreatio' of honest p'so's resorting thither, all maner pre'tices and vacabo'ds only except, without any damage, penalty, da'ger, losse, or forfeiture to ensue, either of the said R. his said deputy or assigne, or to the said p'sons, or any of the' in this behalfe. Any Act, Statut, or Ordinance heretofore had or made to y^e contrary hereof notwithstanding. Wherefore we wil and co'mau'd you and euerye of you to p'mit and suffer the said R. his said deputy or assigne,

signe, to use and enjoy the whole effects of this our licence, without any your let or interruption, as ye tender our pleasure, and wil avoide the contrary.— Given &c."

Yours, &c.

JOHN HOLMES.

P. S. It came across my thoughts, at first, that *wrestling* might be meant by the game of *closing*; but I have since abandoned the notion, for the language of the Licence does not support it; and that science was confined to the lowest orders of society, and was certainly practised without waiting for permission from the governing powers.

J. H.

MR. URBAN,

Jan. 3.

JUST as I was about to transmit to you a brief statement of the Causes of the Rarity of Books, your number for December came to my hands, containing a further Attack upon the Bibliomaniacs; and an explicit dissent signed (I. K. p. 544) from the opinion which I had ventured to advance respecting the *usefulness* of their labours.

The *plaints* of "a Book-worm" (as expressed in the same page, 544) excited by the proceedings of the Bibliomaniacs, and of their great champion Mr. Dibdin, are certainly very amusing, though not much to the purpose of argument.

If I could be persuaded to grant to I. K. the data he has assumed, I should consider it as inconsistent with that respect I feel for truth to controvert his doctrine, as well as a great pity to disturb his neighbour by interrupting him amidst his silent enjoyments.

But, on the contrary, it would be an act of injustice to our cause, if I did not take upon myself most unequivocally to deny the assumptions upon which I. K.'s objections to our proceedings are founded; *viz.* that "If an old work be truly valuable, it will not be necessary to search monasteries, dive into vaults, pore over book stalls, or grub up all the trash (as he is pleased to call it) which has been consigned to the silence of centuries," &c.

Without anticipating what I mean to say upon the Causes of Rarity, I will briefly observe, that this assumption implies, first, that mankind have at all times been well and impartially

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disposed to do justice to literary merit as soon as it presented itself to view; and, secondly, that there are *not* a multitude of circumstances which have thrown, and may again throw, and keep in the back ground, books which are yet highly meritorious and well worth preserving, and the value of which has been, and may again be, recognised and established many years after their publication, and when they are almost forgotten.

Neither of these propositions are, I contend, correct.

It would needlessly load your pages were I here to give, in corroboration of my assertion, a large list of antient and good Authors, whose works have been long and culpably neglected; while parts, and even the whole of some of them, have been unfairly, and often very incorrectly, transferred into more portable, and (certainly, to those who are unable to read the black letter) more legible volumes. I will, however, instance one, and only one, of long-neglected volumes; a book of such great merit and authority as will, I humbly presume, entitle it to stand for all the rest, and thus settle the question.

That volume, is no other than the Holy Scriptures, which, its history informs us, has twice narrowly and most providentially escaped extinction, when in apparent danger thereof through *mere neglect*; and once even since the invention of printing: for this *best of books* was certainly not the *first fruit* of the labours of the press.

I take for granted it will not be contended that want of merit cast *this book* into the shade; or that the copy of the New Testament in Greek which Erasmus with such *difficulty* procured, or that copy of both the Testaments which Luther found *covered with dust* in the Monastery of Wittemberg, had been justly "*consigned to the silence of centuries*;" or properly placed "*on the shelf, neglected and forlorn*."

I by no means intend to draw disproportionate comparisons; but my argument is from the greater to the less: that if mankind could, during 14 centuries, suffer this universally important volume to decline in reputation and in use, popularity can be no test of merit; and it is not unfair

to

to infer, what facts have often proved, that many good and useful, or curious books, may get out of use, or out of fashion, and thus become rare; and that such works may, with propriety, be permitted to have a second day, and pass again before the public eye.

And why should not the honest zeal of the Antiquary, who draws them forth from their concealment, be recompensed quite as well as the exertions of the less honourable Plagiarist, who has sometimes decked himself in the brilliant feathers which he has borrowed from them, and fluttered away for his day, *plumed with the wisdom of Antiquity?*

Let me now proceed to specify what appear to me to have been the Causes of the Rarity of some Printed Books; observing,—First, that those causes are, for the greater part, quite distinct from any expression, the result of sufficient and mature investigation, of the public opinion as to the merits of those books, and—Secondly, that it is impossible, owing to the nature of the printing business, that the supply of books, excepting only those which are of low price, and in general use, can keep exact pace with the demand for them. By far the most numerous class of books is that which is adapted exclusively to the use of Students in different departments of Science, and of any of which a single edition supplies the slowly progressive demand of nearly half a century:—when such an edition is sold, and, perhaps, several of the copies worn out, a man may wait for years, sometimes half his life, before a single copy appears in the market, to be picked up at a moderate price; unless, which will rarely happen, such a demand for the book should suddenly arise as will justify the publication of a new edition.

The Causes of Rarity appear to me to have been, *decay; waste; smallness of impression; persecution; and the ephemeral nature or flimsy quality of some publications.*

The mere *lapse of time*, in connexion with the various *accidents*, from fire, damp, and worms, to which Paper, the frail material of books, is exposed, is the first, and there can be little doubt that it has been the most extensively operative, cause of their rarity. Indeed, had

not the first specimens of printing been executed on a paper much superior in texture to that in modern use, and had not the binding been, as it literally was, of *boards* united with strong ligatures of skin, it would be difficult to imagine how so many perfect volumes could have survived the use and abuse of between three and four centuries.

But some books have, no doubt, sunk into total disuse, owing to their *real* or *supposed* want of merit, or owing to their having been supplanted by others cheaper or more compact in their form, or in some way or other considered to be better adapted to general use. Others have been imperfectly by the frequent and careless use of them. And of both these descriptions such multitudes have been from time to time wasted, as unworthy of being preserved, that in some cases it is scarcely, if at all, practicable now to procure a copy. As an instance of disuse, I will mention, that Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy, a Treatise, to the best of my recollection, highly spoken of by Dr. Johnson, and brought again into notice by him, and which has been lately re-printed, was for many years a waste-paper book.

Another cause of rarity has been the *smallness of the number printed*; or, as it is called, *of the impressions*; of some works, owing to their abstruse nature, the limited demand for them, or the policy or timidity of the Publisher. Under this description I reckon Chauncey's Hertfordshire, Hickeys's Thesaurus, &c. &c.

A fourth and very pregnant cause of rarity has been, the *persecution, religious or political*, to which particular books have been exposed; such, for instance, as the first edition of Tindal's Testament in English, which was seized, or, as some say, bought up, and burnt at Paul's Cross by the then Bishop of London. Also, all those political or controversial tracts which have been at different times condemned to destruction by the Government, or by opposite prevailing parties in the State. Such, for instance, as Algernon Sidney's Discourse on Government, and some writings of Stubbe, Prynne, Bastwick, Leighton, Milton, Toland, and others. I suppose Mr. Dibdin will add to his new edition of Ames's Typographical Antiquities, a good English Index Expurgatorius.

purgatorius. A large collection of such pieces is, I believe, to be seen in the British Museum, containing many uniques. This cause of rarity has had considerable effect upon Legendaries, Processionals, Missals, and other Popish books, which were very properly thrown into the shade by the Reformation of Religion. Of the Legend of the Saxon Saints, though, maugre all its heap of wonders, it is, with respect to several persons and facts of that time, our *only* historical document, I never remember to have seen more than one complete copy, and that is contained in a thick folio volume in the Bodleian Library. Yet Processionals, Missals, and Legends, were once the most common of books; "The Golden Legend" was particularly so. Cave mentions a great number of editions printed in the infancy of the art. It was the Bible of the Romish Church, and every Parish was compelled by law to have one. (See the 4th Section of Archbishop Winchelsey's Constitutions at Merton, A. D. 1250.) In the course of 20 years, I have been able to collect but three copies of this book. One of these, in English, has been *suffered* to survive, after having had the word *Pope* carefully erased throughout the volume; and the Legend of St. Thomas of Canterbury (Archbishop Becket) purposely torn out, in consequence, perhaps, of the Act of Parliament declaring Becket to have been a traitor, which was followed by an order from king Henry VIII. to usher in his bones at Canterbury, and burn them. My other Legends are both in Latin; dates 1485 and 1496; one of them has, also, lost the life of Becket.

Another instance of a book made rare by persecution, may be found in a small volume, about three inches long and two broad, intitled, "A spiritual and most precious Perle, teaching all men to love and embrace the crosse as a most swete and necessary thing unto the soule, Wrytten for the comfort, by a learned Preacher, OTHO VVERMVLLEVS. and translated into English by M. Miles Coverdale." The diminutive size of this book fitted it to be carried secretly about the persons of Protestants, in the persecuting days of bloody Queen Mary. I suspect some error in the date (1550) assigned to the first English edition of this book, because it is

three years before the death of Edward the Sixth. This book is re-printing, after a lapse of two centuries and a half. It is a religious tract of intrinsic value, independently of the peculiar interest which it derives from the circumstance of its having been the bosom friend and spiritual instructor of the poor persecuted Protestants, at a time when Bibles were *not suffered to be read* in England.

The remaining causes of rarity which occur to me are, the *ephemeral nature and flimsy quality of some publications*, chiefly relating to current transactions, and often consisting only of thin pamphlets, or single sheets or half sheets of paper; such as printed notices about sales of property, papers respecting local events, and even hand-bills and ballads. Of the latter, it may be recollected, there was a curious collection in the Roxburghe Library, which sold for a large sum of money. I have by me a thin folio volume of hand-bills, and other small papers, respecting the *Revolution*, which were printed in different places before and after the landing of King William III.; it contains several very important historical documents relative to that almost miraculous transaction. Another folio volume, of the original Spectators, with the advertisements, each number printed on a half-sheet of foolscap, and defective in about 70 or 80 of the first 100 papers, is now somewhat of a rarity. It appears from this collection that the Stamp-duty commenced August 2, 1712. Steele, in his concluding number, 555, says the Stamp-duty of a halfpenny *reduced his sale to somewhat less than one half the number sold before the Tax was laid*. This may serve as a useful hint to those persons who talk of encouraging Literature by imposing a tax of eleven copies upon every first impression of a work, be it great or small.

Volumes of electioneering placards, &c. though printed within these 50 years, are rare, because all publications relating to local disputes and temporary occurrences soon disappear, and formerly there were few collectors; yet are such collections not uninteresting—even those who have wasted them would afterwards be glad to recall them. As memoranda, they may be very useful to the Topographer and Historian.

Old newspapers are rare from this cause, viz. that the collectors of them have been few; but they are not the less valuable. A number either of the Halfpenny or the Farthing Post, both printed in 1740, is now a very great rarity. All the newspapers printed during the Civil Wars fetch a very high price.

Collecting and arranging rare books and papers of the above descriptions has, I know not for what reason, been ridiculed as a puerile employment. But, if it is recollected that persons whose rank in society places them above those occupations which fill up the time of the trading and labouring classes, for that very reason stand in need of some pleasant pursuits to employ their leisure, and that the want of suitable employment may not improbably have been the cause of their having bestowed their countenance upon such recreations as fighting cocks, baiting bulls, running blood-horses, or betting upon boxing-matches; surely whatever diverts from these, and connects them with Literature by making it an amusement, can incur no just censure. Nor would it be possible, I presume, to prove that their encouraging those who assist them in such pursuits, by purchasing at a liberal price when they can afford it, is at all detrimental to the morals or interests of society.

If any further apology were wanting for the practice of collecting rare books and papers, I should observe, that their value rises as time advances. This, in a calculating commercial country, like England, might be urged as the *argumentum ad hominem*. But, besides this, and independently of any individual merit which might make them popular, they throw peculiar light upon general and local history, and upon the customs, arts, manufactures, and language, of past times. Hence they claim, with great propriety, a place in the most respectable Libraries.

The study of rare books has been much facilitated by the writers on Bibliography; and the time spent in this study ought not to be set down amongst the hours of life which have been altogether thrown away. Almost all books (those which are rare certainly not to be excepted because they are so) suggest matter for rational conversation, and interesting discussion; and not unfrequently call up in-

cidentally some great and instructive theme, at a time when the introduction of such a subject of discourse would otherwise be impracticable.

A. C.

Dec. 9.

Mr. URBAN,

MAY I request some particulars regarding Admiral Hosier, the hero of Porto-bello, and an answer to the question, if he was ever married or not? To an indifferent Reader, acquainted with Glover's inimitable Ballad of "Hosier's Ghost," which speaks more than a thousand paucyrics on the disappointed Admiral, some account of him, and even of his family, may not be wholly uninteresting; but you will allow it to be far more so to one who fancies himself a distant relation of the Hosier family.

Apropos! Every hint relative to "Junius" may be useful in leading to an ultimate discovery of their Author. Being in company last year (Sept. 1812) with a Gentleman in the West of England, who was shortly afterwards chosen a Representative of a Borough in Parliament, and the conversation turning on Junius's Letters, he stated that the Author's name was no secret among the Members of the Whig Club. My eagerness to become as wise as my neighbours was, however, damped, by the further assurance, that it was not prudent to reveal the same; and I can only submit it, therefore, to the generosity of any of the Members of the said Club, to satisfy the curiosity of their less illumined brethren voluntarily.

Another *apropos!* Have any of your Readers, acquainted with German Literature, been able to peruse the short introduction to Lord Byron's *Bride of Abydos*, without being forcibly reminded of Göthe's Song:

"*Kennt ihr das Land wo die Citronen blühen?*" &c. &c.

in his interesting Novel, intitled, *Wilhelm Meister's Lehrjahre*? Much has been said of the accidental coincidence in ideas, observable in the works of Poets of different countries; but that a German and English Poet should not only adopt the same thoughts, but even the very same expressions, in allusion to the same object, without one being an imitator of the other; this, Mr. Urban, in the language particularly familiar to our countryman, *ας διν αινας καθ' ελας αδυναλον, περιπα να μας φανιλει πολλω παραξενον*.

T. FARQUHAR.

FRAGMENTS

Fragments of Literature.

No. VI.

"A compendious or briefe Examination of certayne ordinary Complaints of divers of our Countrymen in these our dayes, which although they are in some part unjust and frivolous, yet are they all by way of Dialogues thoroughly debated and discussed. By W. S. Gentleman." 4to. Lond. 1581.

The Dialogue in this Work is between a Knight, a Merchant-man, a Doctor, a Husbandman, and a Craftsman: from the observations of all whom many curious traits of antient manners may be gleaned. The following, selected from fol. 5, is "The Gentleman's Complaint how he cannot keep like countenance as he was wont to do."

Knight. "Syr, as I knowe it is true that yee complaine not without cause, so it is as true that I and my sorte (I meane all Gentlemen) have as great, yea and farre greater, cause to complayne than any of you have, (for as I said) now that the pryces of thinges are rysen, of al handes, you may better lyve after your degree then we, for you may and doe rayse the pryce of your wares, as the price of vittayles, and other your necessities doe ryse, and so cannot we so much, for though it bee true that of such Landes as come to our handes either by purchase, or by determination, and ending of such termes of years, or other Estates, that I or mine auncestors had graunted them in time past, I doe eyther receive a better fine then of old time was used, or enhaunse the rent thereof, being forced thereto for the charge of my householde that is so encreased over that it was; yet in all my lyfe time, I looke not that the thyrd parte of my lande shal come to my disposition, that I may enhaunse the rente of the same, but it shalbe in men's holding either by leases or by copy graunted before my time, and still continuing, and yet lyke to continue in the same state for the most parte during my lyfe, and percase my Sonnes: so as we cannot raise all our wares as you may yours, and as me thinketh it were reason we did, and by reason that we cannot, so many of us (as yee know) that have departed out of the country of late, have ben dryven to geve over our houtholdes, and to keep either a Chamber in London, or to wayt on the Court uncalled, with a Man and a Lackey after him: where bee was wonte to keepe halfe a score of cleane men in his house, and xx or xxliii other persons besides every day in the

weeke. And such of us as do abyde in the country still, cannot with two hundredth a yere kepe that house that wee might have done with cc. markes but xvi. yeares past. And therefore we are forced either to minishe the thirde part of our houtholde, or to raise the third parte of our revenues; and for that we cannot so doe of our own landes that is alreadye in the handes of other men, many of us are enforced eyther to keepe pieces of our Landes when they fall in our owne possession, or to purchase some Fearme of other mens landes, and to store it with Sheepe or some other Cattell, to helpe to make up the decay of our revenewes, and to maintayne our old estate withall, and yet is little inough."

Fol. 11. b.—"I have seene a Cap for xliiii. pence as good as I can now get for ii shillinges six pence: of cloth yee have heard how the pryce is risen. Now a payre of shooes coste twelve pence, yet in my time I have bought a better for sixe pence. Nowe I can get never a horse shood under ten pence or twelve pence, where I have also seene the common pryce was syxe pence."

In folio 26 the author tells us:

"Once a Bookseller made mee when I asked him why we had not white and browne paper made within the Realm as well as they had made beyonde Sea: then hee answered mee that there was paper made a while within the realm: at the last the man perceived that made it that he could not aforde his paper as good cheape as it came from beyonde the sea, and so he was forced to lay downe making of paper; and no blame in the man, for men will geve never the more for his paper because it was made here. But I would eyther have the paper stayed from coming in, or so burdened with custome, that by that time it came hether, our men myght aforde theyr paper better cheape then strangers myght do theirs, the customes considered."

"Catalogus Universalis Librorum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana omnium Librorum, Linguarum, & Scientiarum genere referatissimè, sic compositus, ut non solum publicis per Europam Universam Bibliothecis, sed etiam privatis Museis, aliisque ad Catalogum Librorum conficiendum usui esse possit. Accessit Appendix Librorum, qui vel ex munificentia aliorum, vel ex censibus Bibliothecæ, recens allati sunt; auctore THOMÆ JAMES, S. Th. Doctore, ac nuper Proto-Bibliothecario Oxoniensi." 4to. Oxon. 1620.

This

This is the second Edition of the Bodleian Catalogue. The first appeared in 1605. The third came out in folio in 1674; and the last Edition, in two Volumes folio, made its appearance in 1738. All printed at Oxford.

The singularity which marks the Catalogue of which the title is above quoted, is contained in Dr. James's *Proœmium*.

"Cum in hoc Catalogo, adeoque in ipsa Bibliotheca, Libri habeantur perfecti ab damnatæ memoriæ Auctoribus, partim hæreticis, partim schismaticis, aliisque ejusdem generis: sciant neque fas, neque licitum esse unicuique eosdem lectitare, nedum legere: sed paucissimis tantum melioris notæ studiosis, quibus hanc veniam indulget Academia, licentiâ Vicecancellarij, Regique Professoris manuum subscriptione prius obtenta."

Mr. URBAN,

Jan. 10.

I WILL request your insertion of the following instance; in the hope of learning, from some of your scientific Readers, whether it be a correct *exception* to the axiom, hitherto undisturbed, which states, that, "in using any of the Mechanic Powers, what we gain in Power we lose in Time, or in the *Operis Summâ*."

M and N (differing in diameter, but each weighing five hundred) are two hollow cylinders, or two pair of peripheries; so connected and provided, that a force (of men) may be applied within each (like a dog in a progressive wheel), which shall

make each to progress along the line C D. This line C D is a *smooth, impenetrable, horizontal plane*: consequently, along this plane M and N may be moved with equal facility; or, rather, each *nullo labore*; for there is nothing to be done, no wheel leverage work in the case of either.

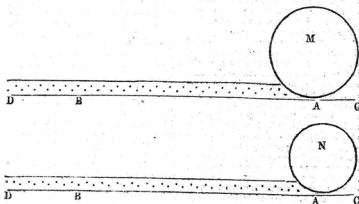
But if C D be covered, as shewn by the dots, 4 inches deep, with earth of such a consistence, that M (and, *à fortiori*, N) will continually cut down to C D as they advance along it; in this case there is work, wheel leverage work, to be done; and to do it a force will be wanted to work in each; a force reciprocally proportional to the wheel leverage of each: The wheel leverage, or power, of M is to that of N, suppose, as 4 to 3. Three men working, by their weight, in M, at a certain pace, will take it from A to B in twelve minutes. Four men working in N, at the same pace, and with the same exertion, will take N also from A to B in twelve minutes.

If this be so (and so it is), does it not make an *exception* to the known mechanical axiom, stated above; seeing that M gives three men the power of doing exactly what N requires four men for doing?

In every progressing wheel, this earth-cutting base affords the same exception. But this dog-wheel instance gives it unmix'd with any axle-friction: it goes purely to the point of the wheel-leverage; the ground being the fulcrum, incessantly changing as the wheel advances.

Yours, &c.

W. M.



LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Cambridge, Dec. 17. Subjects of Exercises for the Members' Prizes for 1814:—Senior Bachelors, "Utrum ex hominibus fanaticis an scepticis plus detrimenti respublica capiat."—Middle Bachelors, "Quo magis instituta civilia et ecclesiastica inter se convenient, eo melius rempublicam administrare licet."

Subjects for Sir W. Browne's gold medals for 1814:—Greek Ode, *Wellingtonus regionem Gallicam, Pyrenæis montibus subjectam, despiciens.*—Latin Ode, "Germania Lipsæ vindicata."—Epigrams, "Victor iterum fugiens."

Cambridge, Jan 10. Subject of the Dissertation for the Hulsean Prize for 1814: "On the comparative value of Prophecies and Miracles, as Evidences for the Truth of Christianity."

Mr. MATTHIAS'S Edition of GRAY'S Poems, noticed in our last volume, p. 567, will form two handsome Quarto Volumes.

Preparing for Publication.

The Poems of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, of Sir Thomas Wyatt the Elder, and of uncertain Authors who flourished in the Reign of Henry VIII.; accompanied with Notes Critical and Historical, and Biographical Accounts of the several Writers. By the Rev. G. F. NETT.

A new edition of the OLD PLAYS, including the best of Dodsley, Hawkins, and Nichols; shewing the Rise and Progress of the English Drama.

The Speeches of the Right Hon. Charles James Fox, in the House of Commons, from his entrance into Parliament in 1768 to the Year 1806. With Memoirs, Introduction, &c. In 6 vols. 8vo.

Sermons; by the late Rev. WALTER BLAKE KIRWAN, Dean of Killala. With a Sketch of his Life, and a Portrait. In one volume, 8vo.

Alicia de Lacy. An Historical Novel. By Mrs. WEST. In 3 vols. duodecimo.

Roderick, the last of the Goths. A Poem. By ROBERT SOUTHEY. In one volume, 4to.

Travels in England. By Don Manuel Alvarez Espriella. In 3 vols. 12mo.

Memoirs on European and Asiatic Turkey, from the Manuscript Journals of Modern Travellers in those Countries, edited by ROBERT WALPOLE, A. M. In one volume, 4to. Illustrated with Plates.

Travels in South America. By Messrs. HUMBOLDT and BONPLAND. Translated from the French, under the superintendence of M. Humboldt, by HELEN MARIA WILLIAMS. In 8vo. with Picturesque and Geographical Atlases.

Letters on India. By MARIA GRAHAM, Author of a Journal of a Residence in

India. Illustrated by Plates. In one volume, 8vo.

The Pastor's Fire-side. By Miss PORTER. Author of Thaddeus of Warsaw, and Scottish Chiefs. In 3 vols. 12mo.

A Catalogue of Plants in the Neighbourhood of London, dedicated to Dr. J. E. Smith, which may afford some information to young Botanists.

An Essay on Medical Economy, comprising a Sketch of the State of the Profession in England, and the outline of a Plan, calculated to give to the Medical body in general an increase of usefulness and respectability.

The Vision; or Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise, of DANTE; translated by the Rev. H. F. CARY, A. M. 3 vols. 12mo.

A Brief Memoir of the Life and Writings (with Extracts of the Letters) of CHRISTLIEB VON EXTER, son of Dr. Von Exter, physician to his Prussian Majesty; who died at the very early age of ten years and four months. With the testimonies of Professor Franck, and the Prince of Anhalt. By Mr. W. JAUQUES, Private Tutor.

Free Thoughts upon Methodists, Actors, and the Influence of the Stage; by ROBERT MANSELL, of the Theatres Royal York and Hull. To which is prefixed, a Discourse on the Lawfulness and Unlawfulness of Plays; written by the learned Father CAFFARO, Divinity Professor at Paris. To be published by Subscription.

Mr. BRITTON'S "History and Description of SALISBURY Cathedral," will be published in the course of the present year, in five numbers, medium and imperial 4to, each containing six engravings. A few copies will be printed with proofs and etchings; and also a very small number in folio, to class with Dugdale's Monasticon. The Architectural drawings are all by F. MACKENZIE, and the plates by J. and H. LE KEUX.

From the state of the Sale of two Libraries at Edinburgh (those of the second Duke of Queensberry, and the late Mr. Hunter), the extravagance of the black-letter-mania appears to be somewhat on the wane. Among the Duke's books, which it is probable were collected for his library by Gay, who was tutor in the family, were many of great curiosity and scarceness, and yet we do not find the prices they sold at extravagant. A very fine "King's Vale Royal" brought 15*l.*; and King James's Exercises, given probably by Ben Jonson to the Duke, as his well known autograph appears on the title-page, sold for 44*l.*

REVIEW

REVIEW OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

1. *Observations on Popular Antiquities: chiefly illustrating the Origin of our Vulgar Customs, Ceremonies, and Superstitions.* By John Brand, M. A. Fellow and Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of London: arranged and revised, with Additions, by Henry Ellis, F. R. S. Sec. S. A. Keeper of the Manuscripts in the British Museum. 2 vols. 4to. pp. 512, and 742. Rivingtons; Nichols, Son, and Bentley, &c.

WE hail with feelings of peculiar gratification this enlarged and elegant edition of "*Observations on Popular Antiquities*"—a work compiled by an Author almost enthusiastically devoted to the pursuit of his subject; and arranged and conducted through the press by an Editor whose taste and accuracy eminently qualified him for the undertaking—with feelings of peculiar gratification, inasmuch as we ourselves have in a large measure contributed both to excite and to gratify inquiries of this nature, of which the Author and the Editor have very judiciously availed themselves by frequent extracts from our former volumes.

The state of Mr. Brand's MS. and the arrangement of the work are thus briefly noticed by the Editor:

"The respected Author of the following work, as will be seen by the date of his Preface, had prepared it to meet the public eye so long ago as 1795. The subjects, however, which form the different sections were then miscellaneous arranged, and he had not kept even to the chronological order of the Feasts and Fasts observed by his predecessor Bourne.—The idea of a more perspicuous method was probably the first occasion of delay; till the kindness of friends, the perseverance of his own researches, and the vast accession of intelligence produced by the Statistical Enquiries in Scotland, so completely overloaded his manuscript, that it became necessary that the whole work should be re-modelled. This task, even to a person of Mr. Brand's unwearied labour, was discouraging; and, though he projected a new disposition of his materials, he had made no progress in the alteration of the work at the time of his death.—In this state, at the sale of the second part of Mr. Brand's Library, in 1808, the Manuscript of his *Observations on Popular Antiquities* was purchased. Portland.

GENT. MAG. JANUARY, 1814.

nately, in one of the volumes, a Sketch for a new Arrangement was inserted, which has been followed with very little variation.—In the first volume, it will be seen, the days of more particular note in the Calendar are taken in chronological order; the Customs at Country Wakes, Sheep-shearings, and other rural practices, form a sort of Supplement; and these are again followed by such Usages and Ceremonies as are not assignable to any particular period of the year.—In the second volume, the Customs and Ceremonies of Common Life are introduced, followed by the numerous train of Popular Notions, Sports, and Errors.—Mr. Brand's Extracts from Books and Manuscripts have, in most instances, been collated with their originals: a service which has added very much to the correctness of the work.—The Editor's Additions consist chiefly, though not quite exclusively, in the passages enclosed by brackets, and in the Index."

Mr. Brand, in his Preface, thus alludes to his former publication, and anticipates that now before us:

"In the year 1777 I re-published Bourne's *Antiquitates Vulgares*, a little work on this subject, which then had become exceedingly scarce, and sold very high, making *Observations* on each of his Chapters, and throwing the new Discoveries into an Appendix at the end. That volume, too, by those who have mistaken accident for merit, is now marked in Catalogues at more than double its original price. In the following work I have been advised to dissolve amicably the literary partnership under the firm of *Bourne and Brand*, and to adopt a very different plan, presenting to the Publick a Collection, which not only from the immense variety of fresh matter, but also from the totally different arrangement of the subjects, I flatter myself I may, with equal truth and propriety, venture to denominate an entirely new one.—In this I shall only cite my predecessor Bourne in common with the other writers on the same topics."

After some general observations on the remote antiquity and obscure origin of vulgar rites and popular opinions which have travelled to us through a long succession of years, and the greater part of which will probably be of perpetual observation—and the toil and difficulty, not unmingled

mingled with pleasure, attendant on the inquiry into the causes that gave rise to them,—he observes, that the prime origin of the superstitious notions and ceremonies of the people is absolutely unattainable.... Few, who are desirous of investigating the popular notions and vulgar ceremonies of our own Nation, can fail of deducing them, in their first direction, from the times of Popery. At the Reformation, the bulk of the people were by no means inclined to annihilate the seemingly innocent ceremonies of their former superstitious Faith; which, consecrated to their fancies by immemorial usage, though erased by public authority from the *Written Word*, were committed, as a venerable deposit, to the keeping of *Oral Tradition*; and in the infancy of Protestantism, the continuance of many of them was probably connived at by the State*. Thus at the first promulgation of Christianity to the Gentiles, the converts could not be persuaded to relinquish many of their superstitions, which, rather than forego altogether, they chose to incorporate with their new Faith. And hence it is that Papal Rome has borrowed her Rites, Nations, and Ceremonies, in the most luxuriant abundance, from Ancient and Heathen Rome.—“With regard to the Rites, Sports, &c. of the common People, I am aware that the morose and bigoted cavil at and malign them: yet Shows and Sports have been countenanced in all ages, and by the best and wisest of States; and though it cannot be denied that they have sometimes been prostituted to riot and debauchery; yet, were we to reprobate every thing that has been thus abused, Religion itself could not be retained.”

“The common people, confined by daily labour, seem to require their proper intervals of relaxation; perhaps it is of the highest political utility to encourage innocent Sports and Games among

them. The revival of many of these would, I think, be highly pertinent at this particular juncture, when the general spread of luxury and dissipation threatens more than at any preceding period to extinguish the character of our boasted National bravery. For the observation of an honest old writer, Stow, (who tells us, speaking of the May Games, Midsummer-Eve Rejoicings, &c.† antiently used in the Streets of London, ‘which open pastimes in my youth being now suppress, worse practices within doors are to be feared,’) may with too singular propriety be adopted on the most transient survey of our present popular manners.”

Bourne, his predecessor in this walk, he remarks, has not done justice to the subject he undertook to treat of: yet he was deserving of no small share of praise for his imperfect attempt. New and very bright lights have appeared since his time. The English Antique has become a fashionable study; and the discoveries of a chartered Society of Antiquaries have rendered the recesses both of Papal and Heathen Antiquities much easier of access. All these circumstances, he flatters himself, he has in some measure turned to advantage. He has gleaned passages that seemed to throw light on the subject from an immense variety of volumes, both printed and manuscript.

“Elegance of composition will hardly be expected in a work of this nature, which seems to stand much less in need of Aëtic wit than of Roman perseverance, or, if we glance at modern times, of Dutch assiduity.—In general it may be observed, that Readers, provided with keen appetites for this kind of entertainment, must content themselves with the homely manner of serving it up to them. Indeed squeamishness in this particular would, in a variety of instances, suit but ill with the study of the English Antique. For it must be confessed, that a great deal of wholesome meat of this sort has ever been brought on upon wooden plat-

* “It is wittily observed by Fuller, Ch. Hist. p. 375, that, as careful Mothers and Nurses, on condition they can get their Children to part with knives, are contented to let them play with rattles: so they permitted ignorant people still to retain some of their fond and foolish Customs, that they might remove from them the most dangerous and destructive Superstitions.”

† “I call to mind here the pleasing account Sterne has left us, in his *Sentimental Journey*, of the Grace Dance after Supper. I agree with that amiable writer in thinking that Religion may mix herself in the Dance, and that innocent Cheerfulness forms no inconsiderable part of Devotion; such, indeed, cannot fail of being grateful to the Good Being, as it is a silent, but eloquent mode of praising him.”

ters; and very nice guests, it is to be feared, will think that our famous old cook, Thomas Hearne himself, was but a very slovenly and greasy kind of Host."

"I shall offer," he says, "many discoveries peculiarly my own, for there are not a few customs yet retained in the North, where I spent the earliest part of my life, of which the learned in the Southern parts of our Island have hardly once heard mention."—He requests the Reader who has never before considered this neglected subject, in perusing the Observations, to suspend his judgment till he has carefully examined all the evidence: "in the mean time Prejudice may be forewarned; and it will apologize for many seemingly trivial reasons, assigned for the beginning and transmittal of this or that popular Notion or Ceremony, to reflect, that what may appear foolish to the enlightened understandings of men in the eighteenth Century, wore a very different aspect when viewed through the gloom that prevailed in the seventh or eighth."

"I am indebted for much additional matter to the partiality and kindness of Francis Douce, Esq. who, having enriched an interleaved copy of my edition of 1777 with many very pertinent Notes and Illustrations, furnished from his own extensive reading on the subject, and from most rare Books in his truly valuable Library, generously permitted me to make whatever Extracts from them I should think interesting to my present purpose.—It were invidious also not to make my acknowledgements on this occasion to George Stevens, Esq. the learned and truly patient, or rather indefatigable Editor of Shakspeare, who had the goodness to lend me many scarce Tracts, which no Collection but his own, either public or private, that I know of, could have supplied me with."

"I own myself under particular obligations to Durand's Ritual of Divine Offices, a work inimical to every idea of rational worship; but to the Enquirer

into the Origin of our popular Ceremonies, an invaluable magazine of the most interesting intelligence. I would style this performance the great Ceremonial Law of the Romanists, in comparison with which the Mosale Code is barren of Rites and Ceremonies. This curious book was printed at Mentz so early as 1459. We stand amazed on perusing it, at the enormous weight of a new yoke, which Holy Church, fabricating with her own hands, had imposed on her antient Devotees*.—Yet the forgers of these shackles had artfully enough contrived to make them sit easy, by twisting flowers around them: dark as this picture, drawn by the pencil of gloomy Superstition, appeared upon the whole, yet was its deep shade in many places contrasted with pleasing lights.—The Calendar was crowded with Red-letter Days, nominally indeed consecrated to Saints; but which, by the encouragement of idleness and dissipation of manners, gave every kind of countenance to Sinners.—A profusion of childish Rites, Pageants, and Ceremonies, diverted the attention of the people from the consideration of their real state, and kept them in humour, if it did not sometimes make them in love, with their slavish modes of worship."

He has translated, he continues, from an antient Roman Calendar in his possession, of singular curiosity, a variety of brief observations under the immoveable Feasts and Fasts, "contributing not a little to the elucidation of many of our popular Customs, and proving them to have been sent over from Rome, with Bulls, Indulgences, and other baubles, bartered, as it should seem, for our Peter Pence, by those who trafficked in spiritual merchandize from the Continent."

"A learned performance by a Physician in the time of King James the First, and dedicated to that Monarch, is also luckily in my Library: it is written in Latin, and entitled 'The Popedom, or the Origin and Increase of Depravity in Religion†,' containing a very masterly parallel between the Rites, No-

* "It is but justice to own that the modern Roman Catholics disclaim the greater number of those superstitious Notions and Ceremonies, equally the misfortune and disgrace of our forefathers in the dark ages."

† "Papatus, seu depravatae Religionis Origo et Incrementum; summa fide diligenterque e Gentilitatis suae fontibus eruta: ut fere nihil sit in hoc genere cultu, quod non sit promptum, ex hisce, meis reddere suis auctoribus: ut restitutum Evangelicæ Religionis, quam profitemur, simplicitas, fucis amotis, suam aliquando integritatem apud omnes testatam faciat per Thomam Morenum Aberdonanum, Doctorem Medicum. Edinburgi excudebat Robertus Waldegrave, Typographus Regius, Anno M.D.XCIII. Cum privilegio Regali." A small octavo: most extremely rare.

tions, &c. of Heathen, and those of Papal Rome. The copious extracts from this work, with which I shall adorn and enlighten the following pages, will form their trust commendation, and supersede my poor encomiums."

The Preface is concluded by the following observations:

"When I call Gray to remembrance, the Poet of Humanity, who, had he left no other works behind him, would have transmitted his name to immortality by Reflections written among the little tomb-stones of the Vulgar in a Country Church-yard; I am urged by no false shame to apologize for the seeming unimportance of my subject.

"The Antiquities of the Common People cannot be studied without acquiring some useful knowledge of mankind. By the chemical process of Philosophy, even Wisdom may be extracted from the Follies and Superstitions of our Forefathers*. The People, of whom Society is chiefly composed, and for whose good all superiority of rank, indispensably necessary as it is in every Government, is only a grant, made originally by mutual concession, is a respectable subject to every one who is the friend of Man.—Pride, which, independent of the idea arising from the necessity of civil polity, has portioned out the human genus into such a variety of different and subordinate species, must be compelled to own, that the lowest of these derives itself from an origin common to it with the highest of the kind.—The well-known beautiful sentiment of Terence:

'Homo sum, humani nihil à me alienum puto,'

may be adopted therefore in this place, to persuade us that nothing can be foreign to our enquiry, much less beneath our notice, that concerns the smallest of the Vulgar; of those little ones who occupy the lowest place, though by no means of the least importance in the political arrangement of human beings."

Mr. Brand's diligent application to study was confessedly great; and these volumes afford ample proof of it. Yet the reading it displays is so extensive and recondite, and the sources from which his illustrations are derived are so various, that one would

imagine his mind must have been perpetually employed on this his favourite pursuit. The mass of curious research before us seems indeed to present the labour of a life; and were not the illustration of the subject in itself almost endless, we should be inclined to assert that he had exhausted it.

It would occupy too much space to give an adequate account of the contents of this work. We therefore proceed only to make a few Selections; in which if we fail to please, the Work itself, we must acknowledge, contains variety which cannot fail to gratify the taste of all classes of Readers.

Under NEW YEAR'S EVE, some curious particulars are given of the custom of *Wasselling*; accompanied by "A Carrol for a Wassel Bowl, to be sung upon Twelfth-day at Night—to the tune of 'Gallants, come away'," (printed in Ritson's Collection,) and "A Wassailer's Song on New Year's Eve," as still sung in Gloucestershire, communicated by Samuel Lysons, esq.

"Milner, on an antient cup (Archæologia, vol. XI. p. 420) informs us, that 'The introduction of Christianity amongst our ancestors did not at all contribute to the abolition of the practice of Wasselling. On the contrary, it began to assume a kind of religious aspect; and the Wassel Bowl itself, which in the great Monasteries was placed on the Abbot's table, at the upper end of the Refectory, or Eating-hall, to be circulated among the community at his discretion, received the honourable appellation of "*Poculum Charitatis*." This in our Universities is called the Grace-cup."

Under NEW YEAR'S DAY, among other observances, the custom of presenting *New Year's Gifts* is pleasingly illustrated.

"It appears from several passages in Mr. Nichols's *Queen Elizabeth's Progresses*, that it was antiently a custom at Court, at this season, both for the Sovereigns to receive and give New Year's Gifts. In the preface we read, 'The only remains of this custom at Court now is, that the two Chaplains in waiting, on New Year's Day, have each a

* To this passage a curious Catalogue of Superstitions on the Continent is appended, from the "Satyrical Characters," &c. of M. Bergerac, who puts it into the mouth of a Magician; by which it will be seen how useful, and indeed necessary, a personage the Magician is, and how much in error our Police Magistrates are, in discouraging the attempt to revive the mysterious Art.

crown-piece laid under their plates at dinner.—In a curious manuscript, lettered on the back ‘Publick Revenue, Anno Quinto regni Edwardi Sexti,’ I find ‘Rewards given on New Year’s Day, that is to say, to the King’s officers and servants of ordinary, 1551. 5s. and to their servants that present the King’s Maie with New Year’s Gifts.’ The custom, however, is, in part, of a date considerably older than the time of Edward the Sixth. Henry the Third, according to Matt. Paris, appears to have extorted New Year’s Gifts from his subjects.” See Matt. Paris, an. 1249, p. 757, ed. Watts, fol. 1641.

“It appears from a curious MS. in the British Museum, of the date of 1560, that the boys of Eton school used on the day of the Circumcision, at that time, to play for little New Year’s Gifts before and after supper: and that the boys had a custom that day, for good luck’s sake, of making verses, and sending them to the Provost, Masters, &c. as also of presenting them to each other.—The very ingenious Buchanan presented to the unfortunate Mary, Queen of Scots, one of the above poetical kind of New Year’s Gifts. History is silent concerning the manner in which her Majesty received it.

*Ad Mariam Scotiæ Reginam.**

Do quod adest: opto quod abest tibi,
dona darentur

Aurea, sors animo si foret æqua meo.

Hoc leve si credis, paribus me ulciscere
donis: [adest.]

Et quod abest opta tu mihi: da quod

The following pithy observations are taken from a rare tract, intituled “*Vox Graculi*,” 1623, 4to.

“This month drink you no wine commixt with dregs; [legs.]

Eate capons, and fat hens, with dumpling

“The first day of January being raw, colde, and comfortlesse to such as have lost their money at dice at one of the Temples over night, strange apparitions are like to be seene: Marchpanes marching betwixt *Leaden-hall* and the little *Conduit in Cheap*, in such abundance that an hundred good fellows may sooner starve then catch a corner, or a comfit to sweeten their mouths.—It is also to be feared, that through frailty, if a slip be made on the messenger’s default that carries them, for non-delivery at the place appointed; that unless the said messenger be not the more inward with his mistress, his master will give him rib-rost for his New Year’s Gift the next morning.—This day shall be given

many more gifts then shall be asked for; and apples, egges, and oranges, shall be lifted to a lofty rate; when a pome-water, bestucke with a few rotten cloves, shall be more worth than the honesty of an hypocrite; and halfe a dozen of egges of more estimation than the vowes of a strumpet. *Poets* this day shall get mightily by their pamphlets: for an hundred of elaborate lines shall be lesse esteemed in London, than an hundred of *Walfleet oysters* at Cambridge.”

The ceremonies of *TWELFTH DAY* are fully detailed, and are very entertaining.

Of *ST. PAUL’S DAY*, Mr. Brand remarks; “I do not find that any one has even hazarded a conjecture why prognostications of the weather, &c. for the whole year, are to be drawn from the appearance of this day.”

“The prognostications on *St. Paul’s Day* are thus elegantly modernized by Gay, in his *Trivia*:

‘All superstition from thy breast repel,
Let cred’lous boys and prattling nurses
How, if the Festival of Paul be clear, [tell
Plenty from lib’ral horn shall strow the
year; [rain]

When the dark skies dissolve in snow or
The lab’ring hind shall yoke the steer in
vain; [roar]

But if the threat’ning winds in tempests
Then War shall bathe her wasteful sword
in gore.’

He concludes,

‘Let no such vulgar tales debase thy
mind, [and wind.]’

Nor Paul, nor Swithin, rule the clouds

Under *CANDLEMASS DAY* we meet with the following curious passages:

“It was antiently a custom for women in England to bear lights when they were churched, as appears from the following royal bon mot: William the Conqueror, by reason of sickness, kept his chamber a long time, whereat the French King, scoffing, said, ‘The King of England lyeth long in child-bed:’ which when it was reported unto King William, he answered, ‘When I am churched, there shall be a thousand lights in France;’ (alluding to the lights that women used to bear when they were churched:) and that he performed within a few daies after, wasting the French territories with fire and sword.”

“In Bishop Bonner’s Injunctions, A.D. 1555, printed that year by John Cawood, 4to. we read, ‘that *bearyng of Candles on Candlemasse Daie* is doone in the

* A neat Translation of these epigrammatic Lines is solicited from some of our ingenious Correspondents.—EDIT.

memorie of our Saviour Jesu Christe, *the spirituall light*, of whom Sainet Symeon dyd prophesie, as it is redde in the Church that day.' This ceremony, however, had been previously forbidden in the Metropolis: for in Stowe's Chronicle, edited by Howes, fol. 1631, p. 395, we read, 'On the second of February 1547-8, being the Feast of the Purification of our Lady, commonly called Candlemasse Day, the bearing of Candles in the Church was left off throughout the whole Citie of London.'

"In a most rare book intitled 'The Burnynge of Paules Church in London, 1561, and the 4 day of June by Lyghtnyng,' &c. 8vo. Lond. 1563, we read, 'In Flaunders everye Saturdaye betwix Christmas and Candelmas they cate flesch for joy, and have pardon for it, because our Ladye laye so long in child-bedde say they. We here may not eat so: the Pope is not so good to us; yet surely it were as good reason that we should eat flesch with them all that while that our Lady lay in child-bed, as that we should bear our Candel at her Churchinge at Candelmas with theym as they doe. It is seldome sene that men offer Candels at women's Churchinges, savinge at our Ladies: but reason it is that she have some preferment, if the Pope would be so good maister to us as to let us eat flesch with theym'."

The observations on the ceremonies of this day are agreeably varied by some elegant songs from Herrick's *Hesperides*.

"The purple-flowered *Lady's Thistle*," it is remarked in a Note, "the leaves of which are beautifully diversified with numerous white spots, like drops of milk, is vulgarly thought to have been originally marked by the falling of some drops of the Virgin Mary's milk on it, whence, no doubt, its name *Lady's*, i. e. *Our Lady's Thistle*. An ingenious little invention of the dark ages, and which, no doubt, has been of service to the cause of Superstition. — *Marry*, a term of asseveration in common use, was originally in Popish times a mode of swearing by the *Virgin Mary*; q. d. *by Mary*. — So also *Marrow-bones*, for the knees. I'll bring him down upon his *Marrow-bones*; i. e. I'll make him bend his knees as he does to the *Virgin Mary*."

VALENTINE'S DAY affords scope for many pleasing illustrations.

"The custom of chusing Valentines was a sport practised in the houses of the gentry in England as early as the year 1476. See Fenn's Paston Letters, vol. II. p. 211. Of this custom John Lydgate, the Monk of Bury, makes mention

in a Poem written by him in praise of Queen Catherine, consort to Henry V.: 'Seynte Valentine, of custom yee're by

yeere
Men have an usance in this regioun
To loke and serehe Cupides Kalendere,
And chose theyr choyse, by grete affec-
cioun;

Such as ben prike with Cupides mo-
Takyng theyre choyse as theyr sorth doth
falle:

But I love oon whiche excellith alle.'

MS. Harl. 2251. See Strutt's *Manners and Customs*, vol. III. p. 179.

"In the Catalogue of the Poetical Devices, &c. done by the same Poet, in print and MS. preserved in Speght's Chaucer, 1602, occurs one with the title of '*Chusing Loves on S. Valentine's Day*.' 'Lydgate,' says Warton (*Hist. Engl. Poet.* vol. II. p. 53), "was not only the Poet of his Monastery, but of the World in general. If a *Disguising* was intended by the Company of Goldsmiths, a *Mask* before his Majesty at Eltham, a *Mleg-game* for the Sheriff's and Aldermen of London, a *Mumming* before the Lord Mayor, a *Procession of Pageants* from the Creation for the Festival of Corpus Christi, or a *Carol* for the Coronation, Lydgate was consulted, and gave the Poetry.' The above Catalogue mentions also, by Lydgate, a *Disguising* before the Mayor of London by the Mercers; a *Disguising* before the King in the Castle of Hartford; a *Mumming* before the King at Eltham; a *Mumming* before the King at Windsor; and a Ballade given to Henry VI. and his mother, on *New Year's Day*, at Hartford."

"The following is one of the most elegant jeu d'esprits on this occasion that I have met with:

'To Dorinda, on Valentine's Day.

Look how, my dear, the feather'd kind,
By mutual caresses joy'd,
Bill, and seem to teach us two,
What we to love and custom owe.

Shall only you and I forbear
To meet and make a happy pair?
Shall we alone delay to live?
This day an age of bliss may give.

But ah! when I the proffer make,
Still coyly you refuse to take;
My heart I dedicate in vain,
The too mean present you disdain.

Yet since the solemn time allows
To choose the object of our vows;
Boldly I dare profess my flame,
Proud to be yours by any name."

Satyrs of Boileau imitated, 1696, p. 101."

We shall resume our examination of these volumes at an early opportunity.

2. *Memoirs of a celebrated Literary and Political Character, from the Resignation of Sir Robert Walpole, in 1742, to the Establishment of Lord Chatham's second Administration, in 1757; containing Strictures on some of the most distinguished Men of that Time.* 2v. pp. 118. Murray.

ONE more candidate for the honour of being considered as the Writer of Junius's Letters—

"Another, and another still, succeeds."

Whatever opinion on the subject may be formed from the present publication, which can only result from the undoubted talents and the means of information which the Author possessed, this little volume is, on various accounts, extremely acceptable.

"The publication," we are informed, "has been occasioned solely by the diversity of opinion which has prevailed respecting the Author of the Letters of Junius, and from the failure of all who have laid claim to that distinction.—They are written by a celebrated character, and are only a part of a collection which is now in the possession of his immediate Descendant. He was the intimate associate of Chatham and the Grenvilles; at once possessed of literary reputation and an ample fortune, a Member of Parliament, and alike acquainted with public measures and ministerial intrigue."

Richard Glover, esq. (better known in the literary world as *Leonidas Glover*) was a very considerable London merchant; and, in that capacity, made a conspicuously distinguished figure, by a Speech at the Bar of the House of Commons, Jan. 27, 1741-2, in support of a most respectful Petition from the Merchants, complaining of the want of due protection to their Trade, from the depredations of the Spaniards; of which an ample extract is given in our vol. XII. p. 150; and by which he acquired, and with great justice, the character of an able and steady Patriot; and, on every occasion, shewed a most perfect knowledge of, joined to the most ardent zeal for, the commercial interests of this Nation, and an inviolable attachment to the welfare of his Countrymen in general, and that of the City of London in particular. In 1751, having, in consequence of unforeseen losses in trade, and perhaps in some measure of his zealous warmth for the public interests, to the neglect of

his own private emoluments, somewhat reduced his fortune, he condescended to stand candidate for the office of Chamberlain of the City of London, in opposition to Sir Thomas Harrison, but lost his election thereby by no very great majority. The Speech which he made on that occasion to the Livery of London is preserved at large in our vol. XXI. p. 213; and is so highly creditable to his memory, that no excuse is necessary for copying a part of it.

"Heretofore I have frequently had occasion of addressing the Livery of London in public; but at this time I find myself at an unusual loss, being under all the difficulties which a want of matter deserving your notice can create. Had I now your rights and privileges to vindicate; had I the cause of your suffering trade to defend; or were I now called forth to recommend and enforce the Parliamentary service of the most virtuous and illustrious Citizen; my tongue would be free from constraint, and, expatiating at large, would endeavour to merit your attention, which now must be solely confined to so narrow a subject as myself. On those occasions, the importance of the matter, and my known zeal to serve you, however ineffectual my attempts might prove, were always sufficient to secure me the honour of a kind reception and unmerited regard. Your countenance, Gentlemen, first drew me from the retirement of a studious life; your repeated marks of distinction first pointed me out to that great body, the Merchants of London, who, pursuing your example, condescended to entrust me, unequal and unworthy as I was, with the most important cause—a cause where your interest was as nearly concerned as theirs. In consequence of that deference which has been paid to the sentiments and choice of the Citizens and Traders of London, it was impossible but some faint lustre must have glanced on one, whom, weak as he was, they were pleased to appoint the instrument on their behalf: and if from these transactions I accidentally acquired the smallest share of reputation, it was to you, Gentlemen of the Livery, that my gratitude ascribes it; and I joyfully embrace this public opportunity of declaring, that whatever part of a public character I may presume to claim, I owe primarily to you. To this I might add the favour, the twenty years' countenance and patronage of one, whom a supreme degree of respect shall prevent me from naming*; and

* Frederick Prince of Wales.

though

though under the temptation of using that name, as a certain means of obviating some misconstructions, I shall however avoid to dwell on the memory of a loss so recent, so justly, and so universally lamented."

From the time of Mr. Glover's misfortunes in trade, he lived in obscurity, known only to his friends, and declining to take any active part in public affairs. At length, having surmounted the difficulties of his situation, he again relinquished the pleasures of retirement; in the Parliament which met in 1761, was elected Member for Weymouth; and afterwards stood forward, on several occasions, in a manner highly honourable to himself, and advantageous to the publick. See in vol. XXIV. p. 51, a "Letter" addressed to him in 1774; in which year he obtained a high degree of credit by his "Evidence before the House of Lords about Foreign Linen," (see our vol. XLIV. p. 278).

March 16, 1775, he made an excellent speech at the bar of the House of Commons, on the West-India Planters' Petition (see vol. XLV. p. 620); and died November 25, 1785.

To Glover and Mallet, it will be recollected, the Duchess of Marlborough, by her last Will, assigned the task of writing the Duke's Life, with a legacy of 1000*l.* which Glover indignantly rejected.

Of his character see more at large in our vol. LV. p. 922; from which we shall transcribe one extract:

"For upwards of fifty years, through every vicissitude of fortune, he exhibited the most exemplary simplicity of manners; having early attained that perfect equanimity which Philosophy often recommends in the closet, but which in experience is too seldom exercised by other men in the test of trial. In Mr. Glover were united a wide compass of accurate information in all mercantile concerns, with high intellectual powers of mind, joined to a copious flow of eloquence as an Orator in the House of Commons. Since Milton, he was second to none of our English Poets, in his discriminating, judicious acquaintance with all ancient as well as modern literature; witness his *Leonidas*, *Medea*, *Boudicea*, and *London*: for, having formed his own character upon the best models of the Greek Writers, he lived as if he had been bred a disciple of Socrates, or companion of Aristides. Hence his political turn of mind; hence his unwarped affection and

active zeal for the rights and liberties of his Country; hence his heart-felt exultation whenever he had to paint the impious designs of Tyrants in ancient times frustrated, or in modern defeated, in their nefarious purposes to extirpate Liberty, or to trample on the unalienable rights of man, however remote in time or space from his immediate presence. In a few words, for the extent of his various erudition, for his unalloyed patriotism, and for his daily exercise and constant practice of Xenophon's philosophy, in his private as well as in public life, Mr. Glover has left none his equal in the City; and some time, it is feared, may elapse, before such another Citizen shall arise, with eloquence, with character, and with poetry like his, to assert their rights, or to vindicate with equal powers the just claims of free-born men."

But to return to Junius:

"After the perusal of these pages," says their Editor, "the Reader will be surprized, that, among the numerous persons to whom the Letters of Junius have been attributed, the Author of these Memoirs was never named: and it is remarkable that he should have been overlooked, while the perspicacity of Horne Tooke and Wilkes, and the phalanx of politicians of his time, was exhausted in unavailing conjectures.—I will not pledge myself that he was Junius; but this I can safely say, that no one yet named, supported by facts, has any claim to stand in competition with him. These Memoirs sufficiently mark his political relations; and numerous documents, long since before the publick, might be adduced, to strengthen and confirm them. One circumstance, however, I am authorized to mention, which will serve to shew in what estimation his political sagacity was held in his retirement in the decline of life. During the Shelburne and Portland Administrations in 1783, he was frequently visited privately by the late Marquis of Buckingham, then Lord Temple, and closeted with him alone; his visits were always in the evening, and such was the privacy of these meetings, that his name was not announced, and no servant was permitted to open the door when he left the house.—At some future time I hope to give a sketch of his character. At present I submit these pages to the publick; valuable, at least, for the information they contain, if not as authority to establish a conjecture on a subject of peculiar literary interest."

This is candid; but at best amounts to no more than proof presumptive.

The

The "Memoirs" commence in the Spring of 1741; are continued to 1757; and develop the secret springs by which many of the great Leaders both in the Ministry and the Opposition were in reality actuated. It is a most curious peep behind the curtain, by an intelligent Actor in the Political Drama; and unfortunately demonstrates "how little are the great!"

Mr. Glover speaks his mind very freely both of the *Ins* and *Outs*; as may be judged from the following highly-seasoned character:

"The Duke of Newcastle was a man of whom no one ever spoke with cordial regard; of parts and conduct which generally drew animadversions bordering on contempt, of notorious insincerity, political cowardice, and servility to the highest and the lowest; yet, insincere without gall, ambitious without pride, luxurious, jovial, hospitable to all men, of an exorbitant estate, affable, forgetful of offences, and profuse of his favours indiscriminately to all his adherents; he had established a faction by far the most powerful in this country: hence he derived that influence which encouraged his unworthy pretensions to ministerial power; nor was he less indebted to his experience of a Court, a long practice in all its craft, whence he had acquired a certain art of imposition, that in every negotiation with the most distinguished popular leaders, however superior to himself in understanding, from the instant they began to depart from ingenuous and public principles, he never missed his advantage, nor failed of making them his property at last, and himself their master. Lord Cobham, Chesterfield, the Duke of Bedford, Pitt, and others, found him so in 1743, when he took them into his confederacy to rout the Earl of Bath and Granville. Pitt found him so in 1757, when this new coalition was formed to destroy the Duke of Cumberland and Fox."

We shall conclude this article with the more immediate object of the publication, "*The Politics of Junius*."

"His first great and leading principle is, that Magistrates and the Ministers of Government should ever be subservient to the Laws. To preserve the British Constitution, according to his view of the subject, in its utmost purity, is his whole aim: and his violence against men upon all occasions, is solely with a view to destroy their measures, when he considered them to be impolitic or un-

just. His abuse and invective are governed by this principle; and when he attacks the private vices of men, he adopts that mode, only as an expedient to diminish the baneful effects of their public actions*. To the Duke of Grafton he declares himself not to have been his *personal* enemy — 'I have no resentments but against the common enemy.' And after the most bitter and reiterated abuse of the King, he says, 'I would willingly hazard my life in defence of your title and your crown.' In pursuing this subject, to give force to his political theory, he confesses himself, in some instances, to have overstepped the bounds of correct truth. 'It was necessary to the plan of that letter, to rate you lower than you deserved.' From the same motive he also bestowed praise, if he saw political good to be derived from it: 'I think it good policy to pay these compliments to Lord Chatham.' — To preserve and renovate the Constitution, his favourite theory, in common with Lord Chatham, was to have triennial Parliaments. — With respect to his political creed, in his fifty-ninth letter he has thus very fully and very clearly expressed himself: 'I can more readily admire the liberal spirit and integrity, than the sound judgment of any man, who prefers a republican form of government, in this or any other empire of equal extent, to a monarchy so qualified and limited as ours. I am convinced, that neither is it in theory the wisest system of government, nor practicable in this country. Yet, though I hope the English Constitution will for ever preserve its original monarchical form, I would have the manners of the people purely and strictly republican. I do not mean the licentious spirit of anarchy and riot; I mean a general attachment to the common weal, distinct from any partial attachment to persons or families; an implicit submission to the laws only, and an affection to the magistrate, proportioned to the integrity and wisdom, with which he distributes justice to his people, and administers their affairs.' — Throughout the whole of Junius there is a feeling of despondency for the public weal: 'I am convinced, as far as my understanding is capable of judging, that the present ministry are driving this country to de-

* "I am here speaking of the professed principle and intention of Junius; how well or ill he executed or manifested his intentions, or how far his own private feelings have heightened or imbibed his invective, his works before the public will declare for themselves."

struction."

struction.'—'I most truly lament the condition to which we are reduced,'—he had, therefore, 'no resentments but against the common enemy.' The same feelings characterize these Memoirs. The Administration of Lord Chatham, then Mr. Pitt, 'was the only means left to save a ruined nation;' and the details which he has entered into, 'are only to delineate with accuracy the causes of this nation's fall,' which, to the author's ill-boding judgment, appeared to be inevitable. And though he had intimacies to a degree of friendship with most of the distinguished politicians of his time, yet those intimacies were contracted on the public account, that when his principles were deserted by them, their society was abandoned by him. — Of Kings, though necessary to the Constitution and form of Government Junius was attached to, in these Memoirs the Author is equally unsparing of his censure, and unmindful of the mode of enforcing his invective against them. 'George II. is a weak, narrow, sordid, and unfeeling master, only calculated by Nature for a Pawnbroker's shop;' and again, 'he should be made sensible, not only that he should not be master, but that he should know and feel that he ought not to be so.' The King of Prussia is a *fiend*: and of Princes in general, 'their actions are not to be judged of by the rules of morality, before whose tribunal they would be all condemned in their turns, and undergo the severest punishment, if executioners were not wanting to the laws of Nature and of Justice; and the folly and servility of mankind were not the safeguard of Kings.'—In these Memoirs the political feeling of the Author may be accurately traced in his estimation, and varying hopes and fears of the conduct of Lord Chatham. He admired his talents, and seemed perfectly well to understand their force and influence; at times, strongly attached to his measures, but at other times, doubts of his sincerity, and censures what he considers a dereliction of principle; and for twelve years withdrew himself from his intimacy from political principles alone. In the Letters of Junius there is the same admiration of his powers, the same sentiment of disesteem, when he made his great abilities subservient to measures which he disapproved; and even his celebrated panegyrick is guarded by expressions which seem to glance at a comprehensive view of his whole character. In estimating the circumstances on which the true dignity of his character should depend, the tone of feeling, though differently expressed, is very similar in both

these works. When Pitt was first appointed Secretary of State, from his having vacillated in his conduct, the Memoir says, 'All past offences were buried in oblivion.' 'The love of power and an ardent thirst of fame, were noble passions, honourable to him, and beneficial to his country, when their views were set in comparison with those which accompany the base attachment to money, the visible bane of our times.' Junius says, 'I confess he has grown upon my esteem. As for the common sordid views of avarice, or any purpose of vulgar ambition, I question whether the applause of Junius would be of service to Lord Chatham. But *if* his ambition be upon a level with his understanding; *if* he judges of what is truly honourable *for himself*, with the same superior genius which animates and directs him to eloquence in debate, to wisdom in decision, even the pen of Junius shall continue to reward him.'—Junius was an old reader of political controversies, and remembered the great Walpolean battles! The Author of these Memoirs was an antagonist of Walpole. And Pitt incurred discredit, in his estimation, for 'an indecent and needless encomium on Sir Robert Walpole,' against whom he had been one of the most violent, at the time that Minister was driven from the Administration.—Junius also declares himself to have dedicated his life to the information of his fellow-subjects. This Author took an active part in politics so early as the year 1739, and did not cease to direct his attention to that object during his whole life; and, whether his political opinions were well or ill-founded, he invariably adhered to them, believing them to be right.

"The Editor of these Memoirs could increase this Pamphlet to twice its size, if he were to indulge in minute criticism or analysis. He himself believes that they were written by the same Author, known to the publick under the signature of JUNIUS; but if the sentiments and opinions they contain, and the style in which they are delivered, should not convey the same force of evidence to others as to himself, it would be useless to descend to minute particulars to strengthen and support them. Every fact that the Editor is acquainted with perfectly coincides with his hypothesis, except one, which is an assertion made by Junius, that he was not personally known to George Grenville. How far this might be correctly true, or how far it might be a justifiable *ruse* under the existing circumstances, must be left for the publick to determine."

And here we also leave the question,