NOTES ON THE NEWSPAPERS.

[The following notes were written as the events occurred, and are given to the public in the order in which they were committed to paper. The dates annexed are those of the newspapers which contained the first announcement of the facts taken for the subject of remark. The history of the session is taken up in the present number where it broke off in the last; which accounts for the appearance in our number for April of so early a date as the 21st of February.]

21*st February. The Ministerial Resolutions on Irish Tithe.*—It is a common excuse for people who promise little, that what they do promise they perform. Like most other stock excuses, this plea is much oftener made than established: one thing, however, is unquestionable, that they who promise little *ought* to perform all they promise. The King's Speech made but one promise, the settlement of Irish tithes; and Ministers have produced a measure, which, if proposed many years ago, might have really settled the question, at least for a season. But concessions in politics almost always come too late. When reforms are granted, not because they are eligible in themselves, but because it is not considered safe to refuse them, it seems to be in their very nature that they should always lag behind the demand for them. There seldom arises an immediate necessity for conceding anything until the storm has risen so high that it cannot be prevented from ultimately sweeping away everything.

It was right to retain a land-tax equal to the present amount of the tithe. In Ireland, where the intermediate class of farmers scarcely exists, the whole produce of the soil is shared between the labourer and the landlord. But the labourer in Ireland being reduced by competition to the mere necessaries of life, which he is sure to retain as long as he occupies the land; and the residue, whatever its amount, being the landlord's; all imposts charged upon the land subtract so much from what would otherwise be paid to the landlord: it is therefore the landlord who in reality pays them; if they were laid directly upon him, his situation would not be altered; if they were abolished without equivalent, he would be the sole gainer.

The course, therefore, would be very clear, if there were no existing contracts between landlord and tenant. A tax payable by the landlord might be substituted for the tithe payable by the tenant, and the landlord left for compensation to the natural course of things. The tenant would then, without any special enactment for the purpose, pay, on account of rent alone, the same amount which he now pays for rent and tithe: the tithe would be blended with rent, collected without a separate process, and would cease to figure as an individual grievance; while all the odium would be saved, of collecting from the bulk of the Catholic population a tax expressly designed for the pockets of the Protestant clergy. The provision for the Church would then be seen to be, what, in Ireland, it really is; not a burthen upon the public, but a certain portion of the rent of land, which the State has not permitted individual landlords to appropriate, but has retained in its own hands for another purpose.

But during the currency of existing leases, the tithe, if exacted at all, cannot justly be levied from any but those who are at present liable to it. If paid by the landlord, it must be recoverable from the tenant; because the landlord cannot, until the expiration of the lease, be indemnified by an augmentation of his rent. On this shoal it requires no prophet to foretell that the measure will be wrecked. During the existing leases, the present grievance will continue; and does any one think that without far more drastic remedies the present constitution of society in Ireland can last as long as the unexpired leases? For the next few years the Bill does not abolish tithe, but, as Mr. O'Connell observed, merely makes the landlord the tithe-proctor; and a few years, in the present condition of Ireland, are an eternity.

Even when the leases expire, the tithe will not merge in the rent by operation of law, but only at the option of the landlord. Unless there be a stipulation to the contrary in the new lease, the tithe (or land-tax, as it is to be called) will still be kept separate from the rent; and any landlord, whose purposes, either political or personal, it may happen to answer, may still force the Catholic peasant to individualize the tithe; to distinguish it from his other payments; to be distinctly conscious on each occasion how much exactly he is paying to a Church which he detests.

Since the above observations were written, the Bill has been printed; and we perceive that it does not even free the tithe from the chief objection which lies against it as tithe—*its perpetual increase.* By an Act passed in 1832, the tithes of every parish in Ireland are already compounded for; and the land-tax now to be imposed in lieu of tithe, is to be of the same amount as the composition. The composition, however, under the Act of 1832, is not fixed, but variable every seven years, according to the price of corn. As, in the progress of population and cultivation, the price of corn tends always to a rise, the new land-tax, instead of being a fixed charge, will be augmented every seven years, and the memory of tithe will be kept alive for ever, by the periodical readjustment of the amount. This is an error in principle, of the first magnitude: but its practical consequences will merge in the general failure of the measure; which certainly will not last unaltered for seven years.

22*d February. The Debate on Agricultural Distress.*—The landowners of England are remarkable for being always in distress. Upon no portion of the sons of men does the common destiny of our race seem to press so heavily. This speaks but ill for their own wisdom; for they have wielded during one hundred and forty-five years previous to 1832, the entire powers of the British Legislature, and still compose the whole of one House of Parliament, and a majority of the other: they have done their best indeed to possess the whole of that too, as they compel every man, before he becomes a member of it, to make oath that he is one of their body. Persons thus circumstanced must be either very unskilful or remarkably conscientious, if they do not contrive to make some other people distressed instead of themselves. If the landlords have not effected this, it has not been for want of trying. All that laws could do they have done to force other people to buy from them every description of the produce of the soil at their own price. All that laws could do they have done to secure to themselves, as borrowers, at the expense of the lenders, the advantage of a low rate of interest. They have exempted their land from several of the taxes. Of their local burthens they have reserved to themselves the entire controul; for the county rates are voted by themselves in quarter sessions, and the administration of the poor laws is entirely in their hands. The army, the navy, and the civil patronage of the State, belong to them almost exclusively. The lay-tithes are theirs for their own use, the ecclesiastical tithes for the use of their younger children. When new land has been inclosed, it has usually been distributed, *not* among the poor, but among the landlords.

Being thus accustomed to have every thing their own way, it may appear extraordinary that they should be always complaining of distress. But is not that the very reason? A spoiled child is always dissatisfied. No spoiled child has all that it asks for, and the more is bestowed, the more it is indignant that anything should be withheld. If it meet with no resistance from human will, it is angry that the laws of nature are not equally compliant; and so are the landlords. Let it *not* be imagined that we contest the *fact of the distress. Distressed they are, for they never have so much money* as they would like to have. Most of them have not even so much as they spend. This they feel, quite sincerely, as a grievous hardship and wrong; and consider themselves injured men if something is not done to relieve them from it.

Really, since they compel us to say it, there is no class whom, as a class

it would better become to bear patiently any unavoidable diminution of their incomes, since a far smaller proportion of them than of any other class have acquired even the smallest part of those incomes by their own labour. Society is their creditor for every thing, and their debtor for nothing. In return for its protection and guarantee to their great fortunes, few indeed among them ever did any thing for society but what they think they do by being 'large consumers,' and 'spending in the country' the money which they draw from it. Their property must be protected because all property must be protected; those who by the accident of birth obtain the large prizes have a right to enjoy them, but not a right to find fault with the course of nature, because the riches they were born to, have turned out less than they expected; especially if the true and only cause of their distress be their own improvidence.

Because a territorial Aristocracy, a class notorious in all the countries of the world for spending all it has, is always needy—because people whose income is in its very nature subject to fluctuations, greatly increased by laws of their own making, and who invariably live up to the full measure of that income when at the highest, are put to considerable inconvenience when a change comes, and to make their suffering less are often tempted to make it ultimately greater, by obliging their tenants to share it—is that any peculiar affliction, any visitation from heaven upon the unfortunate 'agriculturists?' When Ministers, in the speech from the throne, countenanced the cry of 'agricultural distress,' they gave a virtual sanction not only to unfounded complaints but to unjustifiable claims. Their predecessors would not have committed such a blunder. The Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel, whether they had seen through the delusion or not, would not have expatiated upon an evil when they did not intend to propose any remedy.

Ministers were taunted with this inconsistency, in the debate on Lord Chandos's motion, deservedly; and they met the taunt by a piece of inconceivable *mal-adresse*. They said that the agriculturists must look for relief to a diminution of the poor rates, and that a Bill was about to be brought in, which would have that effect. If this be the tone in which they mean to advocate Poor Law Reform, it were better, grievous as are the evils to be remedied, that the question should sleep for a season. To swell their majority by a few votes on a division which decided nothing, they held forth to the world their contemplated poor law amendments as designed for the pecuniary benefit of the rich; which consequently, it will immediately be inferred, must be at the expense of the poor, and must therefore be tyranny, and to be resisted with the utmost force. For a momentary convenience they courted popular odium for their intended measure; they incurred the risk, first of not being able to carry it, and next of not being able to execute it, by representing it, contrary to the fact, as a piece of unfeeling selfishness. We know, and perfectly agree in, what they *meant* to say. The administration of the poor laws, which has produced so much evil to the poor, has produced evil to the rich too; and the amendments which are absolutely required by the interests of the poor themselves, will also alleviate, and wherever they have been tried have alleviated, the burthen of poor rates. But to legislate for the poor with that for the principal object, would be the act of a demon. Neither Ministers nor the Poor Law Commissioners are liable to such an accusation. The exclusive object of all which the Commissioners propose is the good of the working classes themselves; and their recommendations ought to be adopted, even if the effect were to double instead of diminishing the poor rates. Ministers know this, and, we firmly believe, are actuated, in whatever changes they may propose, principally by this motive. But do they forget that the very ground which will be taken against any measure of Poor Law Reform, the great engine of prejudice and calumny against its authors and promoters, will be the assertion that it is a mere contrivance for reducing the poor rates? Whoever chooses to affirm this, may now quote, or affect to quote, their own autho-

rity for it. And this mischief is done to stop the mouths of an agriculturist or two for a single night! The agriculturists were present; the public were absent: and it was with Ministers as it is with most persons of infirm character—the small immediate motive prevailed over the greater but more distant one; to be out of sight, was to be out of mind.

22*d February. Mr. O'Connell's Declaration for the Pillage of the National Creditor.*—Mr. O'Connell is almost the only public man now living, who is, in himself, something; who has influence of his own, and is not one of those whose influence is only that of the places they fill, or the class or party of which, for the time, they may happen to be the representatives. Almost alone among his contemporaries, he individually weighs something in the balance of events, and though far inferior to Mirabeau, may yet say with him '*Ma tête est aussi une puissance.*' No man ever exercised a great ascendancy by personal qualities, in whose character there was not much to admire: and in times like these Mr. O'Connell commands a far larger share of our respect than many of whose honesty we think far more highly. It is very true that a perfect character is the same in all ages; but our estimation of imperfect ones must vary exceedingly, according as their good qualities are merely those of their age, or are those which raise them above their age. Mr. O'Connell lives in an age in which to have a character at all is already a considerable distinction, and to have courage to act up to it, an extraordinary one; an age in which the rarest of all men is he '*qui bene est ausus vana contemnere;*' in which even a man of no very scrupulous conscience, who dares to will great things, or at least things on a large scale, and finds in himself and his own qualities the means of accomplishing them, extorts from us more admiration by the contempt which he thus manifests for a thousand paltry respectabilities and responsibilities which chain up the hands of the 'weak, the vacillating inconsistent Good,'* than he forfeits by not having sufficient greatness of mind to choose worthier objects or worthier means.

In Mr. O'Connell's case we felt the more inclined to overlook much in the

* Wordsworth's Excursion. We subjoin the entire passage. It will be long ere its moral shall become obsolete; though so much of it as ascribes to the Bad any exemption from the enervating influences of the age, is less true at present than in the times to which the poet refers. The Bad, fortunately for the destinies of the race, have mostly become as spiritless and nerveless as the well-intentioned:

'At this day
When a Tartarian darkness overspreads
The groaning nations; when the Impious rule
By will or by established ordinance,
Their own dire agents, and constrain the Good
To acts which they abhor; though I bewail
This triumph, yet the pity of my heart
Prevents me not from owning, that the law
By which Mankind now suffers, is most just.
For by superior energies; more strict
Alliance in each other; faith more firm
In their unhallowed principles; the Bad
Have fairly earned a victory o'er the weak,
The vacillating inconsistent Good.
Therefore, not unconsoled, I wait—in hope
To see the moment, when the righteous Cause
Shall gain Defenders zealous and devout
As They who have opposed her; in which Virtue
Will, to her efforts, tolerate no bounds
That are not lofty as her rights; aspiring
By impulse of her own ethereal zeal.
That Spirit only can redeem Mankind;
And when that sacred Spirit shall appear,
Then shall *our* triumph be complete as theirs.

politician which is objectionable in the man, because we deemed it certain from his position (even if to his personal feelings it were a matter of indifference) that the main direction of his exertions would always be on the popular side, and that he would render valuable service to the popular cause. But there are political crimes of so atrocious a character, that whoever is accessary to them, must for the common safety be cast out of the communion of honest men: every politician who thinks, or even would be believed to think that in politics there is a right and a wrong, must endeavour that the line drawn between himself and such men, may be as broad and as conspicuous as possible. We consider the pillage of the fundholder to be a crime of this description; and Mr. O'Connell, having advocated it, ought to be put into political quarantine, until he purge himself by confession and retractation.

Mr. O'Connell is much mistaken if he imagine that, by the course he has adopted, he is serving Radicalism, or recommending himself to the better part of the Radicals. He is playing into the hands of the Aristocracy. The fundholder has more to fear from them than from the Radicals. Accustomed, by their paramount influence over the Legislature, to take, when it suits them, what is not their own; feeling that the country is clamorous for a reduction of its burthens, and not knowing how they should contrive to live, if deprived of the power of taxing the public for their own benefit—the landholders are under constant temptation to appease the anger of the public, not by restoring to them their own, but by plundering somebody else and presenting them with a part of the spoil. The most inveterate enemies of the fundholder are a party among the landlords: and although the majority, we trust, would shrink from any personal participation in the mingled folly and atrocity of a national bankruptcy, we cannot expect from them any strenuous resistance to it. The only tried friends the fundholder has, the only combatants who plant themselves in the breach whenever he is assailed, who are ever ready to peril their influence in his defence, are Radical writers. To whom but to the 'Westminster Review,' or 'Tait's Magazine,' or the 'Examiner,' can the fundholder look, to place the justice of his cause in a striking light before the public? While the 'Quarterly Review' was urging Parliament to rob him, while Earl Grey was proclaiming in the House of Lords that the robbery was greatly to be deprecated, but that necessity had no law, and *nemo tenetur ad impossibile;* while Sir James Graham was writing a pamphlet expressly to prove that 30 per cent. ought to be struck off from the national debt and from all private mortgages; nobody repelled these iniquities with any thing like energy or indignation but the Radical press.

There is much to be said for paying off the national debt by a tax on property; treating the debt of our fathers as a mortgage upon the property which our fathers left, and therefore a charge upon those to whom that property has descended, and not upon unborn generations of those who have nothing but their labour. *This* proposition may become a popular one among the Radicals generally. But, if the landlords attempt to effect a compromise with the profligate portion of the Radicals, and save themselves who contracted the debt from paying their due share of it, by cancelling it either wholly or partially, they must be plainly told, that they may have the power of determining where confiscation shall begin, but not where it shall end. Of all kinds of property, the public funds consist the most peculiarly of the savings of honest industry, and the pittance of the widow and the orphan. These may be the first robbed, but let the robbers rely on it, they shall not be the last. The people consent to bear with a most mischievous and demoralizing inequality of fortunes, for the sake of the security which springs from the general inviolability of property. But let that inviolability be once seriously infringed, that security destroyed, and it will not be, and ought not to be, longer endured that there should be men who have 100,000*l.* a year, while others are starving. Ere long it would be told to the Aristocracy in a voice of thunder, that if the funds are confiscated to the

state, the land *shall* follow; and, if necessary, not only the land, but all fortunes exceeding 500*l.* or 1000*l.* a year. Not a tenth part of the fundholders possess any thing approaching to the smaller of these sums.

We subjoin two passages from two Radical writers, each of which contains in a small compass some of the considerations by which the attempts of robbery to give itself a colourable pretext, may best be counteracted. The first is aimed directly against the proposition with which Mr. O'Connell has chosen to identify himself—that a large portion of the debt having been contracted in a depreciated currency, the interest ought not to be paid nor the principal liquidated in money of the ancient standard:

'The restoration of the ancient standard, and the payment in the restored currency of the interest of a debt contracted in a depreciated one, was no injustice, but the simple performance of a plighted compact. All debts contracted during the Bank restriction, were contracted under as full an assurance as the faith of a nation could give, that cash payments were only *temporarily* suspended. At first, the suspension was to last a few weeks, next a few months, then, at furthest, a few years. Nobody dared even to insinuate a proposition that it should be perpetual, or that, when cash payments were resumed, less than a guinea should be given at the Bank for a pound note and a shilling. And to quiet the doubts and fears which would else have arisen, and which would have rendered it impossible for any Minister to raise another loan, except at the most ruinous interest, it was made the law of the land, solemnly sanctioned by Parliament, that six months after the peace, if not before, cash payments should be renewed. This, therefore, was distinctly one of the conditions of all the loans made during that period. It is a condition which we have not fulfilled. Instead of six months, more than five years intervened between the peace and the resumption of cash payments. We, therefore, have not kept faith with the fundholder. Instead of having overpaid him, we have cheated him. Instead of making him a present of a per-centage equal to the enhancement of the currency, we continued to pay his interest in depreciated paper five years after we were bound by contract to pay it in cash. And be it remarked, that the depreciation was at its highest during a part of that period. If, therefore, there is to be a great day of national atonement for gone-by wrongs, the fundholders, instead of having anything to refund, must be directed to send in their bill for the principal and interest of what they were defrauded of during those five years. Instead of this, it is proposed, that, having already defrauded them of part of a benefit which was in their bond, and for which they gave an equivalent, we should now force them to make restitution of the remainder!

'That they gave an equivalent, is manifest. The depreciation became greatest during the last few years of the war; indeed, it never amounted to anything considerable till then. It was during those years, also, that by far the largest sums were borrowed by the Government. At that time, the effects of the Bank restriction had begun to be well understood. The writings of Mr. Henry Thornton, Lord King, Mr. Ricardo, Mr. Huskisson, Mr. Blake, &c. and the proceedings of the Bullion Committee, had diffused a very general conviction, that the Bank had the power to depreciate the currency without limit, and that the Bank Directors acted on principles of which that evil was the natural consequence. Does anybody imagine that the loans of those years could have been raised, except on terms never before heard of under a civilized government, if there had been no engagement to pay the interest or the principal in money of any fixed standard? but it had been avowed, that to whatever point the arbitrary issues of the Bank might depress the value of the pound sterling,—there it would be suffered to remain.

'What avails it, then, to cavil about our paying more than we borrowed? Everybody pays more than he borrows; everybody, at least, who borrows at interest. The question is not, have we paid more than we borrow? but, have we paid more than we promised to pay? And the answer is,—we have paid *less*. The fundholder, as the weaker party, has pocketed the injury; he only asks to be spared an additional and far greater one. We *covenanted* to pay in a metallic standard; we therefore are bound to do it. To deliberate on such a question, is as if a private person were to deliberate whether he should pick a pocket.'*

* From an article in 'Tait's Magazine' for January 1833, headed 'The Currency Juggle.'

The argument of our second quotation relates less to the morality than to the political economy of the question. It is from the excellent 'Catechism on the Corn Laws,' by Colonel Perronet Thompson. We quote from the seventeenth edition:—

'To rob the fundholders of their interest, after having spent their capital, would, besides all the evils of breach of contract, have the hardship of an *ex post facto* law, with the unique addition of being made in the teeth of the invitation of an existing law. The nation which should do it, would virtually declare itself incapable of contracting any national engagement, or performing any national act. A community must either acknowledge the possibility of being bound to-morrow by its act of to-day, or it must disband; for if it declares its own incompetency, it will be treated with as a community by nobody. And for any thing that could be gained by such a proceeding, it might as well be proposed to gain by robbing all the individuals who had red hair. The individual robbers might gain by it, but the community could not gain; because the red-haired men are themselves part of the community. If the principal expended could be called back again, it would be a different case. But nobody can seriously believe, that by what has been called applying a sponge to the national debt, the community would be one shilling the richer; or that by robbing one individual of five pounds per annum in order to put it into the pocket of another, the smallest progress would be made towards recovering the hundred which was spent thirty years ago. A man might as well try to repair the loss of a leg, by shifting the deficiency from one side to the other. If every individual was a fundholder in the same proportion that he is a tax-payer, it would be clear that the attempt was only shifting the leg. And it is the same when the case is as it is; except that the fundholders are the smaller party, and therefore might possibly be robbed.

'And this is not the fallacy of saying that a national debt is no evil. It is a very great evil; and the worst thing about it is, that there is no getting rid of it. When a million is borrowed and spent, the evil is inflicted *then;* and not by the shifting of the interest from one pocket to another afterwards. It is not the evil that is denied, but the possibility of getting rid of it by refusing to pay the interest.

'The magnitude of the evil or punishment is the same as if there had been inflicted a judicial necessity for throwing the amount of the interest annually into the Thames. For if the money had never been borrowed, the man who is now the fundholder would have had the principal in his pocket; and the tax-payer would have saved the interest, which is the same thing to him as saving it from the Thames. But there is a special provision of Providence that when money has been thus raised, no possible dishonesty shall get rid of the burden. If the principal had been borrowed from Prester John, the community might possibly gain by cheating him of his interest. But since the interest is owed to a component part of the community, it is in the constitution of things, that the community, however inclined to the practice of larceny, can gain nothing by robbing itself.

'To propose that the fundholders should contribute, in their separate character, to any imaginable object of national expenditure, is as unjust as to propose that certain of the creditors in a case of bankruptcy should suffer the average loss of the creditors in general, and have a sum struck out of their original account besides. The fundholders pay all taxes like other men, and to attack the amount of their claims upon the public besides, is precisely the operation supposed in the case of the bankruptcy. They make no objection to paying at the same rate as other people, to a property-tax, or to any other. What they object to, is being taxed and plundered too.

'That people have been miserably cheated nobody doubts, but not by the fund holders. The fundholders have lost and not gained, in their character of fundholders; and they have borne, and do bear, their share of the general suffering besides. How the suffering is to be diminished nobody seems able to tell. A gone-by Government indulged itself with an unjust war, of the expense of which it never paid a shilling, and has left the whole for us. The immediate defendants are out of reach; they are where nobody will go to fetch them. All that is left for us in the way of recovery, is the possibility of recovering something from the interests in favour of which the fraud was enacted. And to this, if Corn Laws go on, it will come at last, though probably not till the necessity is such as to be equally convincing to all parties.'

5th March. Mr. Buckingham's Motion on Impressment.—'It is not astonishing that in an age of barbarism men should commit barbarities.

That Lord Chatham, one of a generation of statesmen among whom common humanity seems to have been almost as rare as common honesty, and in an age in which nothing was esteemed wickedness by which nobody suffered but the common people—that Lord Chatham should have seen no harm in impressment, can surprise no one; but it is equally unexpected and unwelcome to find Lord Chatham's authority quoted for it now, as conclusive, by a Reform minister. Necessity! so well described by Milton as "*the tyrant's plea;*" it is also Sir James Graham's, and no one has yet, in our own day, or in any preceding, carried impudence so far as to pretend that there can be any other. It is difficult not to feel degraded by the very act of replying to so base a pretext. Necessity! yes: to borrow the apt expression of a vigorous writer, "it is exactly the sort of necessity which men are hanged for;" the convenience of taking the property of other people without paying for it, with the aggravation of its being their *sole* property, and the slight additional circumstance that the entire wealth of the nation is yours to purchase it withal, if you must have it. If the whole matter were laid before a community of ignorant savages; if they could be made to conceive the clamour, the indignant uproar, which rises from all the benches of a certain assembly at the bare suggestion of laying a sacrilegious finger upon anything which borders upon a *vested right*, upon anything which by the utmost straining can be construed into *property*, and then could be shown the spectacle of the same men hallooing on their leaders to denounce and insult men for asserting the *vested right* of the labourer to his own bodily powers, and calling it injustice to knock him down and rob him, not of his purse, seeing that he has none, but of all the *property* he has, his labour, in order to save to their own pockets a fractional part of the wages for which he would consent to sell it—would not the assembly of savages deem the assembly of civilized Christians fit objects for a hurricane to sweep from the earth? What would they think if they were then told, that this same assembly had just voted twenty millions for the redemption of negro slaves? These men are not fools, mere absolute fools they cannot be; they cannot think that kidnapping our own countrymen, and keeping them to forced labour for the whole or the better part of their lives, differs from negro slavery: why, every one of the incidents is the same, down to the very cart whip! call it, if you please, the cat. There is identity even in the wretched apologies which are set up; the captains, or masters, are an ill used, calumniated race of men, and free labour, forsooth, would be vastly dearer!'

This was written last year. This year the exhibition has been repeated, though with some abatement of the former insolence, and a salvo to some Members of tender consciences, in the form of an amendment, which, as we learn from the newspapers, was not too shallow to answer the purpose of an excuse for voting with the Ministry. Sir James Graham successfully fitted his measures to his men.

The pertinacity with which the power of tyranny is clung to, even by persons of the least tyrannical disposition, is almost incredible. We should forget it, if we were not continually reminded of it by the proceedings of public men.

Any person who defends slavery, is perfectly consistent in defending impressment too. Such a person thinks, with Callicles in the Gorgias of Plato, that the weak are by nature the property of the strong, and that if you *can*, with impunity, seize a man by main force, keep him in fetters till his spirit is broken, and compel him by threats and blows to labour for your profit, you have a right to do so. A man may think this, or at least practise it, without any imputation on his intellect. He only proves himself to be a ferocious animal, who being unrestrained by the ordinary ties of conscience or humanity, must be bound down by cords, or manacled with chains, to prevent him from doing mischief to others.

But the misdoings of the Whigs do not arise from the abuse of reason;

they arise from deficiency of it. Like most public men, they are often judged with too much harshness in respect to intentions, because they are presumed to have that qualification which is necessary to the admission of a witness in an English court of justice: 'the faculty of distinguishing right from wrong.' Of lukewarmness in the performance of some of their most important duties, of the want of a stronger active principle of honesty, we fear they can by no means be acquitted. But we believe them to be wrongfully suspected of positive knavery; because few persons are aware how much in human conduct that looks like knavery, is sufficiently accounted for by defects of the intellect. There is a strong and growing impression in the country, founded upon the conduct of Ministers on this question, and on many others, that their denunciations of slavery, as well as their advocacy of Reform, were tricks to get into place, or to secure themselves in it. But this, in reality, does not follow; and to suppose that it does, argues ignorance of the incapacity of ordinary minds, either to feel or think for themselves. Any one who had really felt the detestableness of slavery; whose imagination had represented to him its horrors, or whose reason had made sensible to him its shocking immorality, could never have thought of impressment without similar detestation. But there are men in abundance, and most of the Whig Ministers seem to be of the number, whose own minds never tell them anything which is not first shouted to them by the voice of a united world. Left to themselves, they would never have found out that there was anything condemnable, either in impressment or in slavery: but when, for thirty years, they had grown accustomed to hear dinned in their ears, by men who *had* found it out for themselves, that negro slavery was a blot upon our national character, an enormity, a crime, a sin, it at last appeared so to them. In thirty years more, by an equally intense expression of national abhorrence, their consciences might, we dare say, be awakened on the subject of impressment too.

But what words can be found to characterise Sir James Graham's amendment? The grievance was, that you seized upon men by force, and robbed them of their only property, their labour:—the remedy proposed is, that instead of going out into the streets, knocking down the first man you meet, and robbing him, you shall for the future draw lots whom you will rob; the power, however, of knocking down in the streets not being given up, but still held in reserve to be used in cases of emergency!

It is hardly worth while to ask the question, how seamen are to be induced to submit to a registry which they will know is intended to facilitate catching them for the purpose of being robbed? Nor need we do more than just allude to the vehement objection at first made on account of the expense, to so important a public institution as a registry of births and marriages, while expense is no objection to registering men for the purpose of robbing them.

Our indignation when we think on the lives which have been filled with bitterness, and the noble hearts which have been broken by the pressgang abomination, gives way to astonishment at the quality of the understanding which can think to justify it by such arguments, or to uphold it for a short time longer by such miserable evasions.

1*st March.* *The Dudley Election.*—On personal grounds we should regret the defeat of Sir John Campbell: there are few persons connected with office for whom we have so real a respect. In his peculiar department he is most valuable; at once an eminent lawyer and a strenuous law-reformer. In his general conduct he manifests this great superiority over almost all other official people, whether Ministers or underlings, that his opinions always seem to be the growth of his own mind; and he therefore is not afraid to commit himself by enunciating them. He is not one of those who, never talking but by rote or from tradition, never know whether they may venture to assent to a proposition which is not in their books. He has what so few men have, reasonable self-reliance: and this quality, along with that preference for truth and reason on all subjects which usually accompanies

the capacity for comprehending them, render the Attorney General a most useful Member of the House of Commons, and one whose absence from it would be a public misfortune.

But Sir John Campbell cannot fail to find, in a short time, some door open for his readmission into Parliament; and, meanwhile, it is matter of just rejoicing that the Ministry have received a lesson, of a kind which they can understand. If you seek to make an impression upon a Minister, there is a much surer method than argument; arguments serve well enough to convince him that he is in the right; but to make him conscious of being in the wrong, there is nothing like the loss of votes. The present Ministry are, in this, remarkably like every other Ministry. The way to move them is not to overthrow their syllogisms, but to turn out their candidates. This is the only point where they are always vulnerable; and, fortunately, it is by no means hard to be come at. Here, indeed, lies the chief reason for preferring a Whig to a Tory Ministry. The check operates much sooner. To defeat a Tory candidate, the independent electors must come to the poll; to annihilate a Whig, they have only to stay away from it, and leave the rest to the 'natural influence of property.' A Tory Ministry is in no danger, except from great positive unpopularity; but mere indifference on the part of the public is fatal to a Whig Ministry.

This ensures on the part of the present Ministers greater deference than would be paid by the Tories to public opinion when actually declared. To foresee, indeed, what will probably be the public opinion a month hence, or what judgment the public will pronounce on any measure not yet laid before it, is what no reasonable man will expect from them. To be capable of this, they must be either philosophers or men of the world; and their misfortune is that they are neither. They are unskilled alike in books and in men. They have neither theory nor experience.

To the world at large, the Dudley election tells only what was known before: to Ministers, it was, we should think, a revelation of something they dreamed not of; namely, that the nation were not perfectly satisfied with their conduct. And, lest they should fail in drawing this inference, their fast friends and supporters, the 'Times' and 'Chronicle,' have undertaken the kind office of instilling it into their minds, accompanied by suitable admonitions. The 'Times' reads them a severe lecture on the folly of half-measures. The 'Chronicle' bestows on them a catalogue of their errors of omission and of commission, and tells them they have lost the confidence of the country. On this the 'Examiner' remarks:—

'Upon any discomfiture of the Ministry, such as the defeat of the Attorney General at Dudley, it is very frankly told its faults by journals which, so long as the tide flowed smoothly, have countenanced and encouraged it in all its errors. The first deviations from the right course are the deviations which should be closely watched and corrected; but the supporters of Government in the daily press are silent, or apologists, or approvers, of such declensions, till they have extended to a broad departure from the just line, and brought Ministers to a position of conspicuous disgrace. Which is the time to tell a man that he is in the wrong path? when he first steps into it; or when, exhausted and bemired, he has wandered miles from the right way? The information may be better late than never, but it would have been better at first than at last. The attempt, however, to correct the first false step has been censured and resisted as an act of hostility. The angry remark has been, "Why point out the little deviation from the right path in which they have advanced so far, and deserve indulgence? Apply yourself to commending their line of movement where it has been well directed, instead of ungraciously dwelling on the present declension of some few degrees." Now we could never understand the kindness of not telling a man when he was going wrong, especially when marching straight into a slough; nor, on the score of his having travelled right up to a certain point, could we admit that he had earned a title to lose his way, and that it was ungrateful to admonish him that he had mistaken his course. But this was for some time fashionable doctrine, and when Ministers were first truckling to the Tories and adopting Tory principles, as upon sinecures and the duration of Parliaments, and falling into divers Tory practices, and

putting forth the hacknied Tory pretences for them, our animadversions upon these backslidings were called "attacks upon the Ministry," instead of attacks upon the errors which would ultimately disgrace and ruin them. When these things have advanced to a certain pitch, and public opinion recoils and marks its displeasure with some rebuff to the Ministry, their former flatterers or apologists turn round upon them, and recite the long catalogue of the faults which have been cherished, instead of nipped in the bud. They then say, "It is now time to speak the truth." It was not time to speak the truth when the men were first going wrong, and easily to be better guided; but it is time to speak the truth when, having been cheered on in the wrong direction, they have stuck in the slough.'

There is nothing surprising in this. Ministers are treated by the newspapers as they themselves treat the public. They shape their conduct to the convenience of the day, leaving the morrow to shift for itself; and the newspapers praise or blame them by the same rule. The newspapers are a greater power than the Ministry, but are mostly as far as they are from having any lofty conception of the dignity of their mission. They have no particular motive to warn the Ministers, until the evil hour arrives: why should they sail against the stream? when the tide turns, so can they. What Ministers may expect from them is, to be encouraged in their faults, and never forgiven for the consequences; flattered while each blunder is in progress, and reproached with it when it is consummated. This fair-weather friendship answers the purposes of the newspapers very well, but those of the Ministers very ill. A Ministry, however accustomed to the evolution, cannot halt and wheel round with the same rapidity as a newspaper can. Ministers are known men, with the public eye upon them, noting their words and actions; all they say and do is remembered, and helps either to found a reputation or to destroy it. But a newspaper-writer nobody knows; nobody thinks about him, or inquires who he is; nobody remembers to-day what he wrote yesterday, nor will remember to-morrow what he may choose to-write to-day. He can afford to praise a Ministry up to the last moment, and then turn round upon them. Few, indeed, are the journalists whose support contains in itself any guarantee of permanency.

Fortunately a journal, like a Ministry, may be very faulty and yet very useful. Judge the 'Times' or the 'Chronicle' by their faults only, and they would be insufferable; yet, without the 'Times' and 'Chronicle,' what should we do?

8*th March. The Debate on the Corn Laws.*—It is vain and wearisome to beat the air with never-ending discussion of exhausted questions. Who supposes that the landlords' monopoly is standing at this day for want of arguments to batter it down? All has been said on the Corn Laws: and it is now to be proved by other means than words, who is strongest. If the decision last night does not convince the manufacturers of this, they must be unconvincible. Argument may be overcome by argument, but will must be vanquished by will. The time of calm discussion is gone by, and that of agitation must commence. The people *are* convinced, they are now to be stimulated. Reason is satisfied; the appeal must now be (however little the word may be relished) to passion. Injustice was never hurled from its throne by men who remained cool. The people must show that when they are wronged they can be indignant, and that the deliberate profession of a determined purpose to persevere in wronging them, can only be expiated by the complete loss of political influence.

Sir James Graham—who was selected as spokesman of the Ministry, solely, we presume, because he had written a pamphlet, and published it with his name, in which the landlords' monopoly was condemned;—Sir James Graham placed the maintenance of the monopoly on its true basis. He said openly, that the bread-tax must be endured, because the landlords would be ruined if it were abolished. If rents were to fall twentyp cent., (he said,)

the greater part of the landed property of the country must change hands. The landlords, then, are so deeply in debt, that they cannot keep their estates if compelled to live honestly; they must therefore be allowed to plunge their hands into the pocket of every person who lives by bread, in order to keep themselves out of the Gazette. They cannot afford to be landholders unless we pay them for it. We must tax ourselves to give them salaries for being a landed Aristocracy. We thank them for nothing. Their creditors will do it gratis.

A bolder language must be held to these people than they have been accustomed to. The landlords have hitherto been the ruling power, and, like all ruling classes, have been estimated at whatever value they chose to put upon themselves. If there were a man to whom nobody dared tell that he was not a god, he would end by believing it. Almost every member of the House of Commons really is, and all have sworn that they are, landlords; to such Sir James Graham was quite safe in thinking that he had said enough, when he said that without a subsidy from the public the landlords could not remain landlords. But what concern is it (except as a question of humanity) of any but themselves? Are the present landlords so much more precious to us than any other landlords, that when they cannot live upon their own means we should subscribe to enable them to live upon ours? If they are so deeply in debt that they own no more than twenty per cent. of their nominal incomes, and are mere receivers of the other four-fifths for the benefit of their creditors, the sooner they abandon their false position, cease to pretend to a character they have no right to, and let the real owners of the land become the avowed owners, the better. Land is power; and power cannot be more fatally placed than in the hands of spendthrifts by station; of men who have to maintain the externals of a large income with the resources of a small one; of men with the wants and habits of the rich, and the fortunes of the poor.

One word here on the philosophy of Aristocracy. The theoretic foundation both of Toryism and Whiggism; the moral and philosophical basis of all the modern European aristocratical politics; the justification of that paradox in practical ethics, the doctrine that the working bees should be governed by the drones, is the axiom, so dear to Aristocracy, that those who have the greatest stake in the country are the fittest to govern it. When the doctrines of Oligarchy are at variance with the interests of Oligarchy, we see which gives way. Who so far from having a stake in the country as needy rich men? people accustomed to profuse expenditure, which they have no longer the means of keeping up; through whose hands large incomes are constantly passing, only to be paid away to other people; to whom great wealth is constantly shown, while nothing of it is theirs except its wants—wants which have become unconquerable, and which they are under the strongest temptations to find the means of supplying at whatever cost? It is false that poor men, as such, are dangerous in a State; but those who are really dangerous are the poor who are miserable if they are not rich. Over such men not only the interest of others, but their own permanent interest has no hold; it is worth their while to be ruined in two years rather than to economize in one; they are dishonest debtors, bad landlords; gamblers themselves, they compel all under them to be so; rather than submit to a diminution of their rents to-day, they would run the risk of losing them altogether to-morrow, by forcing their tenants to exhaust the land; they are dishonest legislators; they must have a bread-tax, and their sons and nephews must have a provision out of the other taxes. In an age of conspiracies such men are conspirators; Catiline was such a man.

If the class to which Sir James Graham belongs, are in the condition which he describes, they may be an Aristocracy, but they are not a landed Aristocracy; they are a debtor Aristocracy: an Oligarchy not of the rich, but of the grasping and dissipated poor. Have they 'a stake in the country?' No. But let the land pass from them to the mortgagees, the real owners,

there would be a landed Aristocracy; the new landlords would have a real, not a pretended stake in the country; we should be governed by the rich, since that is so great an advantage; and at least the land, in which we are all so deeply interested, would be in the hands of men, who, instead of ruining it for posterity in order to have this year a few more pounds to spend, could afford to lay out money without any immediate return for the increase of its productiveness at a distant period. Though there are many reasons for desiring this change, we are not anxious to see it; let the existing race of landlords save themselves if they can; but it must be honestly. We will not help them to pay their debts with a slice off the loaf on every man's table.

We have but one observation to add. Such questions as these are tests of the sufficiency of the Reform Bill; they gauge, if we may be permitted the metaphor, the strength of the popular influences in the House of Commons. When we say, that *all* the people's representatives should be elected by the people, we are told that the influence of the people, is the influence of the numerical majority; that minorities have rights, and that unless particular classes are allowed to have representatives as well as the people, the majority will not be satisfied with justice, but will demand injustice; will not content themselves with security against being plundered by minorities, but will insist upon plundering the minorities in their turn. Be it so. Produce to us then a Parliament which holds the balance even; which obliges each party to be content with justice, and allows neither to plunder the other; and we will acknowledge that the Parliament is reformed enough. At present it is proposed to free the immense majority from the most insupportable of their burthens, the most flagrant of their injuries; this is refused, avowedly for the pecuniary benefit of the present landowners, and the refusal is backed by a majority of 312 to 155. The interest, or supposed interest of the landowners, therefore, is an overmatch for obvious justice and the interest of all the rest of the community together, by more than two to one. Here is a case for a further Parliamentary Reform, which the stupidest can understand. We demand, then, further Reform. We demand it on the ground, not of any preconceived theory, but of the recorded failure of the present experiment. The Reform Bill has been tried, and proved wholly insufficient.

To Mr. Poulett Thomson, Mr. Littleton, Mr. Ellice, Lord Howick, and the other Members of the House connected with the Ministry, who spoke or voted in favour of Mr. Hume's motion, belongs the praise of the seraph Abdiel,—that of submitting to temporary defeat in a cause certain of ultimate triumph. Lord Althorp did not give his vote to the cause, but he gave it his good word, saying, with much *naïveté*, that he voted against it, but could not speak against his own conviction. Perhaps a time will come, when he will think it as impossible to *vote* against his conviction, as to speak against it.

12*th March.* *Political Oaths.*—Mr. O'Connell has had the merit of being the first to speak out, we mean in Parliament, what every rational person thinks, that oaths of office, and oaths taken by Members of Parliament, are worthless formalities, which do no good whatever, and much harm. His declaration drew forth adhesions from several Members, in particular an animated one from Dr. Lushington, who brought upon himself a sarcastic reply from Mr. Stanley, by the strength of his commendations of bold policy. The lesson to Ministers was good, though the occasion scarcely required it; where would be the boldness of abolishing these frivolous ceremonies? It is not courage that is wanted, but common sense.

When you require a man, before he is admitted into Parliament, or accepts an office, to swear that he will not attempt to change the existing form of government, or to destroy the Church, or some particular institution in the State; is it supposed that you ever in reality prevent the nation from abolishing their Constitution or their Church, if they cease to think them essential to the public well-being? It would be monstrous, if one generation could thus tie up the hands of all succeeding ages, and impose its institutions

upon the most remote posterity, against their will. The living will never submit themselves to the tyranny of the dead. Happily, though self-conceited legislators may *say* to their own handiwork *esto perpetua*, it is out of their power to make it so. As soon as it ceases to be thought worth preserving, it will cease to be preserved. But this they may do; they may render it impossible to make the most necessary alteration without perjury: which is much the same thing as to establish perjury by law.

If it be of importance that there should be sacredness in oaths, or in any solemn engagements, legislators should beware of compelling or tempting men to bind themselves not to do, what it may possibly be the dictate of their duty to do. Cases *must* occasionally occur of incompatible obligations; cases in which, whatever course we adopt, we unavoidably violate some moral duty, or we should rather say, some general rule, of which the observance is important to morality. But to all conscientious persons, except those of the strongest intellect or the most decided character, such an alternative is extremely distressing; and it is under cover of these extreme cases, lying exactly on the boundary between guilt and exalted virtue, that laxity of principle most commonly creeps in. It is of the utmost moment to the maintenance of a high standard of moral sentiment among the mass, that such cases of what may be termed justifiable immorality should rarely occur, and when they do occur, should not be forced forward into public notice and discussion. We are persuaded that the applause lavished upon Brutus and Timoleon, whether merited or not, has had a strong tendency to create indulgence for private crimes when supposed to be committed from public motives. Infidelity to engagements is far more likely to propagate itself by example than assassination. How much, then, have those to answer for, who arbitrarily create, in the most extensive sphere of publicity, a conflict of duties, of which this is sure to be the result! who compromise the sanctity of the most binding of promises, by exacting it where its observance may possibly be a breach of obligations still more sacred! For there is no limit to the baneful consequences which an institution may produce, if it be not altered, when all other things are altering around it. And the framers of the oaths have so contrived matters, that be these consequences what they will, there shall be no means of averting them without a previous perjury. Is it a trifle to have made it unavoidable, that, in a contingency which is not improbable, which in a given lapse of time is virtually certain, it shall be the study, not of bad men, but of the best and most pure-minded, to reconcile themselves to the intentional evasion of a solemn promise? to preach to the mass of mankind that oaths are not binding? to invent artful contrivances for slipping their heads out of the yoke of a positive engagement?

Such is the morality inculcated both with precept and example, by the organs of the political Church of England. Sir R. H. Inglis avers, that human society is built upon oaths. It is built upon oaths, and in order to strengthen the foundations, men are to be placed in such a situation, that, in a contingency not unlikely to occur, they must perforce disregard either their oaths or their country's good; and that, in proportion to their attachment to duty and ardour for the public weal, will be their efforts to vanquish their own reluctance to perjury! The real enemies of public morals, and weakeners of the ties which hold mankind together, are such teachers. It is impossible even to conceive the existence of a healthy and vigorous morality, until the reign of such men and of such doctrines is over.*

15*th March.* *The Trades' Unions.*—The 'Times,' this morning, has an

* Since this was written the Duke of Richmond has obtained a Committee of the House of Lords to inquire what oaths it may be expedient to abolish, with reference especially to promissory oaths. This is rational and commendable. A better commencement could not be made than by expunging all the promissory oaths, which the ministerial Bill relating to Irish Tithes is full of.

article in which it seems to urge the Ministers to what they have by very alarming symptoms evinced themselves to be too much inclined to; the introduction of a measure for the suppression of the Trades' Unions.

Now it would be wise, if, before they commit themselves to a course of policy of which they cannot doubt that the consequences would be most serious, they would consider well the character of the step which they are exhorted to take. It will be received as neither more or less than a declaration to the working people, that is, to about four-fifths of the whole population, that the Government is their enemy; that it is determined to *keep them down;* to keep them for ever poor, dependent, and servile, trampled into the earth under the feet of their employers.

We speak not, of course, in these terms, of anything which may or may not be done or attempted, for the more effectual prevention of violence, threats, or personal annoyance, when employed, as by many of the Unions they are said to be, to deter labourers from working for employers who do not comply with their rules. Against all such infringements by a part of the working population upon the just liberty of the remainder, the most effectual security ought to be taken (if it does not already exist) which is compatible with another liberty not less sacred; the right of the working classes, not only to concert with one another, either for raising wages, or for accomplishing any other end which they are permitted by law to pursue individually, but also to sanction their compact by giving free utterance to the disapprobation which it is natural they should feel towards those whom they consider as traitors to their caste; and the expression of which should be no further restrained by *law*, than the expression of the most just horror at any undoubted crime is restrained by the laws of most civilized countries; namely, by not being permitted to amount to personal insult or serious molestation.

But any attempt to confine the liberty of combination among workmen within narrower limits than these, is systematic tyranny; and the feelings of unconquerable resentment and abhorrence which it would most surely inspire in the whole of the labouring population towards the governing classes and the existing institutions of their country, would be natural and excusable. How *could* they view it, but as a measure of hostility taken against them as enemies by a superior caste, whom they regard, often most unjustly but often too truly, as actuated by the most hardened selfishness, and by all manner of evil feelings towards them; and whose grand object they believe to be, while living sumptuously on their labour, to withhold from them any but the scantiest share of its produce for which they will consent to work?

In vain would the employers, and their organs in the press or in Parliament, put in requisition doctrines of political economy, true indeed, but which they themselves only half understand, to this effect, that combinations never in reality keep up the rate of wages. What then? The working people are entitled to try: unless they try, how are they ever to learn? You, their employers, have not been wont to show either so infallible a wisdom, or so pure and disinterested a zeal for *their* interests, that you should expect them to take the proposition on your word, on the word of the adverse party. And we have yet to learn what you have done to assist the cultivation of their understandings, and the formation of vigorous intellectual faculties which should enable them to discern without trial what modes of bettering their condition are practicable and what are chimerical. And in truth how could you impart what has never yet been imparted to you? Show us an occasion on which the higher classes have ever received, except through the lessons of bitter experience, any political truth opposed to the suggestions of their direct and immediate interest, and we will allow them to complain of the absence of similar perspicacity in the labouring classes.

We cannot conceive any conduct much more discreditable, though unhappily in perfect keeping with the mode in which the world is habitually governed, than this: altogether to neglect the promotion, by such means

as are practicable, either of the worldly prosperity or the mental and moral culture of the labouring classes; to use no means for conciliating, but a thousand for alienating, their good will; to allow them, as far as depends upon ourselves, to grow up barbarians in the midst of our civilization; and when they, despairing of help from us, have turned to helping themselves, and are taking the only means we have given them of learning how to better their lot, by mutual consultation and practical experiment, then to bear down upon them with the strong hand of power, and close that door also against them. But it cannot be done: there are passions aroused strong enough to effect it if it were practicable, but it is not.

The hope that experience, when allowed freely to take its course, will be the mother of wisdom to the operative classes as it has been to all mankind, is already justified by an actual result. The mechanics have discovered and recognised that strikes on the old principle, strikes by cessation of working, are always failures. The doctrine of the Trades' Unions now is, that when they resolve upon a strike, their course must not be to cease working, but to work on their own account; and that the common funds, which formerly went to support them in idleness, must now be administered as a capital for their productive employment. Can any thing be at once more unexceptionable and more desirable, than such an experiment as this? Possessing the necessary funds, the labourers mean to become capitalists, and to make actual trial of the difficulties of a joint management. If they succeed, who will not hail as one of the most important fruits of modern civilization, the demonstrated possibility of arrangements of society under which the whole produce of labour would belong exclusively to the labourers? But if, as is infinitely more probable, they fail; is not this the very lesson which their superiors are most anxious, and ought to be most anxious that they should learn? When they perceive that the laws of property, which so revolt their moral sense, by rendering the condition of the idle so often preferable to that of the industrious, are the necessary condition of a large production; when they find that the attempt to realize (otherwise than with the slow progress of human improvement) the cooperative principle as applied to the production of wealth, causes so much waste of labour in the intricate business of management and check, and such a relaxation of the intensity of individual exertion, that under the fairest possible distribution there is a smaller share for each, than falls or might fall to the lot even of the most scantily remunerated, under the present arrangements; then, and not till then will they patiently submit to the necessity of not moving faster than their limbs will carry them; and instead of aiming at impracticable changes in the general order of society, will combine with all other honest and intelligent men, in introducing all the improvements which the existing social system admits of.

For the remainder of the Notes on the Newspapers, see page 309.

ON THE BISHOP OF LONDON'S DEFENCE OF THE CHURCH ESTABLISHMENT.*

THE Bishop of London is well known to be a bold and busy man. The sermons before us are very characteristic. With singular temerity his lordship has ventured on applying the test of utility to the Established Church, and on appealing to the religious condition of the United States of America in corroboration of his argument. We are ready to follow him in this application and appeal. It is by the principle of utility that the Church ought to be tried; and the example of the United States is entitled to great weight in the discussion. So far we are agreed. Provided the fact can be made out, we allow that 'the strongest argument for an Established Church is this; that it is the only, or, at any rate, the most efficient instrument of instructing the people in the doctrines of religion, and of habituating them to its decencies and restraints.' (p. 35.) Moreover, should it appear that 'in no other way is it possible to make a thoroughly effectual provision for the spiritual instruction, and moral improvement of a whole people,' and that in this way such provision can be made, we confess ourselves in the wrong, and will beg our duty to the Bishop, and henceforth reverence the lawn, and see on it 'God's own stamp,' according to the admonition of the pious Blackwood.

But it seems to us, at the very outset, that no machinery can be adequate for the purposes above described, which does not commence with universally educating the population. The connexion between education and morality, education and religion, education and national character and prosperity, is much more satisfactorily ascertained than the connexion between preaching (without education) and all those blessings. The Bishop has some perception of this fact. He almost affirms that the established clergy *do* educate the people. His language approaches nearer and nearer towards the assertion of this magnificent falsehood as he waxes warm in his argument, and triumphant in his conclusions. First we are told of the clergy 'promoting and superintending the Christian education of the young.' (p. 36.) This struck us as a felicitous discovery. Anon we found them 'in the midst of a poor, unenlightened population,' not only 'labouring solely for their good,' but 'assisting, superintending, perhaps conducting the education of their children.' (p. 37.) This is 'better still;' and there is 'better thence again;' for, irradiated by the light of episcopal imagina-

* 'The Uses of a Standing Ministry and an Established Church. Two Sermons by C. J. Blomfield, D.D., Bishop of London.' Fellowes, 1834.

tion, the parsonage becomes 'the local centre and shrine of knowledge, and charity, and sympathy, and order;' and to shut it up would be to 'shut up, in many a village and hamlet of our land, not only the parsonage, but the school and the dispensary,' and to 'leave the people without any antagonist principle to counteract the workings of a corrupt nature.' Now who could possibly imagine, but for the fact, that all this was preached and printed in a country where education (unless they be paid for it in addition) is no part of the business of a clergy which is in the annual receipt of several millions sterling; where there are school endowments to an amount which, though not ascertainable, is probably sufficient, alone, for the education of all the children in the nation, but those endowments, chiefly in the hands of the clergy, and either perverted into absolute sinecures, or rendered as unavailing as if they were, to the great mass of the community; where the first great public effort for rendering education general was made by a poor Quaker, whom the clergy would have put down, but that the spirit of humanity, to which he appealed, was too strong for them, and so they did the next bad thing that was to be done, and started opposition schools, increasing the expenditure, diminishing the chance of success, and infecting the pure benevolence of the scheme with sectarian exclusiveness and domination; and where the political influence of the church is notoriously the great difficulty which renders hopeless, for the present, any legislative establishment of a properly national education? So it is, however, and very admirable is the Bishop's boldness in holding up this church as a 'chosen instructress,' and the only means by which 'any impression is to be made upon the mass of ignorance.' A chosen instructress, indeed! Did he not know that the dame's school is out of date, because it was so utterly inefficient; the old lady contenting herself with pocketing the parish money, and whipping the children instead of teaching them?

Out of the school and church revenues the education of the entire population might be well provided for; and it ought. They are amply sufficient to endow 'schools for all,' and leave abundant funds for the spiritual and moral instruction of adults. But the clergy must not be trusted as the agents. For fit and responsible public schoolmasters there must be other modes of training, and other authorities to appoint and superintend. With a people universally and well taught in their youth, can there be a doubt that religion and morality would thrive, even though the support of places of worship should be left solely to voluntary contribution?

The Bishop talks of the 'moral improvement' of the people. Now, the Established Church not only omits to lay the best foundation of morals, in the education of the young, but grossly neglects the moral instruction of the adult members of the com-

munity. Morality can scarcely be said to be taught at all in this country. A bit of it, indeed, comes in at the end of a sermon; a solemn, pointless, useless admonition to do your duty, which leaves matters just where it found them, either as to knowledge or motive. How many of the clergy are moralists? They have perhaps been examined in Paley, at the universities, as they were examined in Euclid; but a scientific acquaintance with morality is far more rarely to be met with amongst them than a scientific acquaintance with geometry. Few people seem to have any notion that morality *is* a science: nor, in truth, is it yet; it is only capable of becoming so, although so essential to the improvement of society. A poor man does what the parson does not like, and the parson blindly throws a scripture precept at his head, hit or miss: or, the poor man does what the parson likes, and he gives him a scripture promise, like a sugar-plum wrapped up in paper for a child. But who tells the poor man whether it be his duty to himself and family to join in the next turn-out, or to sign the Factory Bill petition, or to do or abstain from twenty other things, in which there is a right and a wrong, because there is a useful and a pernicious course, and where the calculation requires to be made with care, in proportion to its importance? Where is instruction to be had on these matters? They constitute, in the aggregate, the practical morality of life; but, as they involve questions not agitated in Judea in the days of the apostles, Scripture has only general principles, which the priest is usually as incapable of wisely applying to them, even were he disposed to do so, as the most ignorant of his hearers. Through the length and breadth of our land, from the lowest classes to the highest, there is not only no systematic, trustworthy, and influential instruction, but there is (with the paltriest exceptions) no instruction at all on the real morality of life,—the science of interests, the art of happiness. And yet we are told that the Church is 'powerful and effective machinery for improving both the moral and social condition of the people!' The Church, that has never raised a finger to this salutary, this necessary work! The Church, that so continually strives to deter and frighten men from the use of what poor and limited means they do possess for learning something of their rights, their interests, and, consequently, of their duties!

The Church can never be the fountain of public instruction, because there are three large classes of the community with which it must be continually embroiled; viz., tithe-payers, dissenters, and politicians. The spiritual excise can never become popular with the farmer: he will curse the 'black locust' to the end of the chapter. No contrivances will allay the hatred towards this vexatious impost. It must be abrogated. The only object for all patriotic men to keep in view, is that it be not pocketed by the landlords. So long as it exists, clergy and

parishioners are sure to be in hot water. Oh! Dr. Blomfield, how could you put the gauge of utility into this boiling cauldron, without scalding your fingers? Again; the Church can never be a national instructor, because it is essentially sectarian. Whether its creeds and articles be true or false, it has long been demonstrated by experience that they are too narrow not to exclude a considerable portion of the most intelligent religionists. It is evident that Dissent is growing, and Churchism is declining. The separation between the Church and the nation was cut broad and deep by the Act of Uniformity, and it has been widening and deepening ever since. At most, the church can only divide the religious intelligence of the country. Whatever her theological merits, she holds her own with conflict and difficulty; and can only secure a partial and distracted attention to the teachings she delivers, with a continually-disputed authority. The political character of the Church must always render numbers disaffected towards it. The extent to which, under the pretence of being a religious institution, it serves as an endowment for the offshoots and dependents of the Aristocracy, and contributes towards the spoil to be divided amongst political partisans; and, in consequence, the firmness with which it presents its front of brass against any movement of reformation, must ever disgust honest politicians, and prevent their much profiting by its moral lessons. Here, then, are permanent and insuperable difficulties against its being the machine of national instruction.

The Bishop supposes a perfect parish priest (p. 37); and then supposes one such in every parish and district; and then asks, with touching simplicity, 'whether any thing could make amends for the loss?' We might as well suppose we had the purse of Fortunatus, and ask what would make amends for its loss. The pious and laborious clergy are a small minority of the hierarchy: they are worse paid than dissenting ministers: they are much less judiciously distributed over the country, and less strengthened in their vocation than they would be, were the Church a free and voluntary church. The active spiritual influence of the Church is far more limited and irregular than that of Methodism. And yet the Bishop draws a comparison with America. He points to its religious condition as one which should strike us with horror:—'In that country the great body of the people are left to provide and maintain their own religious teachers: and the consequence is, that great numbers are without any teachers at all, or at least without any who deserve the name; and that vast districts are, to all appearance, rapidly sinking into heathenism.' Let us look a little into this matter.

And first as to education, which must be regarded as the best substratum for religion. We shall refer to an authority on which the Bishop relies, and which seems to be compiled with great care, the 'American Almanac, and Repository for Useful Know-

ledge.' The number before us is for 1833. It contains a Tabular View of Education in the United States, and in Europe. By this it appears that the proportion of pupils who receive the common school instruction, to the whole population, is, in England, one out of 15·3; while in New York it is one out of 3·9; in Massachusetts, Maine, and Connecticut, about one out of 4; in all New England, at least one out of 5; in Pennsylvania, one out of 8; Illinois, one out of 13; and Kentucky, one out of 21. In all the New States one thirty-sixth of the land is set apart for the endowment of public schools. So much for the advantage of an Established Church in the promotion of public instruction. Even the recently-settled Illinois can compete with England, while all New England beats us threefold. In the higher, or collegiate education, the eastern States have the advantage over England: the others not. England has one *academical* student in every 1,132 of her population; the average for the Eastern States is one in every 1,118; for the United States altogether, one in 2,078. But this proportion is rapidly on the increase. In the middle States it had nearly doubled in two years. The same in the western States. In the southern States it had nearly trebled. There can be no doubt of the collegiate institutions soon leaving us as far behind as the public schools, unless such a reform be obtained as will give us a really efficient machinery of popular instruction.

The strictly religious results are such as might be expected. Almost the entire population of the United States is in connexion with some religious denomination or other. The census of 1830 returns a total (including 2,000,000 of slaves, and 300,000 of free persons of colour) of 12,854,890. The religious statistics for that year are imperfect. Those for 1833 give the population of the different sects and churches at a total of 12,496,953. The number of communicants amounts to 1,324,032. There are no documents by which it can be ascertained, generally, what number of persons are in communion with the Church of England. That it must fall greatly short of one out of every twelve nobody can doubt. In our January number (p. 69) are some extracts from the 'Case of the Dissenters,' by which it appears that, in one diocese, the returns are 19,069 attendants at church, out of a population of 110,000; and only 4,134 receiving the communion. This gives one out of seven for hearers, and about one in thirty-eight as communicants. So that, tried by this test, the voluntary system produces more than three times as much religion in America as the Establishment does in England. But the American returns of communicants omit those of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Universalists, Roman Catholics, Quakers, Congregational Unitarians, Millenarians, and New Jerusalemites; and allowing for these, the number of communicants is, in proportion to the population, as one to eight; or nearly five times the

amount (so far as it can be represented by numbers) of religion in America that there is in England. The number of preachers, as compared with the population, (and not reckoning pulpits temporarily vacant,) is about one to every 1,200 souls. This result, which we have derived from the tables before us, in the American Almanac for 1833, exactly corresponds (as to the *proportion* of preachers) with that arrived at, twelve years ago, by the author of the 'Remarks on the Consumption of Public Wealth by the Clergy;' so that the supply of ministers has been kept up, while the population has been adding one-third to its total amount. The Bishop sneers at the qualifications of many of these preachers. There is one security for their not being contemptible. With few exceptions, they preach to a population much better educated than that of England. Of that education, at least, they have partaken in common with others; and, as there are about thirty theological seminaries, besides other colleges, it is but fair to suppose they have made such acquirements as the peculiarities of their vocation demanded. The Bishop's objection to their doctrines we leave uncontroverted. He does not allege that they preach impiety or immorality.

By a long note (p. 50) we find that the Bishop was taken to task, for his language in the sermon, by an American gentleman, who heard it delivered. The defence makes the matter worse. The first part of it consists of extracts from Mr. Flint's 'History and Geography of the Mississippi Valley.' He says of the constitutions of the Western Countries:—'In none of the enactments are there any provisions for the support of any form of worship whatever. But if it be inferred from this, that religion occupies little or no place in the thoughts of the people, that there are no forms of worship, and few ministers of the gospel, *no inference can be wider from the fact.*' Mr. Flint then describes the itinerating system, which seems admirably adapted to those newly-settled, and as yet thinly-peopled localities. Those who engage in it appear, incidentally, to be chiefly men who have had the advantages of some or other of the theological seminaries. Some paltry attempts are made in these quotations, by the use of italics, to give a false or undue emphasis. What his lordship is capable of in this way may be judged by his complacent citation of the following anecdote from 'Men and Manners in America:'—'Some of them (the American clergy) seem to have changed their tenets as they do their coats. One told me that he had commenced his clerical life as a Calvinist; he then became a Baptist; then a Universalist; and was, when I met him, a Unitarian!' Now, whether this person had changed his opinion four or forty times is of little consequence; only mark the juggle. The design is to convey the idea of a succession of tenets; the one displaced to make way for the other, like an old coat thrown off periodically to put on a new one. But the fact is, that Bap-

tism, Universalism, and Unitarianism, so far from one jostling the other out, are perfectly consistent with one another, and do, continually, form part of the same system. Nothing is more common, both here and in America, than for the Universalist to be an Unitarian-Baptist. The man had undergone, not four changes, but one change, which is quadrupled to produce an impression. The artifice is shallow, but not the less disingenuous.

Much of the note consists of quotations from the memoirs of an enthusiastic individual, and the reports of certain Missionary Societies, documents evidently requiring large abatement on account of the well-known tendency of very zealous persons to speak of any religion except their own as no religion at all. Unless interpreted with such abatement, they are directly falsified by the statistical accounts to which we have referred. Moreover, the Bishop's italics are at work again on these statements. Thus:—

'When you count up the thousands in this city, and consider what a vast majority are living without God and without hope; and especially when you look *through this nation*, and remember that *not one in ten* of its inhabitants *professes* ever to have received the Saviour of lost men, does not your bursting heart,' &c. (p. 58.)

By these pictorial types, the Bishop starts in horror at only one christian *professor* in *ten*, while the Establishment which he advocates produces only one christian professor in *thirty-eight*. Another quotation is adduced, to show that '*not much less than half*' the population is without 'the regular administration of gospel ordinances.' That is to say, the preachers and worship were of a different sect from the reporters, and in their opinion *irregular*. The Bishop is officially bound to know the value of language in the mouths of ecclesiastics, and should not pass it with the unlearned for more than it is worth. So again:—'Over large portions of our country the mystery of iniquity is working, in setting up, instead of the pure truth of the everlasting gospel, arts of man's device.' This is an elegant theological periphrasis for describing a different mode of faith or worship. The other party would very probably say the same of the preacher and his creed and Church; so that by putting the two assertions together, it might be demonstrated (even though the two religions included all the population between them) that there was not one religious person in the country. '*Infidelity reigns there*'—'*Truth is fast perishing*'—'*Errors of every name take root,*' &c. &c. are all expressions to be interpreted by the same lexicon. A mission was proposed, and for aught we know, established in London, not very long ago, 'to enlighten the dark parts of the county of Surrey.' What evidence, for some transatlantic Blomfield, of the total failure of the English Establishment, insomuch that 'vast districts are, to all appearance, rapidly sinking into hea-

thenism,' even within a morning ride of Fulham and Lambeth!

Although the facility with which Americans emigrate, may sometimes interfere with the adaptation of the religious supply to the want, yet the former seems to adjust itself with surprising activity. A town, however recent, of from two to three hundred inhabitants, is rarely to be met with, if ever, without a place of worship. But the supply afforded by our Establishment defies all proportion, whether of space or population, or both combined. The same provision is made for Eccles (Lancashire) which contains 23,331 persons, and for Egmore (Norfolk) which contains 47 persons. Norfolk has a church for every 2½ square miles, and every 504 inhabitants; Northumberland has only one church for every 19 square miles, and every 2,020 inhabitants. Lancashire has a church for every 6⅛ square miles, and for every 3,665 inhabitants. Rutland has one church for every 462 inhabitants, and Middlesex only one for every 9,490 inhabitants; the ratio of miles being 3.72 to 1.12. And this the Bishop calls having preachers 'stationed at intervals throughout the country;' so that he can assume, for his argument, 'the whole land to be sentinelled with faithful, able, exemplary watchmen of the Lord.' Perhaps a temporal reason might be found to explain the location of the sentry-boxes.

Amongst the religious advantages of the people of the United States, there is one not noticed by the Bishop, which is of considerable value. We mean the religious newspapers which are now so common in that country. The absence of that nefarious tax to which we are subjected, allows all sects there to provide for the information and instruction of their members, by means of the press as well as of the pulpit. All religious denominations employ this means, and some to a considerable extent. These journals meddle with little except religious, moral, and philanthropic subjects. They are a vehicle for constant communication between the teachers and the taught; a pulpit in print, which eventually may prove the more efficient pulpit of the two. The short and well-written papers which they contain, are far more likely to be useful than most sermons.

There is another and a noble advance upon our methods of diffusing religious knowledge and consolation, which has been made in America—the establishment of a free ministry for the poor. There, first, have men been set apart for the blessed work of going into the dark corners and by-ways of social life, to seek and to save that which was lost. That admirable philanthropist, Dr. Tuckerman, of Boston, commenced this domestic mission; and, in different places and by different denominations, has the truly christian example been followed. Poverty in the States is not what it is here, either as to numbers or wretchedness. The humble petition for 'leave to toil' will there rarely meet with the

involuntary negative which must here so often be the response. But Ireland, for whose all-diffusive wretchedness the Church is so largely responsible, sends forth thither her propagators of misery, a nucleus for what there is of indigenous want to gather around; and the angels of those unendowed churches visit their hovels, and raise them into humanity and religion. May a similar spirit be excited here; and not fierce fanatics, or blind enthusiasts, but men richly gifted in head and heart, such as they send forth, be deputed on a like errand of mercy to the far darker and more loathsome regions which our Establishment has left unconquered, unexplored, untouched, unthought of! But even when this is done, and there will be no little difficulty in its accomplishment, it will still become us to remember that this good seed was only imported; and that it was first raised by that voluntary principle which has been ever most efficient in gladdening the wilderness, and making the desert to blossom as the rose.

The fact is, that the Episcopal Church is itself in a far more thriving condition in the United States than in the mother country. Anterior to the Revolution, all America was in the diocese of London; a circumstance which may account for the warmth of Dr. Blomfield's interest in this subject, but which should have ensured rather more accuracy. At the Revolution the collection of tithes stopped; and the preaching of the parsons stopped at the same time. The flocks were abandoned; others stepped into the deserted places; episcopacy had to be reconstructed, on the plan of equal rights and voluntary support. It has now seventeen dioceses and 922 churches. We quote the published sermon of one of her bishops (Dr. Hobart) delivered in 1825 on his return from this country. 'The American Episcopal Church has cause of congratulation that, having received through the Church of England the faith as it was once delivered to the saints, the ministry as it was constituted by the apostles of our Lord, and a worship conformable to that of the first christian ages, she professes and maintains them in their primitive integrity, *without being clogged and controlled by that secular influence and power which sadly obstruct the progress of the Church of England*, and alloy her apostolic and spiritual character. Often have I taken pride and pleasure in exciting the astonishment of those (*query*, was not Dr. Blomfield one?) who supposed and contended that the voluntary act of the people would not adequately provide for the clergy, by stating, in my own case, the continuance of my salary, the provision for my parochial duty, and the ample funds by which I was enabled to leave my congregation and my diocese. (Perhaps here was more matter of astonishment than the honest Bishop dreamed of.) We want not, therefore, the wealth, the honours, or establishment of the Church of England. With the union of Church and State commenced the corruptions of christianity; and so firmly persuaded

am I of the deleterious effects of this union, that, if I must choose the one or the other, I would take the persecution of the State rather than her favour, her frowns rather than her smiles, her repulses rather than her embraces. It is the eminent privilege of our Church, that, evangelical in her doctrines and her worship, and apostolic in her ministry, she stands as the primitive Church did before the first Christian emperor loaded her with honours that proved more injurious to her than the relentless persecution of his imperial predecessors. In this enviable land of religious freedom, our Church, in common with every other religious denomination, asks nothing from the State but that which she does not fear will ever be denied her,—protection,—equal and impartial protection.' If the episcopalian simply desires the spiritual prosperity of his Church, let him then look to America. If the Christian simply desires the advancement of religion, let him look to America. If the philanthropist simply desires the largest amount of popular instruction, let him look to America. If all unite to inquire where the means exist for realizing a yet finer spectacle of religious freedom and prosperity, and of universal education, let them look *at home*.

It is only the second of the sermons before us, that on the 'Uses of an Established Church,' to which our comments have been directed. The first treats of a more exclusively theological question, which we leave his lordship to settle with the Quakers, and other *anti-ministerialists*. The second seems to be a favourite, as he records that it has been preached on three public occasions, and undergone 'some alterations,' no doubt for the purpose of perfecting the strength of his argument. The present state of public opinion would also induce him to direct his best efforts to this topic. And he assures us that he is convinced that 'it is the duty of every conscientious and intelligent member of our Church to stand up fearlessly and resolutely in her defence.' Besides the main argument, there is another, and subordinate one, a sort of buttress to the building, on which we have a few words to say. It is thus stated:—'We assert, then, the value of our Established Church as a depository of gospel truth, and as a resting-place in times of error and confusion.' (p. 32.)

We will not now discuss the 'gospel truth' of the Athanasian Creed, or of the multifarious propositions, expressed or implied, in the Articles, Liturgy, Canons, and Homilies of the Church. The Bishop assumes their perfect truth: we will not assume their falsehood. The discussion really turns not upon opinions, but facts. We deny the use of this 'depository.' The Bible is the real depository of Christian truth. It cannot pass away from the land; nor a 'resting place' be wanting, while that remains. Has there ever been the least danger, since the invention of the press, of the Bible being out of print? Has there been any need of a safer vehicle in which to preserve the truths which rest in

that, their original depository? Were they not safely kept, even before the invention of printing? If they have ever been in peril, it was not from the absence, but from the interference of an Established Church. The Catholic hierarchy kept the Scriptures out of sight as much as it was able, and contended for its own value as a depository; but the attempt failed. Even the manuscript Bible could not be suppressed: the printed Bible cannot be concealed. After having defied power so long, in its feebler form, it cannot need protection in its stronger form. There is no occasion for an Establishment, to perpetuate the true standard of Christian doctrine .It is independent of all such help. The word of God requires not the aid of an ecclesiastical corporation.

The Bishop's argument challenges some allusion to the conduct of the Church, in relation to the Scriptures. Little is the merit which it can claim on the ground of preserving and disseminating them in their purity. It adheres to a translation which its own best critics have pronounced to be greatly in need of correction. The text from which this translation was made, obtained currency from the beauty of the types in which it was printed, rather than from its accuracy. Many errors have, as the Bishop well knows,—no man better,—been detected and demonstrated in it: yet is it not only retained, but made the standard of translations into other languages, thereby sending mistakes and interpolations all over the world. Nay, there has not been care enough even to preserve the English reprint correct. It is abundant in typographical errors, which often affect the sense. For the best edition of our own common version, conformed to what all scholars allow to be the standard Greek text, we must look to America. We allude to Mr. Palfrey's edition, published at Boston. Suppose the authorized version to be not only the best which has been made, but the best which can be made; still that edition is the best representation of it, to the great shame of the Church of England.

As the Bible would have existed quite as safely without the Establishment, so, we apprehend, would its true interpretation, whatever that interpretation may be. What is the security worth when the 'times of error' come, which the Bishop predicts? How can the Church, dependent as it is upon the State, live through those times without adopting and perpetuating the error? 'The Church may, if it be necessary, institute a new comparison between the word of God, and the construction which it has put upon that word, in order to make the agreement between them more complete and entire.' (p. 32.) Very well, then; if the error be prevalent, such revision is demanded, and it becomes established. Whenever the 'times of error' come, and they must come, to make out this estimate of the Church's worth, its worthlessness is instantly shown. Either its creeds and article

remain, in defiance of general opinion; or they are changed, to the demolition of the Bishop's argument.

In no sect of Dissenters has there been so much variety of opinion as in the Church. Taken in itself, this fact would be high praise: but it ceases to be so, when we are reminded that the very object of the Establishment is to 'avoid diversity of opinions.' The failure is a signal one. It would be difficult to name a species or degree of heresy which has not found advocates, even in the higher ranks of the episcopal clergy. Nothing like this has occurred in any dissenting sect. Even those which allow the greatest latitude of individual opinion, preserve more 'uniformity in the public teaching of religion,' than the Church which we are taxed to support as the pillar of uniformity.

When a new opinion springs up in a dissenting sect, if it be embraced by the majority, the creed of the sect itself is changed; if only by a minority, they secede, or are excommunicated, and form a separate body. Now, in what does this differ from that which, on the introduction of a new opinion, takes place in the Established Church? Was not that Church Catholic? Did she not adopt the tenets of the Reformation? Are not all the dissenting sects which exist in the country, secessions from her communion? Has not every one of them, except the Presbyterian, adhered substantially to the faith on account of which it seceded? If the Presbyterian has undergone one great change, did not the Church itself undergo one great change? Where, then, is the difference? Why, in this; that the Dissenter, when he ceases to think like his associates, is not bribed with the public money to a hypocritical conformity. His mind is not subjected to an accumulation of corrupt influences. There is no pecuniary premium on insincerity. When he secedes, he is not mulcted for the support of the worship which he no longer approves. He retai is relative position in society. If he was *but* a Dissenter before, he is a Dissenter still. This difference is in favour of truth, and against the Church. With all its princely revenues, with all its political privileges, with all its power, and that not unused, of persecution, what has the Church preserved? Not the religious attachment of the people. It has done less than any one sect towards retaining the representatives of the population once within its pale. From being the nation, it has dwindled down to a minority.

The change which the English Presbyterians have undergone, which is the only apparent exception to these remarks, is not so in reality. Anterior to that change, they had ceased to make a creed their bond of union. They allowed freedom of opinion, and it has been exercised by their successors. The Bishop has mistated this passage of theological history most egregiously. Although not named, the English Presbyterians are the only class which can be meant in the following quotation:—

'It (dissent) has no security whatever for the permanency or consistency of its own doctrines or discipline, even from year to year. It is well known, that, in many parts of the kingdom, places of worship, which were endowed, more than a century ago, with a competent provision for ministers, who should preach the doctrines commonly known by the name of Calvinistic, have now, with but few exceptions, been converted into schools of Unitarian or Deistical opinions.' (p. 34.)

We know of but one place of worship, and that was a recent and unendowed building, having become a school of '*Deistical* opinions.' That was made so by the well-known Robert Taylor, who probably is now, and who certainly was then, *a clergyman of the Church of England.* Of no sect but the Established sect, and of that only because it *was* established, could that individual have retained his membership, still less his ministerial character, under such circumstances.

The existing 'schools of *Unitarian* opinions' are either of Unitarian erection or of Presbyterian origin. The Presbyterian holders of the chapels have passed over from Trinitarianism to Unitarianism, retaining (as was natural, during a gradual and almost imperceptible progress) the buildings which their forefathers erected and endowed. It is *not true* that those chapels were 'endowed with a competent provision for ministers, *who should preach the doctrines commonly known by the name of Calvinistic.*' Many of those endowments were founded by Unitarians, or other heretics, whom the law would not allow to endow their own opinions; and who, therefore, endowed what was better,—freedom of opinion. Most of the remainder are equally unrestricted as to faith. If there be a few, in which the trust deeds specify the tenets to be taught, and those tenets Calvinistic, they are very few indeed; probably not half a score in the whole kingdom; and they assuredly ought not to be retained any longer than until the proper claimants be legally indicated. So that this solitary case, when the facts are rescued from the Bishop's mystification, still shows their superiority of dissent in preserving that which it was intended to preserve, whether of faith, which is the general rule, or of freedom, which is the exception. After laying down a broad and universal proposition, his proof turns out to be a single case, unfairly chosen and unfairly stated, and evaporating as soon as it is explained.

But we have uniformly protested against Ecclesiastical Reform being made a question between Dissenters and Churchmen. It is a great national question in which Churchman and Dissenter are alike interested. It is a question of the comparative utility of the way in which an immense amount of public property is applied, and the way in which it might be applied. The right settlement of that question would remove all the Dissenting grievances; but what the Dissenters have, some of them, been induced to call their 'practical grievances' might be removed

without settling that question. The Whigs have acted with their usual crooked policy, and are beginning to feel the natural result of recoil and disgrace. They succeeded to a certain extent in dividing the Dissenters, and inducing some of them, especially those of the metropolis, to keep back the vital question of the Union of Church and State. The country was partially misled into following this example. Happily, there were heads too clear and hearts too sound for the cajolery to be generally successful. William Howitt and the Nottingham people read Earl Grey a lecture in a different spirit. That contemptible abortion, Lord John Russell's Marriage Bill, made many of the metropolitan nonconformists perceive how they had been duped, and call out that 'this was too bad.' And the Dissenters of Manchester have come forward and put themselves at the head of a very different kind of movement from that which was to have been managed in accordance with the petty views of the Government. The resolutions of this noble meeting are given below.* The

* SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE.

At a Public Meeting of Dissenters and others favourable to their claims, held in the Exchange Dining-room, Manchester, on Wednesday and Thursday, 5th and 6th March, 1834; Thomas Harbottle, Esq. in the Chair:

It was resolved—

1. That in the deliberate opinion of this Meeting all civil establishments of religion are an infringement of the rights of conscience, at variance with the spirit, and opposed to the progress of Christianity.

2. That although such establishments are indebted for their power to a union with the State, and might therefore be expected to co-operate uniformly with it, yet they too frequently employ the influence derived from this union in thwarting the Government, when its measures are really calculated to promote general education, to extend the liberties, and to augment the happiness of the people.

3. That the law which authorizes Bishops to sit in the Upper House of Parliament to represent the interests and wishes of their own denomination on all occasions, both ecclesiastical and political, compromises the character of the Christian ministry, is a partial and unjust preference of one class of his Majesty's subjects over all others, and a special grievance to the Dissenters, Presbyterians, and Catholics of England, Scotland, and Ireland, who compose a large majority of the people of the United Kingdom.

4. That viewing all compulsory support of religion as unjust and oppressive, and the distinctions now existing between Churchmen and Dissenter as invidious, this Meeting resolves to use every lawful endeavour to bring about a separation of the Church from the State, as the best means of promoting the true interests of both, and affording the only effectual remedy for the redress of Dissenters' grievances.

5. That the Petition now read be adopted by this Meeting.

6. That since Dissenters in all parts of the United Kingdom, by their voluntary efforts, erect and keep in repair their own places of worship, support their own ministers, maintain, to a great extent, their own poor, educate in Sunday schools and otherwise vast numbers of the population, extend their exertions into the British Colonies, and thus contribute largely to the welfare of their fellow-subjects, this Meeting considers it a heavy grievance that Dissenters are compelled to support any civil establishment of religion by tithes, church-rates, or any other mode.

7. That it is the opinion of this Meeting that owing entirely to the operation of the present ecclesiastical system, there is no general Register of Births, Dissenters are prevented from legally contracting marriage, and from interring their dead in parish burial grounds, unless they conform to rites of which they conscientiously disapprove; and by the imposition of religious tests they are excluded from the English universities.

8. That this Meeting regards Lord John Russell's 'Dissenters' Marriage Bill' as

game is now up; the struggle is commenced, which, we trust, will never be relaxed in, until entire religious liberty and universal national education shall be established in this country on the ruins of sectarian ascendency and monopoly. At Ashton-under-Lyne the commencement has been made of associations, consisting of Dissenters and Churchmen conjointly, for effecting the separation of Church and State. We subjoin their resolutions also, from the 'Manchester Times,' of March 8.* They contain a very intelligible hint to His Majesty's Ministers.

not only unnecessarily complicated in its details, but in principle totally at variance with the just rights of Dissenters.

9. That this Meeting regards with unmingled satisfaction the early, disinterested, and persevering efforts of the Voluntary Church Associations in Scotland; the correct principles and manly resolutions of the Nottingham Dissenters; and that the secretaries be requested to communicate copies of these resolutions to the Rev. Dr. Heugh, of Glasgow; and to Messrs. Samuel Fox, William Howitt, Benjamin Boothby, jun., and George Gill, of Nottingham, whose names, on behalf of two thousand Dissenters of all denominations in Nottingham, are attached to the printed 'Appeal of the Nottingham Dissenters to the Dissenters of England!'

* CHURCH-SEPARATION SOCIETY, FOR ASHTON-UNDER-LYNE AND DISTRICT.

At a Meeting of the above Society, held on Monday, March 3d, 1834, it was resolved—

1. That this Association be called the Church-Separation Society, *for Ashton*-under-Lyne, and the Neighbouring District, to consist of all persons, whether Churchmen, or Dissenters, who are friendly to the *Voluntary Support of Religion*.

2. That the object of this Association shall be the employment of all lawful and christian means, to obtain the immediate and total separation of the Church from the State, throughout the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the Colonies, so that all penal statutes affecting religious opinions, and all compulsory payments for religious purposes, shall for ever cease in his Majesty's dominions.

3. That books be opened, forthwith, for the enrolment of all who wish to become members of the Association, and that such enrolment shall specify the business or profession, religious denomination, and residence of each member; that it may at once be seen what is the number and character of those who co-operate in this design.

4. That at this important crisis the Association feels the necessity of using the most active exertions, in consequence of the introduction into Parliament, by Lord John Russell, of a most paltry, inefficient, and unsatisfactory Bill for the relief of Dissenters; and, also, the Bill of Mr. Littleton, for the commutation of tithes in Ireland; and in conformity with its avowed principles, shall feel it to be a duty to recommend to the friends of religious liberty, the withdrawal of their support from the present Administration, unless measures of a more liberal character be brought forward.

THE CONFESSIONS OF A FAG.

Dull time has changed the sunny locks
My mother used to love;
Cold time has changed the heart *she* deemed
As harmless as a dove.
The cheek she used to press and kiss
Is dark and wrinkled now,
And every pure and holy trace
Has parted from my brow.
I am a branded, blighted thing—
And yet not *all* destroyed,
Since still I have a tear for *her*,
And days with *her* enjoyed.

Dear days! when her caressing hand
Would smooth my scattered hair—
Dear days! when, hatred, force, and strife,
I knew not what ye were!
Her heart of holy love is cold—
But not all passed away;
'Tis kept in memory's silken folds,
All sacred from decay.
One relic of the rosy past
Untouched shall still remain,
To tell me of the thing I was—
But ne'er can be again!

My ruined spirit can look back
Through vistas dark and wild,
And see the line of sunny shore
I traced, a sportive child:
When life appeared a pebbled beach
With shells and sea-weed strown,
And I all free to revel mid
The wealth around me thrown:
A heaven of freedom, light, and love,
All blessed my buoyant heart,
And I, a thoughtless atom, seemed
To be of them a part.

O, what a chasm must I leap,
To reach that dark dread time
When, parted from my home of love,
I entered upon crime!
My young glad heart, that gushed with springs
Of love and truth and joy,
Was dashed with fear, distrust, and shame,
By one base tyrant boy.
He mark'd me as his slave—he made
Me do his despot will—
(He's long since stark within his grave,
And yet *I hate him still.*)

What spell cast fetters on my tongue,
That then I did not speak,
And plead against the reckless wretch,
Strong because *I* was *weak?*
What had my gentle mother felt
Could she have known my woes—
Beheld me spurned with coarse contempt—
Debased with bitter blows!—
Torn, sleepy, shivering, from my bed—
A slavish lackey made—
A true apprenticeship I passed
Unto the tyrant's trade!
I learned the arts that cheats essay,
The despot to elude,—
I learned upon the weak to prey—
Grew callous, reckless, rude;
And when I left the public school,
My education done,
'Twas well I had my mother lost,
For she had lost her son!

I brought into the busy world
A tiger-hearted breast—
A vulture's eye—a lie-stain'd lip,
That still in smiles was dressed.
Oh, I could bless and blight in turn,
Alike could soothe or slay,
I loved command, but well had learned
The serpent's subtle way.

What's been my course? Oh! do not ask—
I did not stab nor steal,
But these are *virtues* to the crimes
My story might reveal.
This coward hand has struck *her* down
Who loved me—bore my name:—
I played to her the traitor's part,
Without remorse or shame.
Yet had *she* been less pure than snow—
Less full of love and trust,
I would have cast her on the world
A wreck—*was* I not just?
Yes,—*just*, as I'd been taught to be:—
Might was my plea for power—
I had been ruled with iron sway,
And seized in turn *my* hour.
My headlong rage has even failed
At times to spare my child,
Sudden and savage, oft in vain
The victim shrieked or smiled.

Yet well I bore me to the world,
I bowed with gallant grace,

And, hiding daggers in my heart,
With smiles I dressed my face.
I won the love, the fond pure love,
Of a fair, lowly girl—
I lured her from a happy home,
Then cast to swine—the pearl.
Like the dark Upas-tree, I spread
My arms, and offered shade—
Oh! hide me from the hideous change
My specious shelter made!
I've seen her since—Oh, horrid sight!
Once Hebe—*now* a hag—
Go, sum my crimes, my curses, up—
But think—*I was a fag.*

Where are the men who teach of Christ,
When thus dire evil rules?
Come from your peaceful pulpits, sirs,
And purify the schools.
Where are the mothers when their sons
Are plunged in this black tide,
Where the young spirits struggle till
In sin they're trebly dyed?
Shame on the sex who sit supine
On life's all erring stage—
Rise, mothers, rise, with heart and hand,
And purify the age.

M. L. G.

THE DIFFUSION OF KNOWLEDGE AMONGST THE PEOPLE.

Two Lectures read at the Mechanics' Institution in 1833, *by the Writer of "Daily Bread," and "Deliverance from Evil."*

LECTURE II.

Sermons in stones, and good in every thing.—Shakspeare.

In a conversation I had with some of my hearers immediately after a lecture I read a short time back in this place, viz. "On the best means of communicating knowledge to such audiences as are generally to be found in small country towns," I had it objected to the mode I had proposed, viz. of commencing, by means of *evening readings* of Shakspeare and Scott, Edgeworth and Martineau, to excite the imagination and rouse the feelings of hearers, whose interest and sympathy might not be sufficiently awakened to be disciplined by matter addressed altogether to their reasons—I say I had it objected to the plan of discipline I proposed to begin with, that it is likely to fill the imagination with what is not sufficiently true, and to engage the feelings about what is not sufficiently real.

I answered the objection by urging, that the imaginary characters of Shakspeare and Scott are far more true to the principles of nature, and far more real in reference to the circumstances of life,* than the copied characters of history, where the motives of the agents are often very erroneously represented, and the circumstances of the action are generally insufficiently developed;—and, that, besides this, it is an important part of the plan I suggested, that the *reader* should pass forward from the plot and moral of the fabulist to whatever is most real and interesting in history, and most true and instructive in philosophy; with the great advantage of being sure to carry with him the attention and interest of his audience; which he might not have been able to lay hold of, if he had commenced by addressing their reason before he had awakened their imagination and feelings.

Let it not be said, that we shall be unwise to commence our *study of human nature* in the best works of fiction, because there is danger of their affecting the imagination and feelings too strongly. We are talking of an initial discipline for the great body of a people which has been so long allowed to sink into insensibility, or been habituated to the use of stimulants, as to require excitements. We are not speaking of the tender and susceptible mind of childhood, and may therefore be excused discussing the question, whether, even for that more simple and animated age, we can commence better, than by moving the imagination and the feelings by the beautiful fables of Miss Edgeworth, at the same time that we are exercising the observation and judgment by the simpler facts of natural philosophy. Whatever metaphysicians may decide to be useful or dangerous in the case of young persons, the great body of the people has been too long allowed to sink into the apathy of ignorance, or has been accustomed to be moved by stimulants, to warrant our hesitating to commence with fictitious narratives. Indeed, the propriety of employing fiction as a means of conveying first lessons in the moral sciences, may be shown from the very nature of the case. The teaching of morals differs from the teaching of physics in this more especially,—that experiments to illustrate or confirm moral truths

* It would be to neglect a striking opportunity of illustrating my argument, if I failed to refer the reader to the acute and manly criticism on Coriolanus in the last number (January) of the *Monthly Repository*, for an exemplification of the interest and the philosophy of Shakspeare. The able critic had not to waste his power in creating an interest in the minds of his readers, or to tax his philosophy in propounding a statement of abstract principles: an abundant interest and a large philosophy was *embodied* to his hand in the character of Coriolanus. He had only to anatomize this noble subject with the skill of a critic, in order *to command the attention* of his readers. Two more delightful or instructive evenings could not be desired than might be spent in hearing such a critic read Coriolanus, and afterwards fetch out all the force and beauty of the character by a series of such remarks. Though this would be the *beau ideal* of our plan, every person might do a good deal with such an instrument as a play of Shakspeare in his hands.

cannot be performed in a lecture-room. In the absence of such tests, that which may be done, and which may indeed be considered a sort of *moral experimenting,* is to bring the experience of the audience to confirm the principles advanced by the lecturer. This will be done most effectually by appealing to their memories of fact, rather than to their knowledge of principles; for it is clear, that their experience of moral facts must be considerable, though the conviction they have yet attained about moral principles may be both limited and erroneous. The scenes of Shakspeare instantaneously summon our experiences to bear witness to their truth; and then, having admitted these moral premises to be matters of fact, we instinctively draw conclusions for ourselves, of which the arguments of the moral reasoner would not at first have convinced us; though, after this re-collection of past experience has been made, our minds are open to receive them. It is, I repeat, in the power fictions possess of calling up our experiences to witness their accuracy, that the moral efficacy of *true* works of fiction consists. In this respect their effect is far greater than is produced by statements of facts, which often fail to evoke the spirits of our past experience to witness their truth, probably because they do not waken the train of association in which memory is bound.

Let me be allowed to generalize the argument a little further, by reminding you that a sound logic, in perfect agreement with common sense, says that we must begin by obtaining *clear images* (logicians call them apprehensions) of things; avoiding, on the one hand, error, and, on the other hand, incompleteness. Let me remind you also, that sound morals, in entire agreement with good sense, says that no action or habit is perfect, unless it be accompanied with its *appropriate pleasure.* Now I believe it will be at once allowed, that the images of Shakspeare and Scott are as clear to the reason as they are delightful to the imagination; and, in a word, that they eminently possess the two qualifications which the logician and the moralist require. Indeed, I feel I am calling your attention to a remark which well deserves consideration, when I add that if Englishmen would avail themselves of the works of Shakspeare and Scott, as Grecians employed the works of Homer and Herodotus, namely, as *books of national instruction,* the intellect and feelings of Englishmen would possess a finer organ for national developement than was possessed by the intellect and feelings of Greece. Is it that we are too apathetic, or too servile a race to compete in feeling and intelligence with Greece; and though we have master minds to inspire us with a nobler spirit, are we *bound* to continue an unthinking and an unfeeling people?

Let it be borne in mind, that in beginning by exciting the imagination and rousing the feelings by the works of Shakspeare and Scott, and Edgeworth and Martineau, we propose to do no

more than the great mechanists of the human mind, the Platos of ancient, and the Wesleys of modern times, were obliged to do; whilst we propose to avoid the great error they committed, namely, of confounding truth and falsehood—making their hearers believe something false in order that they might learn something true. We, I repeat, intend to avoid the pernicious error, which destroys truth by uniting it with falsehood, by distinguishing our language of imagination from their language of mystery. Is it necessary to give an example of my meaning? Whilst Plato would have the great doctrine of a future state believed because Eros the Pamphylian asserted he beheld certain wonderful things in another state of being, as he lay dead on the field of battle, we would have this great tenet of instinctive and universal apprehension—

'But in that sleep of death what dreams may come'—

received, not on the authority of the buried majesty of Denmark, which assuredly never rose to reveal the secrets of the prison house, but on the authority of its own reasonableness, suggesting comfort to the good and anxiety to the wicked. Whilst Wesley would have the corruption of human nature admitted on the evidence of certain convictions of sin which he set forth as supernatural, but which certainly were altogether natural, we would have the existence in human nature of strong temptations to crime proved, not by the Weird Sisters' temptation of Macbeth by lies like truth, but by facts which have too often occurred to the best dispositions, demonstrating the necessity of restraining 'the cursed thoughts nature gives way to.'

But instead of urging this argument further, I will beg to remind the objector to the plan of discipline I proposed, that it was *a beginning, a commencing* discipline; and that, independently of the advantage it offers in enabling us to lead forward the mind willingly, when the imagination is once excited and the feelings are once roused, it was distinctly admitted throughout the whole of my last lecture, that it was only a beginning, only a commencing discipline. And let me now add, what I shall immediately endeavour to prove, that this, or any other moral discipline, if it be not accompanied by an adequate discipline in physics, must prove defective even as a moral discipline; and that, as my last lecture was on the best means of commencing to communicate moral knowledge to such audiences as are to be found in small country towns, so my present lecture will be on the best means of beginning to teach physics or natural philosophy to the same audiences; always keeping in view this most important difference, which distinguishes the discipline we are about to propose from that of the teacher who contemplates nothing beyond the teaching of natural philosophy,

that it is *our first object* to make a knowledge of matter react beneficially on a knowledge of mind.

Let me preface what I have to say on these subjects, by recalling to your recollection a common but important division of the objects of knowledge, which separates them into things *external* to ourselves—as matter and its properties; and things *internal* to ourselves—as thoughts and their modifications: and let me remind you, that as it is by *perception*, through the senses, that we become acquainted with things external to ourselves, so it is by *consciousness*, an intuitive feeling of the workings of our reasons, that we become acquainted with things internal to ourselves.

Let me avail myself of this well-known distinction to observe, that a person with an inactive imagination and apathetic feelings may be said to have within him a blank, instead of the intellectual world of which others may say, but he cannot, 'my mind to me a kingdom is,' a world of thoughts and feelings, in which ample materials for happiness may be found. On the other hand, of a person whose imagination is restless, and whose feelings are excitable, it may be said, that though his mind is a kingdom, it is a rebellious and an ill-ordered kingdom. In the first case, that of a person with an inactive imagination and apathetic feelings, the mind may be compared to *a vacuum*, empty of every thing; and in the second case, the case of a person with a restless imagination and excitable feelings, the mind may be likened to a *haunted chamber*, full of 'unreal mockeries.' In neither case is the mind a well-ordered world, full of physical realities, and intellectual truths, and moral principle, out of which a sound happiness may be constructed.

May I be allowed to say that Wesley found men's minds, and that not only in small country towns, with imaginations inactive and feelings apathetic, sunk in the bigotries of orthodoxy and the carelessness of scepticism; and that he adopted a discipline calculated to make the imagination restless and the feelings excitable, instead of a discipline fitted to make the imagination wholesomely active, and the feelings wholesomely excitable. If it be objected that our plan, namely, of commencing by exciting the imagination and rousing the feelings, is in danger of producing something of the restlessness and excitability which Wesley's discipline produced, we will not again urge that the strong sense we may acquire from Shakspeare may balance the vivid imagination he has roused within us; but we will frankly acknowledge there *is* some such danger in the discipline we have proposed as has been objected, and will now proceed to consider the remedy

Should any one exclaim 'Why have you proposed a discipline likely to produce a state of mind requiring a remedy?' I answer, that if I had been acquainted with any discipline which

would remove one disease of the mind—for instance, apathy and inertness—without risk of producing the opposite disease,—excitability and restlessness, I would have proposed it. But in medicining the mind, as in medicining the body, little good can be expected from the employment of those innocent remedies which, to use a common expression, cannot possibly do any harm. Were we obliged to choose between the orthodox innocent specifics, which were being prescribed in church and chapel before Wesley's time, and the violent intellectual and moral medicines he boldly administered,* we should not hesitate to prefer the latter: but there is no necessity to adopt either of these extremes. If the discipline we have proposed incline somewhat more to imaginativeness than to apathy, we say, in the first place, that we desire it to be so, in order to secure a moving power for our discipline; and, secondly, that for admitted, and, we insist, unavoidable defects in our plan, there is a sufficient remedy to be found.

Let us suppose that in establishing a Mechanics' Institution in a small country town, we have succeeded in our *first object*, namely, in drawing audiences to our readings of Shakspeare and Scott, Edgeworth and Martineau, and that we have also succeeded in exciting an interest in our readings; all which could not have been effected, had we commenced with the comparatively dry facts of history, and the abstract reasonings of philosophy. I am now supposing the mind ready to pass on to a dryer discipline of facts and reasonings; and I assert, that in order to accomplish this most effectually, we must advance from *subjects* of the imagination and feelings, which have been useful in rousing the spirit which is within us, to *objects* of the senses, which may exercise us in observing and reasoning, without letting in upon the operations of our intellect any of those imaginations and feelings, which have, if we may use the metaphor, coloured and heated our thoughts. It is by means of objects external to ourselves, which we may look at and handle, taste and smell, that we can proceed to an apprehension of what may be called *truth in things*. For in subjects internal to ourselves, about which our imaginations get excited, and our feelings become roused, we are too often in danger of attaining to little more than *sincerity in the person*. Thus, for example, religious and political fanatics, who conceive a Millennium or a Utopia which cannot exist out of their own vivid imaginations and burn-

* I am not aware that the objects of Wesley and Whitfield have been clearly distinguished. The object of Wesley was to attain a superhuman purity, that of Whitfield to escape from an infrahuman corruption. The key-stone of their opinions may be seen in their conversions more especially, but also through the whole tone of their preaching. Each brought the force of his imagination to bear, the one upon christian graces, and the other upon human sinfulness. It was an exhibition of heaven and of hell, rather than of human nature, human duty, and human happiness.

ing feelings, have doubtless attained to a most earnest sincerity in the person, but they as certainly have attained to little that is true in the thing. In their case, and in the case of all persons who, in different degrees and on different subjects, may be said to live in a world of their own, it is a great advance towards truth for them to be led out of themselves and away from their own conceptions, and to be made aware of the existence of, and to be called to attend to, the properties of a world with which their imaginations and feelings can have little or nothing to do; of a world which is the same to them and to others, and about which there can be very little distortion, even by means of the media through which its objects are received.

There are thousands of men who think,—not perhaps of thinking men,—who have no idea of any more sure and precise truth than is to be found in the theological and political chimeras on which their imaginations and feelings have been at work; chimeras which may have been conceived in perfect sincerity of person, but which, for all that, are very far from being true in the thing. These persons may be said to shoot out of the magic-lanterns of their own conceptions into the real world around them, pictures coloured by their feelings and magnified by their imaginations; and then they set themselves to observe these shadows, perverting the realities of life with their forms and colours, as if they were the only real objects. If we would draw such men out of their world of imagination and feeling into the real world, we must, by drawing their attention to physical objects which they may look at and handle, discipline their minds, by a sort of evidence they have hitherto too much neglected, into a conviction that there is a truth in things; a truth altogether independent of their imagination and feelings. Let them, I say, pass on from morals to physics, in order that they may return with better-disciplined minds from physics to morals.

Indeed it is not more necessary to resort to a discipline of physics in order to correct superstitious errors which have been diffused through the whole science of causation, namely, by letting in upon it the workings of imagination and feeling unchecked by facts and principles, than it is necessary to resort to the same discipline of physics in order to re-establish truths respecting causation which have been shaken to their very foundation, namely, by having been rested on imagination and feeling, instead of being grounded in real and satisfactory evidences. I have already said that Plato found the minds of his countrymen hurrying forward into a reckless scepticism,* and that Wesley

* The unsparing ridicule of Aristophanes and Lucian, of Voltaire and, in his worst writings, Lord Byron, is calculated to foster a spirit of reckless levity mixed with bitter contempt. Contrast this spirit with that of Socrates and Shakspeare, whose wit was not less acute, and whose humour was even broader, and the difference in moral effect is obvious.

found public opinion sinking into a state of apathetic unbelief; the necessary consequences of ably-disputed and feebly-supported orthodoxies. And I may add that, though Plato and Wesley did much to restore to the world an earnest sincerity in the person believing, they did far too little to advance the world into plain truth in the thing believed. The main reason of this was, that Plato was himself a deceiver of the people, and taught others to deceive them; and that Wesley was self-deceived, and taught others to deceive themselves. The consequence of these master mechanics of the human mind labouring to restore an unwholesome power to imagination was a wretched contest between Platonic heathens and Platonic christians; and *will be*, unless the danger is averted, an equally wretched contest between the fanatics of anti-naturalism, and the sceptics of materialism. But let us hope better things; namely, that a sound discipline of physical science may be employed to correct the errors and re-establish the truths of the science of causation; so that, in accordance with the very meaning of the term metaphysics, physics may be the wide and solid basis, and metaphysics the grand and steady superstructure. The facts of physics are indeed the data on which the conclusions of metaphysics ought to be so founded, that, the premises being indisputable facts, and the reasoning incontrovertible argument, the conclusions must be as true as the premises are real.

I repeat what I have asserted, that it is the intellectual and moral, and I may add, that it is the political necessity of the present times, that the human mind *must* pass on from an unsound metaphysics to a sound physics, in order that it may be enabled to return from a sound physics to a sound metaphysics. There must be a Daily Bread, in order that there may be a Deliverance from Evil; and there must be a Deliverance from Evil in order that His Kingdom may come and His Will may be done.

The question, then, which immediately presents itself is—how must we teach Physics, the Properties of Matter, to such audiences as are found in small country-towns? Again I must urge our guarding against attempting too much. Unless we adopt great simplicity of plan, we shall fail of success. In a word, if a Mechanics' Institution in Marlborough should take the Physical Lectures of the London Mechanics' Institution as its model, it requires little foresight to see that it will not succeed as fully as if it had suited its discipline more accurately to its knowledge.

In this place the numerous and rapidly succeeding facts of the experimenter, together with his many and close reasonings, can be followed with profit; because your previous information and habits of mind have fitted you for the discussion of such subjects But in a small country town there will be but few whose minds

have been habituated to direct a strong, clear, analytical attention to the phenomena even of a single experiment; so as to fix the succession of its details strongly, clearly, consecutively in the mind. Few will have been accustomed to follow a train of reasoning expressed in the language of science; for, even supposing them to have the corresponding ideas in their minds, they are not in the habit of rapidly attaching those ideas to the language. If there may be more haste than good speed in reading, there may also be too rapid a progress in experimenting; and, in a word, the common rate of experimenting, which is followed without difficulty in this place, may leave a country audience behind, lingering, longing, but at last despairing.

Yet, I must acknowledge, that this impossibility of rapid progression in physical discipline in the generality of audiences in small country towns, considering the small knowledge of natural philosophy to be found amongst many of those who have received the most expensive educations, is by no means a thing to be deprecated. It is a strange instance of, I know not what to call it, in the persons who are facetiously called *heads of houses* in one of our universities, that they not only have not encouraged, but that they have actually prevented the professors of the physical sciences teaching a knowledge of God's works as they are seen through the wide extent of physical philosophy. But their obstruction of the physical sciences* is of a piece with

* The following extracts from Professor Powell's 'Present State and Future Prospects of Mathematical and Physical Studies in the University of Oxford,' will prove even more than I have asserted:—

'Under these absurd and discouraging restrictions, it was yet considered by the examiners as well to try what could be done in encouraging the candidates, who might know something of these subjects, to bring it to bear; and, accordingly, a paper of very elementary general physical questions, together with some questions on algebra, &c. &c., was appended to those on Euclid. This plan afforded the result, (at least in the two first examinations under this system,) that out of the whole number of candidates, though a certain portion had "got up" the four books of Euclid, not more than two or three could add vulgar fractions, or tell the cause of day and night, or the principle of a pump.'—Page 40.

And what remedy is adopted by heads of houses, the bishops of the university, for this gross defect in their *system* of education, when professors and examiners, after pointing it out, intimate their willingness to do their part; namely, to take all the labour of amending it upon themselves, if only the heads of houses will stand by them, and sanction their endeavours? Let the answer be given in the words of Professor Powell:—

'The last representation of the Examiners was discussed by the heads of houses, who, on the 30th of January, 1832, came to the resolution, that the Examination Statute having been so recently enacted, it is not at present expedient to propose in convocation any alteration in its details. As soon,' continues Professor Powell, 'as this resolution of the heads of houses was communicated to me (then one of the examiners) I lost no time in sending in my resignation, conveyed in a letter to the vice-chancellor, which I requested might be laid before the heads of houses, containing an explicit statement of my convictions as to the absolute necessity of those changes in the system which had all along been contended for by the mathematical examiners, and which I have advocated in the foregoing pages.'—Page 42.

As it is the bishops in the Church who uphold fanaticism of feeling and bigotry of opinion, so it is the heads of houses who obstruct the sound science which

their obstruction of the moral science, which they effect by refusing a connected view of the works of Plato, Philo, and St. Paul, to the students of classical and theological learning. These men, by obstructing knowledge, betray religion to the fanatic, who might be reclaimed by science; to the bigot, who might be softened by learning; and ultimately to the sceptic, who would not have rejected religion, had it not been set in opposition to sound philosophy and a sound learning.

Yes! I repeat it, considering the small knowledge of natural science yet diffused amongst the educated portion of the community, it is not a matter for regret that the progress in physics of the audiences to be found in small country towns must of necessity be very gradual; since this slowness of progression will enable the teacher to keep in advance of his pupil. Small thanks are due to *heads of houses* that there is as much sense as humour in the following conversation in Mr. Bulwer's work 'England and the English.' *Mutatis mutandis*, it will apply to the teaching of natural philosophy.

'Italian! Why, I thought, when I last saw you, that you told me Italian was the very language you knew nothing about?

'Nor did I, sir; but directly I had procured scholars, I began to teach myself. I bought a dictionary; I learnt that lesson in the morning which I taught my pupils at noon. I found I was more familiar and explanatory, thus *fresh from knowing little*, than if I had been confused and over-deep by knowing much. I am a most popular teacher, sir;—and my whole art consists in being just one lesson in advance of my scholars.'

Without presuming to put myself on a par with this popular teacher, either in knowledge of natural philosophy or in ability to teach it, I would propose the following method of physical discipline for such audiences as are generally to be found in small country towns. After the evening reading is ended, I would draw the attention of my audience to a few simple experiments, all tending to establish the same principle. I would use the least possible parade of philosophical instruments and as little as possible of scientific phraseology; and, after explaining as simply as possible the principle, establish it by experiments. I would show that many ordinary phenomena are referable to it, being only modified exemplifications of the same principle. If I sent away my audience with a few striking experiments, a few simple explanations, and a number of ordinary phenomena, I should consider this a sufficiently satisfactory close of my evening readings. I should consider the audience I had addressed in a way to make a sounder, though apparently a

would correct the one, and the sound learning which would correct the other. It is manifest, in the case of Oxford, that the fault is not in the professors, and still less in the undergraduates; but the suffering inflicted on professors and undergraduates falls still more heavily, in the shape of ignorance, fanaticism, and bigotry, on the people

slower advance in physical science, than if I had given them what is called a lecture on natural philosophy; just as I should consider such an audience in a way to make a sounder, though apparently a slower progress in moral knowledge, if I had drawn their attention first to a few scenes in Shakspeare or Scott, Edgeworth or Martineau, and then to a clear statement of the principles therein developed, and to the common exemplification of such principles in every day life, than if I had read them an essay on some intellectual, or moral, or political principle.

If we could see into the minds of many country-town audiences, not to extend the remark further, we should find them wearied with numerous and complicated experiments. We should discover that the mind had been perplexed, as much as the eyes had been dazzled, by rapid and brilliant evolutions of metal and glass, instead of having been enabled to comprehend and apply principles. Lastly, we shall find many, whose minds are accustomed to physical language, remembering, and reasoning on, physical phenomena, rather by means of words and their ideas than by a distinct recollection of the objects of sight. I well remember the difficulty I experienced in passing from a discipline of learning to a discipline of science, to remember objects of sight; and it delights me to hear a physical student say, 'I can remember what I see.'

The above remarks, which are, I am convinced, important to be attended to by a physical lecturer in a small country-town, are admirably exemplified in the delightful volumes of Dr. Arnott. Following the plain method of Ferguson, in his common sense mode of teaching, and in rejecting as much as possible the use of technical formulas, Dr. Arnott has given to his work a variety of illustration, a depth of feeling, and a spirit of composition, which render his volumes eminently delightful. How far a mind quickened and strengthened by such a discipline may be enabled and induced to pass forward into the synthetical demonstrations of mathematics and the analytic solutions of algebra, from which, if offered before it had been prepared to estimate the usefulness of the abstractions of lines and the perplexities of numbers, it would have turned away in disgust, is a question equally interesting to the metaphysician and to the mathematician,—to him who studies the nature of the instrument, and to him who would employ it to the best advantage.

Let us now suppose ourselves to have succeeded not only in establishing evening readings, but in introducing at each of them a certain quantity of experimental philosophy; and let us pause to review our work. Is it not a wonderful and an encouraging fact, a cause not for congratulation only, but for gratitude, that the human mind, which in a state of ignorance and apathy is but a capacious vacuum, capable indeed of containing many things,

but almost empty and motionless; and which, by the working of too restless an imagination and too excitable feelings, may become a sort of haunted chamber, full of unreal motions and empty forms; may, by the application of a sounder discipline, become an intellectual world, stored with true and clear ideas, answering to the external world with all its fair variety of things. Who can doubt, when he contemplates that fair variety on every side of him, and is conscious of an intellectual world within capable of receiving accurate images of all this fair variety of material forms—who can doubt that it is intended by the Great Spirit which formed the physical and the intellectual world, that the system of creation should be impressed on the human mind? Who can doubt that a knowledge of truth, a conviction of duty, and an enjoyment of happiness are indissoluble links in the chain, not of a material necessity, but of intelligent wisdom?

I have warned you against neglecting that wonderful faculty—imagination, which

> ——————— Bodies forth
> The forms of things unknown,

and raises us to some apprehension of a power of which reason demonstrates the existence. The appeals to this faculty which have been made by the master spirits of the world are well suited to rouse apathetic minds to interest and to energy; but, if we would prevent this interest and energy from running wild, if we would give it a steadier spirit to control it, we must have recourse to that philosophy of realities, which, so far from being identified with materialism,

> Finds tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,
> Sermons in stones, and good in every thing.

The last passage I have quoted from the *national writer*, who was in imagination a poet, and in judgment a philosopher, reminds me that I am come to the point in Natural Philosophy to which all our discipline has been directed; the point, namely, at which we may turn back with advantage from physical to moral science. And whatever advantage may arise from a knowledge of physics to the man of science, the man of art, and the man of liberal curiosity, its most important effect will be seen in its freeing moral and religious principles from fanaticism on the one hand, and scepticism on the other hand; and in founding these principles, not only in sincerity, but in truth. Physical science, by directing our attention to the constant agency throughout the whole material world of general laws,—cause and effect, cause and effect, cause and effect,—will lead us to a conviction that these laws are never violated in the material world in our times. This conviction will open our minds to inquiries

respecting the existence of general laws also in the moral world—cause and effect, cause and effect, cause and effect,—and to a fair examination of the evidence whether the laws of the moral world are more liable to interruption than the laws of the material world. And, thirdly, we shall unite the physical and the moral evidence in a great practical conclusion, namely, that if man desires to attain all the blessings which physical and moral laws are capable of being made the means of producing, he must learn to use all the powers given him by the Creator, namely, by employing good causes that good effects may follow, and by superseding bad causes in order that bad effects may cease.

I need not tell you that a very different estimate of divine providence and of human duty is too commonly held. In a volume entitled Essays on Cowper, Newton, and Heber, I have endeavoured to develope some important errors which would employ imagination, not for its legitimate objects, but in the place of reason. In the beginning of the volume I have endeavoured to develope the feelings and imaginations of Cowper and Newton, and Scott and Guion. It is impossible not to sympathize with these excellent persons, whether we consider the interest which attaches to the individual, or the importance which belongs to the subject. I have then endeavoured to follow the plan I have been urging on your attention; that is, I have attempted to proceed from a developement of what was *sincerity in the person* to a developement of what is *truth in the thing*. And I hope that those I may interest in the feelings and imaginations of Cowper and Newton, of Scott and Guion, will be led on to investigate the facts and principle respecting human nature and the Divine government, about which these unquestionably sincere persons had surely not attained to truth. After endeavouring to develope these truths, as they relate to private life, I have proceeded to an explanation of them, as they relate to public life; showing that the same errors, which made Cowper desponding and Newton fanatical, have prevented nations attaining the most important blessings, and have hurried them into the greatest evils. I could wish to be permitted to read these essays, adding such illustrations as would occur to me in the perusal, to the members of this institution. A fair illustration would be thus afforded of the *evening readings* I have proposed, by which printed books may be prevented becoming dead letters, namely, by being read aloud, commented on, and discussed. As all I ask is a fair hearing and fair discussion, and that in the spirit of serious and earnest inquiry, truth could not be injured, and sincerity ought not to feel offended, by being put to so fair a test.

I cannot consider the subjects I have proposed to you foreign from the objects of your institution. On the contrary, when I see bigotry of opinion and fanaticism of feeling on the one side, and scepticism about foundation truths, and anarchy about the

most necessary principles on the other side, and, above all, feeble opinions and irresolute conduct between these two extremes, I look around for some remedy for these intellectual and moral evils, which must end in political evils, and I see it in such institutions as I am now addressing. Independently of the large means you possess of diffusing truth amongst the people, the mere fact that you afford truth a fair hearing must be alarming to errors, whose greatest strength is in silence. Nor need I tell you that empty professions will be less likely to be made, when the most intelligent of those to whom they have to be made are known to be aware of their emptiness. Nor will even more sincere opinions be able to be held without observing the precept 'prove all things,' when there are intelligent persons who require opinions to be submitted to this fair test.

I must recall to your remembrance once more the main object of my two lectures, from which we have not, indeed, wandered a single step, namely, to inquire into the best means of communicating knowledge to such audiences as are generally to be found in small country towns. Have I then been right in recommending our friend, who has succeeded in establishing a Mechanics' Institution in Marlbro',* to commence by employing as good a reader as the Institution can secure, to read such *works of genius*, as are sure, when well read, to come home to the bosoms and business of all; namely, by appealing to their consciences and reasons through their imaginations and feelings? Will our friend be right, secondly, in leading minds not accustomed to physical experiments, nor to synthetical and analytical reasonings, more gradually than lectures on natural philosophy usually do, into the facts and principles of physical science? Lastly, will our friend be right in bringing a knowledge of the *action of imagination*, and of the *certainties of science*, to bear on opinions which are often held with more vehemence of sincerity than evidence of truth, and which become the groundwork of fanaticism in one state of mind, and of scepticism in another?

I have thus endeavoured to point out to the notice of yourselves, and I hope of others, *a few steps* in a plan of public instruction, which would prove as easy to the teacher, as it would be pleasant to the pupil. The chief advantage of the plan I have proposed is, that, whilst it is plain to be understood, and not difficult of execution,† even to men of the most moderate talents; it is capable of any extension which the genius and information

* The name of Welford will long be remembered with gratitude in Marlbro', as having given a powerful aid to the exertions of spirited and intelligent individuals in their endeavours to inspire thought and feeling into that small country town.

† Let me remark, that some of the most successful preachers I have heard in the Church have been readers of other men's sermons. Having taken much pains to fetch out the force of other men's thoughts, they have, though very able men themselves, done much more good than they could have done, if they had wasted themselves in original composition.

of individuals may suggest. To state it once more in the simplest manner: I have long been convinced that *evening reading parties* would serve to encourage sociability and to diffuse knowledge in all grades of society. The fire-side is never so comfortable, never so happy, as when an *evening reading* keeps the mind pleasantly employed, whilst the body is at rest. Yet this branch of rational education, so well suited, amongst other advantages, to draw the labourer from the ale-house and the operative from the dram-shop, though it is of crying necessity, and very easy to be provided for, is absolutely and entirely neglected. The Lord Chancellor deserves the gratitude of the country for providing that good and cheap books should be written; let him now earn a deeper gratitude by providing that they be read. Addison thought that a sufficient number of sermons had been written even in his day; and that they then needed only to be well read. Many other good things have been written since the time of Addison; and, like the aforesaid sermons, require only to be read *well* 'in the hearing of all the people.' By way of illustration I would beg to ask, if the writers of the Bridgewater Treatises had employed themselves in devising and executing a plan, by which Paley's Natural Theology might be read with intelligence and spirit, and with appropriate illustrations, and so be listened to with interest by some hundred thousands of people, whether the real object of the donor would not have been more effectually accomplished, than by a further multiplication of dead letter treatises?

If it be answered, 'Every man will shortly be his own reader,' we reply, that in reference to *good reading*, which always implies some difficulty, and a good deal of selection, we are too thoroughly convinced of the breadth and depth of the principle, 'I canna be fashed,' to expect any thing of the kind. The very moderate success of the lecturers on natural philosophy at the London University* shows how little trouble will be taken, even by the educated classes, in the pursuit of knowledge. And if the expectation implied by 'every man being his own reader,' applies to *bad reading*, we see little cause to congratulate ourselves on the probability that thousands will devour the worst pages of Lord Byron, who will find little zest in their own reading of the best pages of Sir Walter Scott. The ministers of the church may neglect or attend to these signs of the times, as they think best. But let them be assured, that those are their bitterest enemies who do not *urge them* to increase their influence,

* I have attended two courses of these lectures with the greatest delight. The lecturer, Dr. Ritchie, has the art of making 'the principle of a pump' equally intelligible and interesting. It is not owing to any defect on his part that a thousand pupils are not attending his lectures, as would be the case if he were lecturing in Paris. He has been *doubling* what was at first a small number of pupils every year, (whilst the King's College lecture on natural philosophy has been an entire failure,) and this delightful lecture must succeed in the hands of such a lecturer.

though it be at the expense of a little trouble. There are many persons who would flatter their love of ease, *till* they can turn round upon them and say, 'Cut it down; why cumbereth it the ground.'

Before I close my present lecture, allow me to mention three facts, I lately learnt from the secretary of the Manchester Mechanics' Institution, that in that town, of 190,000 inhabitants, not more than from three to four hundred members are in the habit of meeting at the Institution. I learnt also from the secretary of the Birmingham Mechanics' Institution, that in that town, of 150,000 inhabitants, only 150 or 200 members are in the habit of meeting at the Institution. Is this want of interest in science and literature accounted for by the fact, that in both instances the Mechanics' Institution is discouraged by the clergy? I would rather believe this lukewarmness accounted for by lecturers not sufficiently attending to the third fact I am about to state to you. When I asked the secretary of the Birmingham Mechanics' Institution what lectures are most popular, or, in other words, draw the largest audiences, I was not surprised to be answered that lectures given by gentlemen connected with the theatres, (in other words, by *good readers*,) on the dramas of Shakspeare, were always most fully attended.

This fact is worth all my reasonings. It is very desirable that much stronger food in the physical and mathematical sciences than I can pretend to offer you* should be provided for the scientific mechanic. But if Mechanics' Institutions are to produce the beneficial effects on the *public mind* which they are certainly capable of producing, more attention must be paid to interest the imagination and the feelings, than the members of a scientific institution may, at first thought, consider to harmonise with their main object. But if the proper study for mankind is man; if matter is the servant of mind; if all sciences are subject to the political science; and, lastly, if we desire to diffuse the physical sciences as widely as possible, we must unite physics with morals, breathing a living soul into a material body.

Lectures on the physical sciences are rendered interesting and convincing by physical experiments. The works of Shakspeare and Scott, Edgeworth and Martineau, supply what may well be called *moral experiments*, and give at once *spirit* and *evidence* to the moral science. They are no more to be confounded, as causes or in effects, with false fictions, than the experiments of the chemist are to be confounded with the empiricisms of the alchemist.

* This refers to some observations on the two 'nomenclatures of electricity,' Franklin's and Du Fay's, which will probably form part of a third lecture, viz. 'On the science of Words and the science of Things.'

'MRS. THOMSON, YOU ARE WANTED!'

o said one of the cads at the Elephant and Castle, the other day, while I was sitting ensconced in the further corner of the ——— coach, which had just stopped, on its outward bound passage, at that famous house of call. Common-place as the words may seem, and heedless as I usually am of other people's business, there was something, it must have been in the tone in which they were uttered, which instantly arrested my attention. How came I to hear them at all? How came I, as I did hear them, not to say, 'What is that to me?' What made me instantly feel that Mrs. Thomson was wanted with no common want, that the fact of her being wanted was something to me because it was something to humanity? And what has fixed that conviction on my mind, although I remain, and am likely to live and die, in total ignorance as to who wanted Mrs. Thomson, or what she was wanted for? The tone of the cad is the primary solution of these difficulties. I never heard a cad speak in such a tone before. There was in it neither the servility of inferiority, nor the insolence of superiority, nor the familiarity of equality. It conveyed not the faintest intimation of the relative situation of the speaker and the party spoken to. Grievously imperfect is the art of printing, and that of musical notation, and all the devices of elocutionary accentuation. They all fail me, or I would endeavour to present to the reader's eye that which so peculiarly affected my ear when the cad said, '*Mrs. Thomson, you are wanted.*' Perhaps I shall come nearest to it by negatives. It was not said angrily, nor urgingly, nor sarcastically, nor supplicatingly, nor deprecatingly. Nor was it said without feeling; and yet there was no symptom of private or personal feeling. It was as if a common want of human nature had been announced; a deficiency claiming respect, and suppressing irritability, by its universal character. There was something that reminded one of the enunciation of a great and abstract proposition. Some resemblance to the tone in which Kepler might have apprized you that the squares of the times of the planetary revolutions are as the cubes of the mean distances of the planets from the sun. But this was not all. It was not the tone for any mere physical truth. The enunciation was that of a moral proposition. The want of Mrs. Thomson had some relation to human feelings and condition. And yet again, it was not the relation of champion, deliverer, philanthropist; not the need which is felt, in great emergencies, of those who by energetic interposition would have wrought a sudden change. Not in so calm a tone would the ill-treated prisoner in his dungeon say, 'Howard, you are wanted.' Nor a beaten French regiment exclaim, 'Napoleon, you are wanted.' It was as far removed from these, as from the ludicrous distress of

Liston, 'York, you're wanted.' And yet it lacked the dignified solemnity with which 'Milton, you are wanted,' is paraphrased by Wordsworth into

> 'Milton! thou should'st be living at this hour:
> England hath need of thee:——'

It betokened a homelier want than that expressed by the great poet of his greater predecessor. It was a worky-day want, such as might come home to all people's business and bosoms. Perhaps the familiarity of the name aided this impression. Thomson is not a high sounding appellation. It wears no heraldic dignity. There is no Lord Thomson in the Peerage. It will not etymologize into grandeur or peculiarity. Thomson is only the son of Tom, that is to say, an undistinguished grandson of Adam. We cannot apply what was said of a certain large and distinguished family, and say that 'there are three classes of persons in the world, men, women, and Thomsons;' for, with some exceptions, the men and women are Thomsons; and all the Thomsons are men and women, except the children, who will also be men and women in due time, should their lives be spared. So far, indeed, does this identification extend, that it colours the language in which we speak of the physical and universal phenomena of the earth's revolutions. The revolving months, with their beautifully diversified appearances and influences, constitute, at once, Nature's year and Thomson's Seasons.

Of course I instantly looked in the direction which the voice of the cad indicated. There stood Mrs. Thomson, leaning, but slightly, and not as if she needed support on account of weariness or decrepitude, against the Elephant and Castle. She was in an attitude of mingled contemplation and reflection; as if the matter in her mind were weighty, but its weight as manageable as if in the grasp of an elephant's trunk, and as portable as the many trunks of that castellated elephant which were tossing about in all directions. Her face had in it all the quietness of power, and all the power of quietness. Her features were strongly marked enough for a first-rate tragic actress; and yet there was on them no working of emotion. Her head reminded one of that cast of a German philosopher on which Spurzheim used to lecture when craniology was young. It had similar expansion, the same loftiness of brow, and, if one might argue by analogy, or by inference from the seen to the unseen, a like absence of the devotional pinnacle; a cathedral without a spire. There was the anomaly of greatness without veneration. From under those frontal towers the eye looked not up heavenwards, and yet earth was not enough for its gaze. Itself was worthier; and it looked where it would, and because it would. The want of Mrs. Thomson was not the want of a priest, any more than it was the want of a servant, or the want of a mistress. Her dress corresponded with this impres-

sion. Her bonnet was an old but fine black chip, with a long poke over the face. Beneath it appeared a very clean and white cap, double frilled and fluted. Through her long yellow mittens came fingers that seemed to have power enough, but not to have had passion enough, to grasp the wand of Medea. Her gown was one of those antique, large-patterned chintzes which always look so stately. There were in it colossal roses, and all sorts of flowers; or, rather, forms which were no sorts of flowers, while yet they claimed affinity with the fossil, antediluvian or ante-mosaic-creation outlines of vegetable being, in the days when lady-fern grew ten feet high, and large in proportion. A common blue and white spotted kerchief was folded over her neck; and around her throat passed a narrow slip of black velvet. An apron was tied about her waist, and hung down in front, as white as the driven snow. It was, altogether, the garb of one who was made to be wanted, in that most peculiar and yet most common manner. What is to follow, thought I; for how, when, where, by whom, or for what, Mrs. Thomson was wanted, did not appear. She stepped calmly forwards, towards the front of the coach. The third step took her out of my sight. I was fixed in the further corner. In a few seconds she reappeared, stepping back to her former position. There was no agitation, no grief, in her manner. She was not parting with any one needful to her. There was no proud complacency in her air. She had not been exercising the influence of a superior to minister to sorrow. She had been wanted. She was there. That was all. She was ready to be wanted again; yet not impatient for it. Whenever, or wherever it might be, she was equal to it, and without effort. Her hairless brow, which rose above the eyebrows like a mountain above the zone of vegetation, bent slightly forward with a strictly mechanical movement towards the coach-box, and as if in obedience to her fiat, the coach went on. The horses sprang not forward with a jerk, but the scene of a theatre seemed to close on the *tableau vivant* of Mrs. Thomson, the cad, the coaches, the passengers, the porters, the people, and the Elephant and Castle.

I am the richer and the wiser. I have added a picture to my gallery, and one the colours of which will not fade. The reader may see little in my poor copy of it; I cannot help that; but the original is worthy of Gerard Dow, or Rembrandt, or Dominichino. I shall often study it. There is no study like that of a fine old painting. One's eyes fix themselves upon it, and drink in wisdom without words. And I have gained a proposition as well as a picture. I cannot affirm, with Socrates, that the only thing I know is, that I know nothing. It would not be true. I know that *Mrs. Thomson is wanted.* That is a step towards universal truth. I like the bareness of the proposition. It is not frittered away by details or circumstantials. Sometimes it

even dissociates itself from the scene in which I learned it. I seem to have heard it in visions of the night; or to have read it on the leaf of a plant. I go about repeating '*Mrs. Thomson you are wanted.*' Of whom else dare one make such an affirmation? Who is wanted in this world? Who, but *she?* The Whigs are not wanted. The parsons are not wanted. The poets are not wanted; for, as Kirke White says, 'Fifty years hence, and who will think of Henry?' Kings are not wanted; when once that grim groom death trots them out, how soon it is

'For O, and for O, the hobby horse is forgot.'

Nay, even, according to Malthus, people are not wanted. And is it not something, then, to know that *Mrs. Thomson is wanted?*

Would that Mr. Brunell would complete the Thames Tunnel; for then I could manage better than at present to avoid the Elephant and Castle in my outgoings. I dread that spot. I know it will happen to me some day; I have a presentiment of the catastrophe; a second sight which infallibly forebodes a first sight. I shall not be able to avoid it. I shall be wedged into the coach, and obliged to see it. The coachman will pull up there. Four men, with dingy coats and cloaks, but with silk hatbands, will be heavily bearing the plain coffin, covered with the faded pall. Many will follow, but not a multitude. As the train passes, there is a respectful cessation even of the eternal uproar of the house of call. The pause strikes on my sense, as if I were standing on the coast, and the murmur of the waves returned not at its accustomed interval. One voice alone breaks the silence. The cad stands on the edge of the pavement, looks wistfully after the coffin, and shakes his head as he repeats,

'*Mrs. Thomson, you are wanted!*'

CIVILIZED BARBARISM.

THE 'Collective Wisdom' of England, assembled in the great national council to which the name of 'The First Reformed Parliament' has been affixed by its members, and those who depend on them, owing to various motives—ignorance being one of the most powerful;—that very 'Reformed Parliament,' which has pronounced the retention of black men in slavery an unjustifiable evil, pregnant with numerous fatal consequences, and has thereupon taken measures to secure its total abolition,—that very 'Reformed Parliament' has sent forth to the world its deliberate fiat, determining that it is a fitting and justifiable thing to entrap and catch certain white men, and forcibly convey them on board sundry floating castles to engage in scenes of blood and slaughter, simply because those white men have been trained to

a career of active industry on the moving waters instead of the firm land. This monstrous act of injustice has not been perpetrated by regular pirates or lawless banditti—recognizing no right of property save the long sword and the strong arm. It has been a deliberate act of the Legislature of England, whose people are accustomed to arrogate to themselves the title of the most civilized nation of the earth, and more especially as regards the inviolability of the right of private property. This deliberate act is a proof that the spirit of barbarism is not yet extinguished in the breasts of those who rule the nation, and it is another powerful argument for getting rid of their mischievous authority at the earliest possible opportunity. Either they understand not the principles of justice or they wilfully violate them, and in either case they are unfitted to possess the confidence of the public.

As a matter of political economy, it is all but universally conceded, that impressment is a great evil, tending materially to increase the general cost of seamen in a national and mercantile point of view. Scarcely any but the most interested persons attempt to set up any plea of justice as a defence for it. Therefore all serious argument in its favour is reduced to that stirring cause which Tory tyrants christen *necessity*, and Whig tyrants denominate *expediency*. It is, in fact, the ancient custom whereby the *strong* arrogate to themselves the right to make the *weak* do their bidding, themselves being the judges whether that bidding be good or not, while they allow the *weak* no choice but obedience. If human beings were entrapped by man-catchers for the purpose of forcing them to labour in the formation of roads and harbours, and other matters tending to human comfort, some plea of utility might be set up; not a sound one it is true, but still a semblance of it. The brutal Pacha of Egypt, when he destroyed so much human life in the forced labour of canal-making by imperfect and unhealthy processes, could still allege that canal-making was a means to human improvement. Nay, the very Negro-catchers of Africa might allege that sugar is an important article of human food, and therefore, as freemen refuse to cultivate it, it is necessary to have slaves. This also sounds plausibly, but the error lies in not seeing, or in refusing to see, that the good arising from possessing sugar is much less than the evil arising from possessing slaves. Perfect human happiness might exist *without* sugar; it cannot exist *with* slaves. Canals, also, are very useful things, but if they be made by forced human labour, human beings will, very naturally, take an antipathy to them, and acquire a dislike for, and a distrust in, all useful public works. Thus, the amount of evil becomes greater than the amount of good, for a comparatively small number of human beings are alive to the prospect of future advantages, while almost all can feel the pressure of present evils.

The impressment of seamen is for the purposes of war alone. They are forced to slay other human beings without being allowed to ask what are the motives of the man-catchers in setting them on to do it. Therein is their condition worse than that of the negro slaves. 'But,' say the advocates of impressment, 'people are drawn for the militia and forced to fight if needful.' For my own part, even setting out of the question the partial mode in which the militia conscription is conducted, I cannot in conscience approve of it; but still the evil does not press unfairly on any particular class; it falls upon the whole nation, whereas the evil of impressment falls on a very small number, thus making the hardship infinitely greater. 'How can we resist invasion,' ask our rulers, 'if we cannot have seamen? The sailors prefer the merchant service.' If they do, it is a proof that the merchant service, bad as it is, is a preferable condition to the king's service. Therefore the remedy is plain and simple. Increase the pecuniary and other advantages in the king's service, and abundant seamen will flock to it. Give good sailors the hope of becoming officers. Abolish caste, and let fair play exist to all alike, and there will be no need of force to get men to enter. There never was a time yet, when men could not be induced to volunteer even for unjust wars when the premium was made high enough, and there is little fear that they will refuse to fight for high pay when the cause is a just or a popular one. The rulers will perhaps reply, 'that the expense will become so great in such a case, that Parliament would not sanction the grants, and the people would refuse to pay the necessary taxes.' If this argument means any thing, it must be that the Parliament and people will put off war as long as possible, and will not be dragged into it, save by the most urgent necessity, on account of the expense. This is the exact conclusion which is desirable. The more expensive wars become, the less we shall have of them. People will not take up arms upon vague fears, but when violence approaches their firesides, they will spare neither purse nor person in resisting it. Even cowards become brave beneath an impending danger from which there is no retreat.

The common argument of the man-catchers is this. 'The first duty of a government is to prevent invasion, and, as we live on an island, our easiest defence is "our wooden walls," to man which we *must* have men and the cheaper the better. To talk about impressment being a hardship is a fallacy, for the seamen are used to it and don't mind it. The best seamen, and the least discontented, on board the navy, are impressed men.'

There is no doubt that sailors are a class of beings whose habits are very plastic, but the very fact of a human being remaining a contented slave is a conclusive argument for the abolition of the practice of making slaves. We have been told that many of the negroes prefer the slave state; and I know it to be

true in some instances, but it can only be by the destruction of all the nobler qualities of the human mind, reducing the human being from an active to a passive agent. Were the world to be peopled by such beings, there would be an end to human progression. And whenever a man can be found, who, after being caught by man-catchers and forced to work at the trade of bloodshed, can remain contented in such a condition, it would be better for the human race that that man should cease to exist.

But it is the business of a government to prevent invasion. Granted; but it does not therefore follow that it is always the business of a people to prevent what a government may choose to call invasion. A people can only be interested in preventing invasion when that invasion is likely to place them in a worse position than they were in before. A people might happen to be tyrannized over by a mischievous set of rulers occupied solely in preventing the expansion of the human mind. In such a case almost any invasion must be beneficial in its operation, even though undertaken with unjust motives. At all events it would be a more absurd thing for a people to fight in the defence of their own mischievous rulers than it would be to submit to the yoke of less mischievous ones. By the teaching of public convulsions the human mind grows stronger; as has been the case in France and other portions of the continent. I do not hold with the common dogma that a tyrant or tyrants are the more endurable because they happen to be of native growth, and think that a wise Frenchman, or German, or Spaniard, or Italian, is infinitely preferable to a foolish Englishman, as a legislator, and, *vice versâ*, that a wise Englishman is preferable to a foolish foreigner. I in no way deny that an invasion is abstractedly a bad thing. I only consider an invasion to be good when it is the means of destroying some greater evil. Thus the invasion of Turkey by the Russians is considered only in the light of an unjust aggression upon the sultan's rights. But the real question is, would the mass of the people be in a better condition after such an invasion than before? They undoubtedly would, for, bad as is the Russian mode of rule, it gives more latitude to the developement of the human intellect than that of the Turks does. It appears that there are many national evils which are only capable of being removed from external sources. Mischievous international prejudices are amongst the number. It is not by moral precepts that they can be removed, but by the intermingling of the people. Peaceable commercial intercourse is the best mode, but in more uncivilized times, paradoxical though it may appear, invasions have been powerful agents, rude but useful. The French and English sentinels were usually on good terms with each other in the Peninsular war, and by no means believed that they were the 'natural enemies' of each other, any more than that they were demons provided with the appendages of tails, as was the

profound conviction of the Southern Americans touching the buccaneers. In most invasions of England, though the ruling powers have of course been losers, the mass of the people has essentially benefited. The Roman invasion was a good, inasmuch as it introduced many useful arts, and gave something of a shock to the Druidic barbarities. The Danish invasion was a good, inasmuch as it infused into the people something more of energy, and induced them to join with the Saxons to make an effectual resistance. There is no doubt that the Saxon rule was an improvement on that which had gone before it, and though the Saxon nobles suffered from the Norman invasion, there can be no doubt that many a Saxon serf thereby gained his freedom. To suppose that the whole population were reduced to a worse condition than before, and yet remained content with foreign taskmasters, is to suppose almost an impossibility, and the probability is, that their condition was much bettered. Most people are sensitive as regards their personal comforts, few interest themselves much in their political institutions. The minds are few, and their echoes not numerous, which give rallying cries to nations; and to produce much effect, to overcome bodily torpor, they must bear closely on bodily welfare, at least such has been the case hitherto. The people of Buenos Ayres were infinitely benefited by the invasion of Beresford, for it pointed the way to a progress which before they had not dreamed of. It enlarged their sphere of knowledge. Till that time they had no foreign commerce, whose sweets being once tasted paved the way to freedom, which none but Tories will deny to be a good thing. Much has been said of the tyranny of Europeans in the east, but it must not be forgotten that it has removed worse tyrannies of native growth. A handful of Europeans could not rule India unless their rule offered greater advantages to the mass of the population than that of their native princes.

The *rationale* of impressment is this. The English aristocracy possessed the government of the island of Great Britain, which was a very pleasant mode of subsistence to them. They knew that an intimate union with other nations would open the eyes of the people, and ultimately destroy their authority, therefore they taught them to consider the French as a kind of frightful bugaboo under the name of 'natural enemies.' To keep the French away, the best expedient was 'wooden walls,' and to man the wooden walls, the most brutal human beings were preferred, and the naval system was assuredly that best calculated to destroy the human mind, and render the man a mere sensual agent. The mass of the community, frightened at the empty sound of the word 'invasion,' became blinded to the atrocities committed on a portion of their fellow creatures, and the barbarism has continued even unto this day.

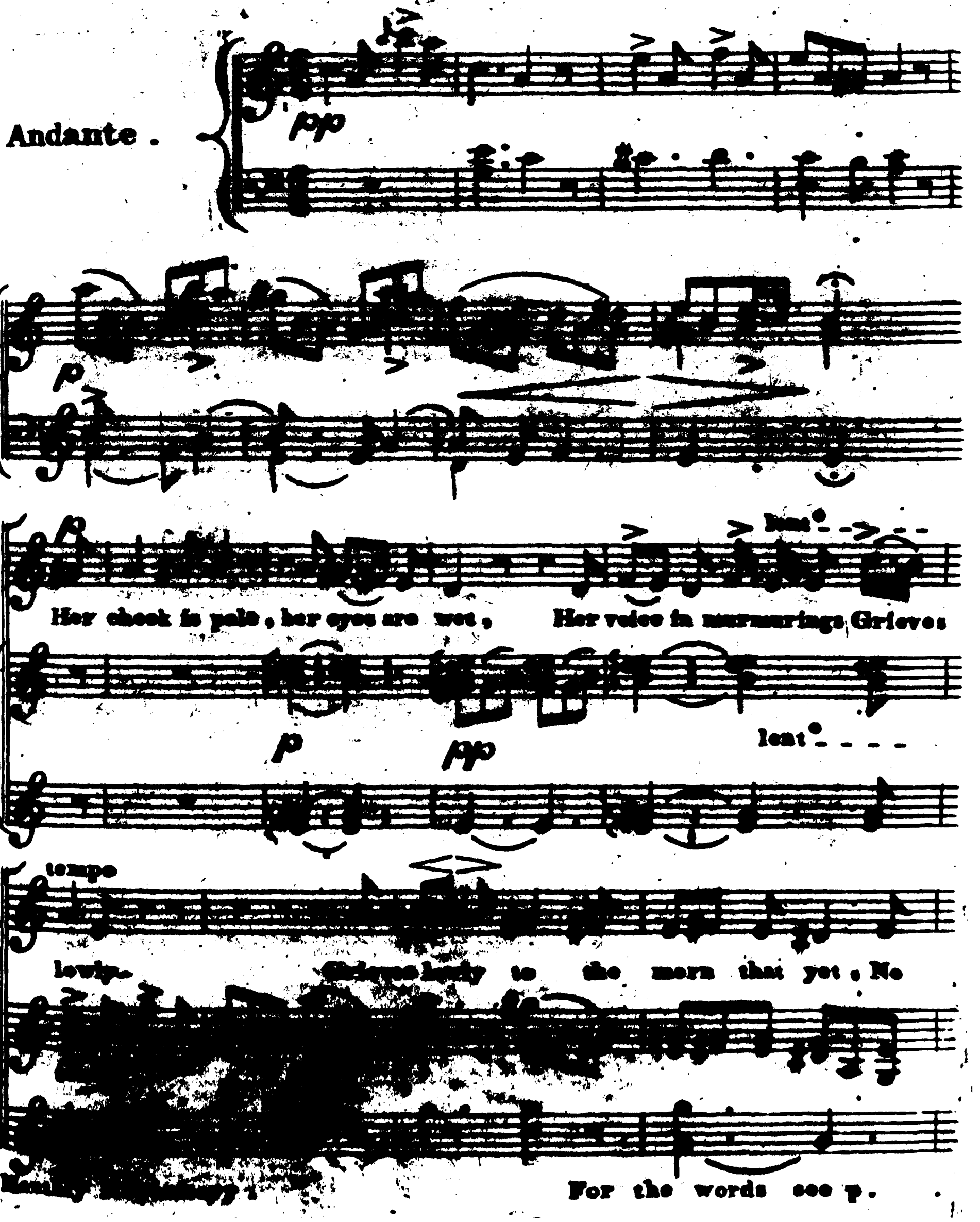
We may, it is true, glorify ourselves in the reflection that our

land has been preserved from foreign invasion, but we have also to undergo the mortifying feeling that our personal freedom has at the same time been trampled beneath the feet of domestic tyrants, and that a portion of our citizens have been condemned to a state of slavery, compared with which the conscription of Napoleon was a condition of buoyant hope.

Thus far I have endeavoured to treat the question of impressment as a mere matter of political logic. The beatings of the heart have been stilled, and the pulses have been calmed, by an unnatural restraint. Yet it can be but for a time; the checked current overleaps its banks, and the whirling flood rushes forth in its strength, in one mighty tide of humane motion, which bids cold caution defiance in its earnest sympathy with fellow human beings suffering under human oppression. If patriotism be a virtue, it is the virtue of resistance to oppression; and, therefore, that patriotism is the most noble which practises resistance under the most unfavourable circumstances, without the stimulus of public applause which waits on all national struggles. The blood boils, the heart pants, the spirit leaps quicker, at the tale of individual cruelty and oppression practised amidst surrounding freedom, than at the tales of wholesale national injustice. We feel more for the forlorn pariah than for the enslaved tribe. For the latter there is hope, for the former there is none. There *is* something soul-stirring in the name of patriotism, and all, even the most tyrannous Tories, do homage to it, for, when they go forth to war, they call it fighting for their country. I too would be a patriot, even to the shedding of blood, were it needful, were no other arbitrement left me; but I would rather be the plebeian leader of a successful mutiny of impressed seamen on the decks of a battle-ship, than I would have been hailed as the victor of the Nile. I would rather aid in quelling a quarter-deck tyrant than in resisting an imperial manslayer. The one is a huge evil which all men are bent on putting down, the other is an oppression of the deepest die on a small scale, and which therefore escapes notice. Wars are over for a time, but they may again arise, and then once more the impressment atrocities will be enacted. If ever that time shall come, Oh! for the heart of a Hampden, and the brain of a Machiavel, and the arm of a gladiator, all united in one human form, and that form clad in the blue garments of an impressed English sailor. Oh! for such a man to become an ocean Washington, and proclaim man's universal freedom on the waters as upon the firm land. But if that may not be, let us at least hope that there will not be wanted Curtii of the waters, willing to devote their lives to human freedom. Rather than quietly submit to be made a slave, a forced toiler at the work of slaughter, it were better to seek a death struggle for freedom with the shotted guns turned inboard to beat down the quarters of the tyrants. It were better

APRIL.

Tears and Smiles.



sun_shine brings. Why

dim.

linger ye, O laughing hours? Unfurl ye buds, un_furl ye flowers! Why

lent.

linger ye, O laughing hours? Unfurl ye buds, un_furl ye flowers!

lent.

tempo

Sad April sings. Sad April sings.

tempo

Allegro

The

rocell°

Allegro

LH.

-pleteness fleets, the tears are dry, Her voice with gladness

ever.

lent°

Rings - - - The sun-shine o-ver earth and sky, Its

lent°

lent°

bright - - - ness rings - - - Come - - -

tempo Allegro.

Come revel through my laughing bowers Ye warbling birds, ye lambs and

tempo Allegro.

tempo

flowers! Come revel through my laughing bowers Ye warbling birds,

loud

ye lambs and flowers! Glad A-pril sings - - - -

fz fz fz

pri p

Glad A-pril sings - - - - -

f

to see the salt waves' green edge rushing through the yawning seams and crashing timbers, opened by the volleying shot, better than to feel the heart eating itself away in corroding anguish, deprived of all the solaces which bountiful nature has given for man's uses. It were better even greatly to fail, and perish by shot or steel; it were better, when the weakened hand could no longer grasp the death weapon, to feel the throat within the tightening tug of the rope, roven through the yard-arm, than to sit down a contented slave of slaughter. It were better to perish in cold blood, after the mockery of a trial for mutiny, and be conscious that the perishing remnants of mortality were destined to drop in fragments from the gibbet, on a river, or in a seaport, a spectacle for the more brutal members of the human race—it were better to perish thus, than not to record our solemn protest of resistance against human oppression, even though the attempt were unsuccessful. It is one of the marvels of the earth that the accursed practice should have been so long permitted to continue, by those who have been the sufferers.

But it cannot endure. Another Parliament will yet succeed, who blushing for the barbarism of their predecessors, will wipe the blot from English legislation, thus proclaiming to the world that slavery is at last extinguished in the British empire, and that whites, as well as blacks, may walk in freedom, by the universal recognition of equal rights.

JUNIUS REDIVIVUS.

March 15*th*, 1834.

SONGS OF THE MONTHS.—No. 4, APRIL.

TEARS AND SMILES.

HER cheek is pale, her eyes are wet,
  Her voice in murmurings,
Grieves lowly to the morn that yet
  No sunshine brings.
Why linger ye, O, laughing hours ?
Uncurl ye buds, unfurl ye flowers !
    Sad April sings.

The paleness fleets, the tears are dry,
  Her voice with gladness rings ;
The sunshine over earth and sky
  Its brightness flings.
Come, revel through my laughing hours
Ye warbling birds, ye buds and flowers !
    Glad April sings.

CORIOLANUS NO ARISTOCRAT.

(Concluded from p. 202.)

THE scene has again changed, and Coriolanus is beneath his own roof, accompanied by sundry patricians, before, rather than to whom, he gives vent to the indignant feelings which injustice has aroused. Like the Indian at the stake, he scorns to yield to the pressure of circumstances, and the more terrible those circumstances become, the stronger is his resolution to resist, and not to acknowledge the commission of those things of which he knows himself to be guiltless. Death on the wheel, or at wild horses' heels, or the plunge from the Tarpeian rocks, one piled on the other, can in no way shake him. His firmness is the result of conscious integrity. While in this mood, his mother enters, with an expression of angry discontent, the result of her ineffectual efforts to work upon her son's nature. He asks her why she wishes him to humble himself to the people whom she has always been accustomed to treat, and teach him to treat, with contempt, calling them 'woollen vassals, things created to buy and sell with groats.' The base nature of Volumnia now shows itself, and she appears to the unbiassed judgment as vile as the vilest being ever known under the name of 'slave,' and thus degraded below the standard of human nature.

> 'I would have had you put your power well on,
> Before you had worn it out.
> * * * * * * *
> Lesser had been
> The thwartings of your dispositions, if
> You had not show'd them how you were disposed
> Ere they lacked power to cross you.'

This means, she wished her son to possess a treacherous nature, in order to acquire power easily. Simple power was all she cared for, no matter how acquired, or for what purpose used. But Coriolanus was too noble to do this, and would only reply with an expression of disgust. All present join to aid Volumnia's purpose, prompted by their personal fears. Even the honest Menenius yields to the impulse of that destroyer of all good, the Whiggish doctrine of expediency, in striving to bring about a reconciliation of all parties. Volumnia taunts her son, proclaiming that her heart is to the full as hard as his, but that her brain is far more cunning, being able to shape even her anger to her interests. All her phrases go to prove that she excels in 'cunning,' the principal art of those who combine intellect with moral worthlessness.

Coriolanus has been nurtured in the customary reverence to patriarchal authority, and cannot break through that reverence

flatly to refuse his mother, and, while he half submits, his voice chokes with agony at the thought of the baseness asked of him.

> 'Must I go show them my unbarbed sconce?
> Must I,
> With my base tongue, give to my noble heart
> A lie, that it must bear?'

This was not said in pride, but in bitter agony; it was not merely required of him to submit to the people, but it was required of him to falsify truth, to pretend thoughts which he felt not. He loved truth, and he was required to lie. Not on his own account would he give any verbal assent, no threat, no torture could move him, but habitual reverence to his mother made him assent, yet with the inward consciousness that it would be unavailing, from the outbreaking of his native nobleness.

> 'You have put me now to such a part, which never
> I shall discharge to the life.'

'We'll prompt you,' says Cominius, and the noble, but ill-guided man feels himself robbed of his power and dignity as he reflects upon the change he has to undergo.

He can no longer endure the thoughts of the accumulated baseness, and his native spirit breaks forth in a magnificent burst of high moral impulse.

> 'I will not do't:
> Lest I surcease to honour mine own truth,
> And, by my body's action, teach my mind
> A most inherent baseness.'

Again the evil spirit interferes in the shape of his mother, and again is his moral worth abated. With a heavy heart he speaks like a man about to sacrifice a rich treasure of honour, and be thenceforth steeped in eternal infamy. He knows the sacrifice, and knowingly has to perform it.

> 'Mother, I'm going to the market-place;
> Chide me no more. I'll mountebank their loves,
> Cog their hearts from them, and come home beloved
> Of all the trades in Rome. I'll return consul;
> Or never trust to what my tongue can do
> I' the way of flattery further.'

'Answer mildly to your enemies' accusations,' says Cominius. Awhile Coriolanus thinks on the meaning of the word 'mildly,' and then, his mind being made up as to the course to be pursued, he replies with the distinct purpose of one who feels it impossible to commit a meanness,

> 'Let them accuse me by invention, I
> Will answer in mine honour.'

No meanness committed by others can excuse him to his own conscience for practising a like meanness.

Men of England, men of all countries, think of the evil ye do when ye give unworthy mothers to your children. The high utility of Coriolanus was made a wreck by the evil counsels of his mother. Had he been mothered by a Cornelia what a glorious being would he have become.

The next scene in its opening shows that the trial by the people, to which Coriolanus is ordered to submit, is not in fact a trial, but a mere ceremony of condemnation by his enemies, in which the people are used as mere ignorant tools. The knavish old tribune, Sicinius, goes about, as coolly as a modern special pleader, to accomplish the ruin of a higher-minded being than himself. *Ignorant* people are ever thus to be made tools of.

As Coriolanus enters Menenius says,

'Calmly, I do beseech you.'

The noble Roman is smarting under the sense of the dishonourable injuries done to him by his enemies, and his lips quiver with scorn while he replies,

'Ay, as an hostler, that for the poorest price
Will bear the knave by the volume.'

Checking himself, however, the native nobleness of his heart, the true spirit of generosity, bursts out,

'The honoured gods
Keep Rome in safety, and the chairs of justice
Supplied with worthy men! plant love among us!
Throng our large temples with the shows of peace,
And not our streets with war!'

He then declares his ready submission to the laws, and Menenius alludes to his 'wounds' received for his country. Coriolanus is annoyed that his defence should thus be put upon the ground of mere feeling, and not of justice, and he exclaims with contempt,

'Scratches with briars,
Scars to move laughter only.'

But nothing can move the base-minded tribunes from their unworthy purpose, and the juggling half decrepit knave Sicinius, without any impulse of passion, without any motive but the cold calculation of interest, deliberately applies the term 'traitor' to one, the high excellence of whose nature he cannot understand.

The term traitor is one from which every mind revolts. It is the attribute of all mean and base natures, and it is a proof when treason is practised that the practiser has no honourable power whatever, that he is a mean and contemptible being. The term traitor implies a combination of weakness, treachery, and falsehood; three things which, though much practised, are univer-

sally scouted by the common consent of mankind, as they tend to sap the foundations of social life. Treachery is a peculiar attribute of mean and malicious natured women, and almost always of slaves. The reason is, that all freedom of action is denied them, and they thus revenge themselves. Amongst savage nations the greatest affront that can be offered to a man is to liken him to a woman, i. e. to call him a powerless being. In civilized life, to call a man a traitor means this and more also.

To call Coriolanus a traitor was sure to induce defiance and recklessness of all consequences. He could seek no favour from those who could not respect his high qualities.

> 'I would not buy
> *Their* mercy at the price of one fair word,
> Nor check my courage for what they can give,
> To have 't with saying good morrow.'

He is by foul contrivance banished from that country for which he had so often shed his blood, that country which he had loved, that country on which he had prided himself as being one of its citizens. He is banished by the acclamations of the very people whom he had disinterestedly served; banished with injurious taunts by the voices of the ignorant, set on by the designing. That act has so operated on him as to turn all his love to gall, his patriotism into a selfish desire of vengeance at whatever cost. It is another argument to show that true greatness of mind does not consist in impulse alone. A generous spirit, nurtured on philosophical conviction, is the only true wear which will stand all tests, and remain unharmed. Coriolanus was no philosopher. Terrible is the closing speech wherewith he scares away the ignoble crowd whose breath has banished him. Fearful is the purpose which he expresses by saying,

> 'There is a world elsewhere.'

Slowly he turns on his heel, like a lion at bay, facing about to scare his foes with his looks of terrible meaning. Even then the base tribunes cannot refrain from meanness, cannot feel a sentiment of nobleness. They set on the worthless curs who dog their heels to hunt out at the gates the foremost man in Rome with every species of contumely which petty spite can suggest.

The fourth act commences, and he is taking leave of his friends, 'the beast with many heads butts him away.' The shrew Volumnia has wrought her work, and is now cast down at her failure. The courage of Coriolanus is equal to the trial, but his vaunting mother can but repine and scold. Virgilia, his wife, wrings her hands, and calls out 'Oh, heavens! Oh, heavens!' like the waggoner in the fable; and Coriolanus, somewhat disgusted with her, silences her with

> 'Nay, I prithee, woman.'

The mother breaks out in angry imprecations at her disappointment:

> 'Now the red pestilence strike all trades in Rome
> And occupations perish.'

Coriolanus replies,

> 'I shall be loved when I am lacked.'

This is a true saying, and indicates an unfortunate condition of humanity, which is somewhat slow to discover the good which surrounds it, and becomes quick-sighted only when it is removed.

The next scene is one of scolding between the tribunes and the wife and mother of the banished man. The tribunes continue to show like hypocrites, and the women like shrews.

The scene changes to Antium, and Coriolanus is about to do that which none but a noble-minded man could imagine, much less practise,—to put himself in the power of his ancient enemy, Aufidius. But the nobleness is tainted with a defect. He is making his desire of vengeance on his own countrymen a pretext of favour at the hands of Aufidius. Thus it is, whenever a man stoops to an immoral action it is ever sure to bring the necessity for meannesses in its train. Coriolanus 'would not flatter Neptune for his trident,' but he could stoop to show Aufidius how his interest would be served by foregoing the gratification of his vengeance. Nothing can explain this dereliction from his accustomed conduct but his own words:

> 'For I will fight
> Against my cankered country, with the spleen
> Of all the under fiends.'

It has been said, that 'he who fears not death is the master of the lives of other men.' There is undoubtedly a magnificent power even in mere physical courage, but when courage both mental and physical are united they produce a result which, in combination with high moral qualities, will make a man show like a god. The moral qualities of Coriolanus were obscured by his passionate desire of vengeance, but even without it his magnificent nature at once trampled down all hate and all emulation in Aufidius. His causes of hatred passed by, and he was overwhelmed with the surpassing quiet nobleness of the being before him. It were as easy for a moth to quarrel with a sunbeam for dazzling it, as for the inferior nature of Aufidius to take the tone of an equal before his sometime foe. He is absolutely overpowered with the excess of his emotion, with the sensation of the honour done to him especially, in that from him, of all men, Coriolanus should seek to get his wants supplied. The strong mind, destitute of all outward appliances, has triumphed over the

inferior mind, whose possessor is rich in artificial power and means.

> 'Worthy Marcius,
> Had we no quarrel else to Rome, but that
> Thou art thence banished, we would muster all
> From twelve to seventy; and, pouring war
> Into the bowels of ungrateful Rome,
> Like a bold flood o'erbeat.'

It is not that he likes or loves Coriolanus, but that he is dazzled, absolutely thunderstruck, and he would as soon have thought of denying the gods their will as of omitting aught that could show his reverence for his guest, or rather his unqualified submission to him. The revenge of the banished Roman is now about to be gratified, and he exclaims,

> 'You bless me, gods!'

But he did not understand himself; he thought that he could exult in crushing Rome, but his heart would never have suffered him to do it. It was his wounded pride which was suffering, and though he sought the power of crushing Rome, in order to heal his pride, he never could have resolved to put that power in practice.

Another scene occurs, wherein the tribunes are congratulating themselves on their success, but news arrives that the Volscians are again in arms, led by Coriolanus. By way of proving the news untrue they resort to the admirable expedient of whipping the messenger, just as a child treats the piece of furniture he knocks his head against, or the ground when he falls on it. But the expedient is unavailing, and the Roman craftsmen begin to distrust the tribunes in whom they erst confided. 'Great toe,' the fuller, expresses well the circumstance-ridden judgment which ignorance ever pronounces:—

> 'When I said, banish him, I said t'was pity. Come, masters, let's home. I ever said, we were i' the wrong, when we banished him.'

'So did we all,' exclaims one of his companions. Had they talked but a little while longer they would fairly have persuaded themselves that Coriolanus had not been hooted out of the city, had not been banished at all.

The last introduces the tribunes meanly suing to the patricians to go forth and procure pardon from Coriolanus, and our contempt for them can go no further. Had there been aught to respect in them they would at least have stirred the citizens up to the defence of their walls, and have died bravely in the ditch or on the ramparts. But they were as cowardly as they were oppressive, as irresolute as they were unjust. Menenius undertakes the embassy, but it is fruitless; the burning heart of Coriolanus

may not be thus slaked. As a last resource, his wife and mother are sent to him. Not in love to Rome, or to Rome's citizens, did Volumnia go, but in love to herself. She knew that if Rome were nothing, she herself would lose all importance, and be little else but a slave to the Volscians. Hating 'Rome's mechanics,' she found in her extremity that her own interests and theirs were synonymous. Her son is her enemy as well as theirs, to whom she is suing for pardon in no fictitious earnestness. Beautiful is the expression of varying feelings in the stern man who has vowed to sacrifice all to vengeance:—

'I melt, and am not
Of stronger earth than others.
* * * * * * *
Let the Volsces
Plough Rome, and harrow Italy: I'll never
Be such a gosling to obey instinct: but stand
As if a man were author of himself,
And knew no other kin.'

It may not be. 'He melts, and is not of stronger earth than others.'

'Like a dull actor now,
I have forgot my part, and I am out,
Even to a full disgrace. * * *
Oh, a kiss,
Long as my exile, sweet as my revenge!
Now, by the jealous queen of heaven, that kiss
I carried from thee, dear; and my true lip
Hath virgin'd it e'er since.'

He yields to the pressing entreaties of his wife and mother, as many a man hath done besides him; yet he yields nobly. He does not abandon his allies, the Volsces, but while he proclaims peace with Rome he knows the risk he runs, and desires the sorry coward Aufidius to stand by him in this cause. He might have saved himself by returning to Rome, but it would have looked like cowardice, and he could bear no stain upon his honour. What he had done he had done, and he feared not to avow it and to defend it. Long before had Aufidius, in the savage rumour of defeat, sworn,

'I'll potch at him some way,
Or wrath or craft may get him.'

The crafty way is now open, and the Volscian army, with the Roman and his secret hater, wend their way back to Antium. Aufidius, himself a traitor to all honourable feelings, brands Coriolanus with the epithet 'traitor' before the assembled inhabitants of Antium. He is called a 'boy of tears,' and his measureless indignation breaks forth in one last burst of magnificent scorn. The rage for national vengeance is aroused amongst those who

had formerly been his foes; but still he yields not, nor blanches his cheek, nor veils his brow. Defiance he still hurls at the traitor who has betrayed him:—

> 'Oh, that I had him,
> With six Aufidiuses, or more, his tribe,
> To use my lawful sword!'

And even thus, he falls pierced by numerous swords, dying the death of a warrior, when the coward Aufidius tramples on his prostrate body.

It was better that he should die thus. In taking up arms against his countrymen for the purpose of revenge, he had committed a heavy crime, the effects of which could not be undone. He could not have sacked Rome and looked on while it was burning. The first smoke would have been the signal for mercy; but Rome thus spared, would not have spared him in after times. In Antium or in Rome he must alike have dwelt an object of suspicion and of dislike, his only safety being in the fear he might be able to inspire. His hand had been raised against both nations, and rest he could have found in neither. He had made the false step which was irreparable, and his only resource was to die. He had nothing more to do with life, and the manner of his death became him. He had not undone his native land, and even the reptile Aufidius pronounced a eulogy on him, saying,

> 'My rage is gone
> And I am struck with sorrow.'

The world is now wiser than of yore. The errors of ignorance are scared by the light of truth, and we can afford to suffer our would-be tyrants to die natural deaths. Nations care not to steep themselves in blood. Sharp laughter is found to be a more piercing weapon than the sharp sword. Even Napoleon dreaded the ridicule of the Parisians more than their plots.

JUNIUS REDIVIVUS.

CLEONE.*

ON the publication of 'Character, or Jew and Gentile,' a few months ago, we endeavoured to convey to our readers the impression produced upon our own minds by the talent and principles of its author. That impression is not only justified, but deepened and extended, by the work now before us. The accurate observation, the independent thought, the racy humour, the moral courage, and the high purpose, which we then described, are again presented to us, combined with more of skill in the management of the narrative which is the medium of their exhibition. Cleone is calculated to excite more general interest than

* Cleone, a Tale of Married Life; by Mrs. Leman Grimstone. 2 vols.

either of Mrs. Grimstone's former novels; and so far as it excites interest, it cannot fail of benefiting society.

The elevation of woman is the great object of Mrs. Grimstone's desire; not that fantastic elevation which does not recognize equality even while professing adoration, but seeks only the glory of the worshipper; nor that which the Portuguese sometimes bestow on the image of a saint, to-day the object of grovelling and frequent prayers, and to-morrow flogged and thrown into the river: but an elevation into her legitimate position, as an intellectual and moral being, the friend of man, the instructor of childhood, the object of the strongest emotions, the source of the brightest happiness, the living and lovely impulse to all that is wisest, noblest, and most blessed upon earth. This position woman has not yet occupied. Civilization and Christianity have done much for her; but they have not yet done *all* for her, any more than they have for man. Their influences are only in progress; and that progress is often obstructed by prejudices which would have perpetuated barbarism, heathenism, and feudalism.

We cannot treat Mrs. Grimstone merely as a novelist. The praise which we have bestowed on this story might be supported and exemplified by extracts, consisting of incidents well imagined and well told; characters delineated with nice discrimination; pictures admirably grouped; scenes, pathetic, tender, burlesque, and impressive; and conversations sustained with dramatic propriety, and full of truth, wit, and wisdom. But, instead of occupying what little space we can now spare with such specimens, or with an analysis of the story, we turn at once to her higher character of a moralist, and recommend her volumes to the attention of all who are interested in that social reform and progress, to which the amendment of political institutions is comparatively trifling, or of which it is symptomatic.

The conception of Cleone's character approximates closely to the ideal of female perfection. Nor is the consistency of this character very palpably sacrificed for the production of entanglement. Her errors may be regarded as unavoidable; and would not generally be considered errors; for, in committing them, she acts in accordance with the prevailing notions of society. And yet her history is one of the keenest suffering. And the acuteness of that suffering derives its bitterest aggravation from the superiority of her mind and heart. Those who say, 'how is this?' can scarcely have looked deeper than the very surface of human life. Cleone is formed for imparting and receiving happiness by the agency of affection. Her attachment is reciprocated; but she and her lover are divided and permanently distanced from each other, in ignorance of the fact, and, on her part, with a false impression of the contrary, which is very naturally accounted for. He has proper pride, and she has proper delicacy; who shall condemn them? and so is sown the seed of the subsequent mis-

chief. Even the frankness (which, it should seem, would have averted the evil,) if exercised by her, might not have been appreciated by him. To his mind, the truth itself might have been as falsehood. Simplicity, like affection, can only be perfected by mutuality. So this first practical falsehood must be classed amongst the events which, in common parlance, 'cannot be helped;' a mode of expression by which we throw upon necessity and nature the blame of our own artificial morals and conventional manners.

This mistake is the germ of the fatal error which Cleone makes. Believing that she had loved unrequitedly, and that her mental energy had subdued the passion, leaving her incapable of its recurrence, she is open to the influences which impel her to a marriage; and that marriage is so motived that all the world would have cried out upon her folly, ingratitude, and want of feeling, had she declined it. The connexion is every way respectable, eligible, and promising; far above any reasonable expectations she could entertain; and the alternative is that of a hopeless life of unremunerated drudgery, with a blind brother in beggary, and a father dying in a gaol while she might have accomplished his liberation. Again, it may be asked, who shall condemn her? And yet somebody or something must be condemnable, for here begins, not indeed the external calamity, but the inward anguish which makes this narrative so pathetic.

Fitzcloin, her husband, is a gentleman; wealthy, correct, and religious. He neither swears, drinks, nor seduces. But to him, her tastes and feelings are foolish fancies; her glowing affections and reverences are creature-idolatries; her generous emotions are wild extravagancies; her intellect is a proud carnal reason; her delicacies are affectations; her independent frankness is flat rebellion; her truthfulness is the refinement of artifice; her philosophy is impiety; and her beautiful moral discipline of her children is romance and silly theory. Now, as all this may happen to a woman making a good and undeniable match; and that woman may be, in degree, a Cleone; the wretchedness which ensues is perfectly within the bounds of verisimilitude; and will be in proportion to the fineness and beauty of the sufferer's character.

So far from having exaggerated, it seems to us that Mrs. Grimstone has, in two particulars, very much understated the case; and those particulars are of some importance. We find it difficult to imagine that Cleone could live so long with Fitzcloin as his wife, without detriment to her own character. Temper, sincerity, delicacy, must have suffered in such a collision. The gross and the pure, the sensitive and the hard, the progressive and the stationary, are not made for intimate contact, with impunity to the finer nature. Benevolence may bring them together, and that for good to both; but their identification, on equal terms, still more with the preponderance of the lower

nature, and with the external appurtenances of affection, is the almost certain triumph of moral evil, and produces the worst degradation. The writer has preserved her heroine from taint solely by the omnipotence of authorship. And she has wrought another objectionable miracle. She has not only killed off Fitzcloin so very opportunely as to show his death to be the fiat of the novelist rather than of Nature, but she has set aside his will by a decree in Chancery, which we know not whether to ascribe to the natural justice of Eldon or the moral courage of Brougham. Chancery would *not* have awarded Cleone the possession of the property nor the care of the children. It would either have sanctioned the arrangements of the will, or appointed orthodox guardians. But Mrs. Grimstone is merciful. She feels that she can afford to be so.

These volumes contain much food for the reflective reader, and will suggest, if we mistake not, more inferences in relation to existing institutions than are formally deduced by the writer, or than would, perhaps, be sanctioned by her opinions. We must not make her responsible for all the speculations which may be stimulated by the effusions of her rich and bold intellect. For her own moral she can well answer. We conclude with quoting one of the many reflections by which that moral is constituted :—

'It is when we at once desire and doubt that we seek counsel of another. Cleone, without committing Mr. Fitzcloin, stated her case to Mrs. Howell, and asked her opinion and advice. The advice given was such as, in the present state of society, women are ever prone to give, even when the enforcing circumstances of individual and family distress that characterized the fate of Cleone do not enter into the case. Resourceless as women are, the prospect of provision for life, which a respectable marriage presents, is one which the majority deem it the height of folly to slight: the sentiment that can alone seal up and beatify marriage is a secondary consideration—often no consideration at all.

'While women are constrained by the circumstances that at present operate upon them, no man can feel secure how much or how little he is accepted from motives of expediency, rather than from any deep, conclusive feeling. It is not too much to say that, under present partial institutions, and the mere apology for education that exists, it is interest and vanity that have far more to do with marriage than sympathy and affection. Need we, then, wonder that selfish indifference and secret faithlessness sometimes steal into the homes of women who have been trained to display, and compelled to perjury? Is it not man's highest interest to change a state of things that gives him semblance for reality —the power to make slaves, but not the power to draw from them what his better feelings must lead him to desire—disinterested love—intellectual sympathy?

'In decrying the existing state of arbitrary power on one side, and slavish hypocrisy on the other, no wish is entertained to alter or injure the beautiful law of nature, by which distinctive and consistent differences exist between the character and conduct of the respective sexes. The power of thinking and acting independently need not generate bold-

ness because its opposite produces debasement. There is no security, no satisfaction, but in truth: the principle may be *differently* developed in two *different* persons; but the principle itself must be the same in both. If love is to have a safe and permanent basis, that basis must be truth; and truth is consistent only with freedom and intelligence. When art attains that point at which it can successfully hide feelings, it is not very remote from that at which it can affect them. He that would have a home, not a harem—a home where his heart may rest in rich security—to which in age, infirmity, disappointment, and distress, he may come, and still find the Hesperian fruit hanging in golden clusters—must bring to that home a being free as himself, intelligent as himself, who will reciprocate his feelings, sustain his energies, because she has feelings as free and energies as noble as his own—who will concede to love, not crouch to law—who can answer his affection with sympathy, not subserviency—and who will resent and resist treachery and tyranny just in proportion as she herself abhors their practice.'—Vol. i. pp. 317—320.

SPRING SONG.

THE fresh green leaves are springing,
And the joyous lark is singing
'Mid the blue skies;
And the primrose lifts its head
O'er the soft and mossy bed
Where the violet lies.

And the bee hath left her cell,
To crouch within the bell
Of hyacinth blue;
And the daisy, flow'ret sweet,
Is springing at my feet,
All wet with dew.

Season of sun and showers!
Thy ever-varying hours
Of light and gloom,
To me are dearer far,
Than summer's golden star,
And rosy bloom.

How like my heart art thou!
With smiles encircled now,
And now with tears:
Oh! 'tis a changeful thing,
A turbid, mingled spring
Of hopes and fears.

But not again, like thine,
Shall its frail flowers entwine,
They're withering fast;
No more shall freshening dews,
Their balmy life infuse;
Its spring is past!

KATHLEEN.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

Theory of the Constitution. **By J. B. Bernard.**

It is difficult to form a decided opinion on this work until it is completed by the supplementary volume, which is to contain the author's cure for the diseases of the State. He is evidently a vigorous-minded man; one who thinks for himself and almost by himself; and therefore whose writings, though they will not coincide with the views of any class or party, must contain many hints which all may consider with advantage. He advocates the landed interest, and yet regards that of the producing man as the paramount interest of society. He is highly monarchical, and yet would have kings elected. He is devoted to a Church Establishment, and yet would apply the ecclesiastical funds to instruction in science and morals. He dreads revolution, but would reconstruct society. Many bold historical sketches, and able analyses of events and characters are interspersed; especially those of Cromwell, Napoleon, and Wellington. Peel's Bill is the great object of his vituperation, and he deprecates a free trade in corn as a 'deliberate act of self-plunder and destruction.'

The Life and Labours of Adam Clarke, LL. D. London, Stephens.

If all who are connected with Methodism should read this book, as the record of a 'burning and shining light' in their communion, others may do well to peruse it also, as an interesting delineation of a very able and amiable man, and a curious picture of that modification of social life which is exhibited in the religious denomination to which he was attached. The narrative is written in a simple, impartial, and manly style, and does much credit to the author. It appears not to have the countenance of the Methodist authorities, who, like other authorities, are apt to lag behind the people over whom they are set, or over whom they set themselves, and then to try to keep the people back for their own convenience. The opinions and events recorded in this volume would be an inevitable temptation to extended commentary, had we present opportunity, which we have not. Just now, it may be worth mentioning that Dr. Clarke, in early life, very narrowly escaped *impressment*. The lieutenant little thought what a blessing he gave to society in the curse with which he dismissed the stripling from the clutches of his gang.

D'Israeli's Curiosities of Literature. Vol. 1. Moxon.

A republication in the portable and handsome form now adopted for 'Libraries' of this very amusing work. Few travelling companions can be more agreeable.

The Beggar of Bethnal Green. By J. Sheridan Knowles. Moxon.

There is quite sufficient poetry and theatrical situation in this play to sustain the well-earned position of the writer amongst the dramatists of the day. By how many, or by whom, a higher position is occupied, it would not be easy to say.

Tait's Edinburgh Magazine. New Series. No. 2. 1*s.*

The people of Great Britain have a deeper interest than perhaps they are aware of, in the success of the noble experiment now making by Mr. Tait with his Magazine. The result will be a sure criterion of the intellectual condition of our country, and show whether the soil be in a state to receive the seeds of literature, taste, and political knowledge and principle. We rejoice to hear that the prospect of success is a most encouraging one; of the desert, the number before us is ample proof. Here are the most important topics discussed by the ablest hands. Seldom has there been such a corps of writers formed as that now marshalled under Tait's banner. In this number are papers (besides that able anonymous one on the 'Question of Questions, Establishments or Religious Liberty,') by Mr. Roebuck, the Opium Eater, the author of the 'Exposition of the False Medium,' Mrs. L. Grimstone; and next month we understand that Miss Martineau will again show herself in their ranks, notwithstanding the extraordinary exertions needful for her own publications. It is difficult to say at what rate the productions of such contributors would not be *cheap;* and equally difficult to estimate the immense amount of good which will be accomplished by such a circulation as ought to follow, and we trust will, from the reduced price of this periodical.

Howitt's Popular History of Priestcraft. Third Edition.

We should not notice this reprint of a work which we have already reviewed, but to mention that there are sundry valuable additions to it; four entire chapters, (besides many interpolations,) and the Author's vindication of the work against the attack of Archdeacon Wilkins. The added chapters are all in that portion of the book which relates to the Church of England; and are, 1, a chapter of persecutions; 2 and 3, an extension of the analysis of that Church, and a contrast of forced with voluntary contribution as shown in the United States and amongst the Dissenters; and 4, a chapter of worthies. The additions are in the spirit of the original work, and increase its value both as an accumulation of facts and as an eloquent plea for reformation.

The Wonders of Chaos and the Creation exemplified. A Poem. Part I. Hatchard.

One of the 'Wonders of Chaos,' this poem may be; it is certainly not one of the wonders of 'Creation.' We have seldom seen such a mass of confusion. The following litter of alliteration may suffice as a specimen. The Devil's dearest friend being provoked at being told that he and his comrades might

> 'floundering float upon this flaming flood,'

thus taunts him in return:

> 'And dost thou vaunt thyself above us all
> In courage, cursed cow'ring coward? Confess
> Thou wert the first to flee his kindling ire,
> And wing thy wicked way to wards of woe!
> So spake the fallen angel; when the rest
> Which lay embedded in the burning lake,
> Sent forth a shriek of such conclusive grief,
> As silenced Satan, and transfixed his soul.' p. 23.

Quite 'conclusive.'

A Letter to the Vice Chancellor of England. By James Yates, M.A. Hunter.

The judgment delivered by the Vice Chancellor in the case of Lady Hewley's Trust occasioned this letter, in which the writer shows that, whatever may turn out to be the character of his Honour's law, his theology and Greek are somewhat at fault. The attack on the improved version of the New Testament might, perhaps, have been modified, or not made at all, had the learned Judge been aware that it is, substantially, the work of Archbishop Newcome. It is to be hoped that he will attend to this able and temperate expostulation. At any rate, no authority can long sustain the dominion of the endowments of the dead over the professions of the living, and that of an ecclesiastical assumption of infallibility over both.

The Church of England's Apostasy and the Duty of Dissenters. By John Epps, M.D.

Dr. Epps is a radical reformer in Church and State, and fervently denounces their union as an 'illicit embrace.' He calls on Dissenters generally to follow the example of their brethren at Leeds and Nottingham; we may now say, Manchester. His arguments have been strongly aided, since their publication, by Lord John Russell, whose 'Dissenters' Marriage Bill,' as it is facetiously called, must have recovered to a sense of their real position most of those who had been misled by the promises of Ministers and the 'moderation' of the United Committee. There will be few more petitions but what will pray for *the separation.*

The Principle of Protestantism incompatible with the application of a Religious Test. By John James Tayler. A.B. Hunter.

While many sects are leaguing to shake off the supremacy of one paramount sect, Mr. Tayler looks with the clear vision of a Christian philosopher, beyond the temporary conflict, to the eventual destruction of the evil principle itself of sectarianism. It is the destiny of such writers as he to advance that happy consummation. He weighs Church and Dissent in the same impartial balance, and goes to the root of the fallacy which puts reason and revelation, the will of the Deity and the progressive improvement of his creatures, in unnatural opposition. Our spirits are seldom refreshed by words of wisdom so sound and beautiful as those of this discourse, and of that recently published by the same author on 'the Moral Education of the People.'

Observations on Retail Spirit Licenses, &c. in a Letter to Lord Melbourne. Richardson.

The writer proposes that every duly licensed *wholesale* wine and spirit merchant be empowered to retail, but *not* to be 'consumed on the premises;' and to confine the license to retail spirits to be 'consumed on the premises' to parties possessed of a beer license, and strictly prosecuting the business of licensed victuallers, *on premises adapted to that purpose.* This regulation would, he argues, lessen the facilities for

intoxication, and yet leave ample provision for public convenience. We have more faith in some other suggestions which he makes, for the extension and improvement of education, and a better administration of the poor laws. He is, apparently, a Quaker, and writes with the characteristic good sense and philanthropy of the Society of Friends.

The Town. A Tale by Harriet Martineau. 1s.

The Town is No. 3 of 'Poor Laws and Paupers illustrated.' It is one of the most complete and conclusive, as to the object of the tale, that the writer has produced. No accumulation of facts, or induction of consequences, could possibly convey a stronger conviction (of course they would not be expected to produce so lively an impression) of the way in which magistrates and vestries combine to mismanage the paupers and all that relates to them. As a story, the subject renders it less attractive than some of the Political Economy series; but there are two effects produced in it, of very different descriptions, which are both highly dramatic. One is the character of Guthrie, the bewildered overseer, which might be dramatized for Liston. His helplessness, astonishment, and despondency under the accumulation of troubles brought upon him by the ambition of office, might be made most pitiful and grotesque. The other is the scene in pp. 136, 137; which is narrated with singular delicacy, skill, and power.

The Cabinet Annual Register for 1833. Washbourne.

The present volume of this very convenient compilation shows equal diligence with its predecessors, and, we think, more completeness and accuracy. The parliamentary record would be greatly increased in value by tabular lists of the principal divisions, similar to those given from time to time, by the Spectator newspaper. Will the compiler think of this, next year? Meanwhile, we are thankful for the pains he has taken; they must often spare much trouble to the possessors of his work.

A Letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons on the Measures required for the Immediate Relief and Permanent Benefit of the United Kingdom. Simpkin & Marshall.

The plan of the author of this pamphlet is to pay off two hundred millions of the national debt by means of the crown lands, the ecclesiastical endowments, and other public resources, due provision being made for any useful public purposes dependent on such funds. The pamphlet is ably written; but so long as rent is paid in the country it seems to us unreasonable to talk of an apprehended impossibility of paying the dividends. Both morally and legally, the latter species of property is at least as sacred as the former.

O Fluminense. A Poem suggested by Scenes in the Brazils. By a Utilitarian.

The author says, 'Nature intended me for a tradesman—circumstances

have made me a poet.' We demur to both propositions. We believe that both nature and circumstances prefer his being a translator; at least, if they do not, nature and circumstances are not of our opinion. Let the reader who doubts our negative read the 'strictly commercial poem' of O! Fluminense; and then take the evidence of our positive in the 'Song of the Bell,' and other versions in 'Specimens of the German Lyric Poets,' and the 'William Tell' of Schiller, which we are glad to see again in a second edition.

Loudon's Magazine of Natural History.

THIS useful work appears every other month. One of its most interesting features is the number of short communications, from actual observers, on the characters, habits, and remarkable doings of animals. They form a very pleasant zoological anecdotage, and are excellent materials for the improvement of standard treatises of Natural History. The longer articles have the merit which might be expected from the known judgment and science of the editor in this department of knowledge.

Rowbotham's New and Easy Method of learning the French Genders in a few hours.

A VALUABLE addition to several valuable school books, by the same author. It consists of tables 'by which the student may, by directing his attention merely to the endings and exceptions, retain in his memory the genders of about sixteen thousand nouns.'

Strikes and Sticks. By Harriet Martineau.

MANY authors would have earned commendation by this little Tract, but Miss Martineau has created a standard for her own publications by which she must submit to their being tried, although the test may sometimes seem a severe one. She claims to be a teacher of the people; and well has her claim been supported by most of her works. But to be the people's teacher she must always show herself the people's friend, not merely by the soundness of her advice, but by the tone and spirit of her admonitions. In this Tract she has shown that strikes, as heretofore conducted, are foolish, on account of the certainty of their failure, and iniquitous, on account of the violence by which they have been accompanied. But in her comparative censures she deals rather hard measure to the Operatives, and is somewhat niggardly of her praises. Is it not something that they have learned to unite, however imperfectly or erroneously they may, as yet, work the machinery of union? They have put themselves in the way of becoming wiser, and that is a grand step. The first lesson is learned, and the second will follow, though sundry mistakes may be made by the way. Their progress will bear no disadvantageous comparison with that of any other class of society. For their errors, even the worst, examples are but too abundant. Besides, let the reader advert to the fact mentioned in the last paragraph of our correspondent's note on Trades' Unions (p. 248.) If the strike contribution become the capital of a Joint Stock Company, the Operatives will be following the very advice which Miss Martineau and

the Diffusion Society, have so often and so urgently given them, they will 'become capitalists,' and 'take themselves out of the labour market.' The intention, at least, should be recognized as laudable. It is, perhaps, *literally* true to say that 'At present we hear nothing of masters combining against the men—the disposition to strike is all the other way.' (p. 12.) But why do we hear nothing? Simply because the men have not such means of making themselves heard as the masters. For weeks and months has the *Times* been abusing the Derby strike, as an attempt of the men to extort higher wages from the masters. It is no such thing; the stoppage of work originated with the masters, in order to compel the men to secede from the Union. Where no such tyranny was attempted, the men (at Derby) continued to work, and have so continued through the whole affair. True, we do not 'hear' of this, but we ought. And we believe that the real history of other strikes, which have been made the occasion of heaping odium on the workmen, is of a similar description. Let their errors be pointed out, but let them have full justice; and especially let them be encouraged in their exertions for the improvement of their condition; for the entire state of society, and its progress, depend on their effceting such improvement. But they will only be guided by the heads of those, whose hearts they feel to be with them. This is very natural. No doubt such is the case with Miss Martineau; but we fear the fact will not be evident to them in her present publication.

NOTES ON THE NEWSPAPERS.—(*Continued from page* 248.)

19*th March. The Solicitor General's Motion on the Law of Libel.*—Few of the results of the Reform Bill have fallen more short of our hopes, than the conduct of the little band of enlightened and philosophic Radicals, whom that great change introduced into the Legislature. Our expectations of improvement in the general composition of Parliament, were never so sanguine as those of the more enthusiastic reformers. The majority of the House of Commons have not much disappointed us. We believe them to be as honest as men usually are, and in point of intellect and acquirements a fair sample of the higher classes of this country. The circumstances of society, and the prevalent modes of thinking among the people, unite in preventing the electors from seeking their representatives in the classes below the higher: and if they did, although a greater number of conspicuous individuals might be selected from the whole of the community than from a part, it is by no means certain that the general mass would be improved in quality. We doubted before the Reform Bill, we doubt still, whether the general mind of the community is sufficiently advanced in its ideas, or sufficiently vigorous in its tone, to furnish, even under the best system of representation, any but a very indifferent Legislature. But we did expect that, through the avenues opened by the Reform Bill, individuals would find their way into Parliament, who would put forward, on every fitting occasion, with boldness and perseverance, the best political ideas which the country affords: and we thought we saw, in some of the names composing the Radical minority at the opening of the Reformed Parliament, a guarantee that our hope would be fulfilled. But the promise has not been kept. With one or two exceptions, at the head of which we must place Mr. Roebuck, (who, against innumerable obstacles, some of them of his own creating, is, with signal merit, working himself up into the station in public life to which his talents, energy, and sincerity entitle him,) none of the new Radical members on whom we had founded any hopes, have done enough to keep those hopes

alive; and the cause of the Movement still rests exclusively upon its ancient supporters.

We cannot understand how men so conscientious as some of these are, can reconcile this self-annihilation to their notions of worthiness. With the exception of their votes, which have been steadily given on the right side, we can name few things which any of them have done, more than might have been done by adherents of the present Ministry; and it was not for this, nor on the faith of these expectations, that they were sent to that House, in preference to men who, on any footing but that of strenuous advocates of the people's cause, had perhaps equal claims to theirs.

The usual excuse for inaction, that 'there is no good to be done,' never was so manifestly inapplicable. At all times there is much good to be done, if men will but resolve to do it. But the effects of individual exertion, though sure, are usually slow. Not so in the present state of politics. Every well-directed attempt, even by a solitary individual, to accomplish any worthy object, is sure of a certain measure of immediate success. It may be true that it is impossible to carry anything against the Ministry. But there is hardly any limit to what may now be carried *through* the Ministry. Though Ministers seldom lead, they are willing to be led. To most of the reforms which a vigorous and enlightened Ministry would, in the present state of the public mind, venture to propose, the present Ministers are by no means hostile. Their faults, like those of the Radical Members, are chiefly those of omission. They do not like to involve themselves in new questions. They have already more to think of, more difficulties to surmount and exigencies to provide for, than they feel the strength to cope with. When you have forced a discussion on any subject, and compelled them to turn their minds to it, and make up an opinion one way or another, your business is half done. From having been anxious to stave off the question, they become anxious to settle it, so that the discussion may not be revived. The independent Members should take their measures accordingly. They should insist upon having all the great questions discussed. They should not yield to the representations which are sure to be made, which were made by the Chancellor on the Jewish question, that to be unremitting in exertion is not the way to succeed. It is the sure, and the only way. They should let no question sleep, and should agitate all the more important questions incessantly.

Mr. O'Connell, among whose faults inactivity is not to be numbered, did not think that to force a discussion on the liberty of the press would do no good; and already his motion has compelled the Government to take up the subject, and a part of the necessary reform has a fair chance of being accomplished in the present Session.

Since the publication of our last month's Notes, Mr. O'Connell's Bill for the Reform of the Law of Libel has been printed; and the objections to which it seemed liable, from his own statement, as reported in the newspapers, are applicable to it in a very inferior degree to what we had supposed. It does make provision for freedom of criticism on institutions and doctrines, with the single exception of religion; and, in case of private libel, instead of making truth in all cases a justification, it only allows the truth to be given in evidence, leaving the jury to decide what weight shall be allowed to it as a defence. Even this we continue to think objectionable, but, undoubtedly, in a far less degree.

20th March. Sir Robert Peel on the Corn Laws.—In the House of Commons yesterday an incidental discussion of the Corn Laws took place on the presentation of a petition. After a speech from Mr. Roebuck, of the great merits of which we should have remained ignorant if we had not accidentally seen the report of it in the 'Morning Post,' Sir Robert Peel rose. Having first accused, by implication, Mr. Roebuck of presumption, in saying that the subject might be disposed of in five minutes, while he, though he had

spoken much longer than five minutes, had not disposed of half of it; Sir Robert endeavoured to supply the remaining half by a speech in which all which was not truism was irrelevancy. Though Mr. Roebuck said, and said truly, that what is relevant to the question might be stated in five minutes, he could not have meant that so short a time would suffice for answering all the fallacies which may be accumulated round this or any other subject by ingenuity or folly. Sir Robert Peel's first argument was that of the peculiar burthens pressing upon the land; a consideration which no one who ever spoke or wrote against the corn laws has overlooked: but which is a reason for equalizing taxation, not for compensating a class supposed to be peculiarly overtaxed, by another and the worst of taxes—a tax on the people's food. The remainder of the speech may be thus summed up:—That the corn laws could not be termed a monopoly, because, if the landlords have a protecting duty, so have all classes of manufacturers. It would take nearly five minutes to enumerate all the mistaken assumptions included in this argument. Whoever agrees with Sir Robert Peel must think the following things:—1. That if there are many monopolies instead of one, they cease to be monopolies. 2. That it is a legislative business not to do justice, but to establish an equal balance of injustice. 3. That if A gains sixpence by making B lose a shilling, the way to set all right is for B to treat A in the same manner: while in the meantime C, D, and E are robbed by both. 4. That duties on the importation of manufactures are a benefit to the manufacturer, in the same sense as duties on the importation of corn are a benefit to the landlord; whereas, in truth, the landlord obtains a higher rent, but the manufacturer does not obtain a higher profit, the protected trade being no better off as to profits than those which are not protected. 5. That an equal benefit is conferred on two persons, by protecting the one against a cheaper article than his own, the other against a dearer: that it is the same thing, in fact, to shut the door against the food which *would* come, and against the cottons and hardware that would *not*.

When propositions which contain in a nutshell a whole Iliad of error, are put forth with an air of authority, and by a person of authority, as if they were the *dernier mot* of some great question, it is lamentable that there is no one, even of those who understand the subject, ready to start up at the instant and present the simple truth in the point of view in which it most vividly illuminates the fallacy, and makes its character visible. But the union of energy and ardour with knowledge and dialectical skill, is a combination too rare in our days to be soon hoped for.

26*th March.* *The Ministry and the Dissenters.*—The principal interest of the session, thus far, has been the question of the Church and the Dissenters. Even Church Reform, so prominent a topic for the last two years, has almost ceased to be talked of; and the subject now pressed upon the Legislature is the entire abolition of the Establishment. This is a fearful truth to Conservatives of all denominations; and even to considerate Radicals, there is matter for very serious reflection in so striking an instance of the artificial celerity given to the natural progress of change, by the very conduct which is expected to check it.

If Ministers can profit by experience, they must surely by this time see how utterly the course which they have not adopted, but fallen into, is at variance with their own purposes. Those who most agree with them in their ends, have most cause to complain of their means. It is not as friends of the Movement that we lament the deficiencies of Ministers; in that character we ought much rather to rejoice at them; for the tide of change sets in far more violently through this passive resistance to it. But we wish the current to be gentle as well as rapid. We dread lest the violence of the struggle which is so needlessly made the sole means of obtaining reforms, should leave neither the leisure nor the frame of mind for choosing the most considerate mode of accomplishing them. One half the good, moreover,

which we expect from the redress of grievances, will be lost, if, being extorted from the unwillingness of the Legislature, they leave behind them the feelings not of reconciliation but of victory and defeat.

What a commentary have the last few weeks afforded on the principles of the King's Speech! If Ministers had announced of themselves, the intention of doing for the Dissenters all which in this short period they have been obliged successively to promise, they would have retained the large measure which they formerly possessed of the confidence of that immense body, and we should not have heard, perhaps for a long time to come, of a single petition for the separation of Church and State. The Movement has gained several years upon them in a few weeks; while in the same time they have let half their power of guiding its course slip out of their hands, by teaching their surest friends to hope for nothing from them but through the means which would be taken with enemies.

Ministers made but humble pretensions at the opening of the session, and humble has been their conduct. They gave fair warning; they let all men know that it was no business of theirs to stir a step in improvement unless somebody drove them, and that whoever came with a petition in one hand, must come with a cudgel in the other. But it was absurd to imagine that those who had carried Catholic Emancipation, and the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, could have any objection to concede the little which is still withheld of religious liberty; and the Dissenters feeling this, did not use the cudgel, but quietly stated what they thought themselves entitled to demand, deeming that as they were speaking to friends, nothing further was requisite. They waited, and nothing came but the ridiculous Marriage Bill: and they received every intimation short of an express declaration, that this was all they had to expect. Not because what they claimed was considered unfit to be granted; but merely because it *could* be refused. Thus warned, the Dissenters resorted to the cudgel: and now mark with what result. At each application of the weapon, Ministers rose in their offers. First they vaguely told the Dissenters not to conclude that nothing more was to be done for them. Then they would 'call the attention' of the House to the subject of Church Rates, and propose, as was at first given out, a diminution, which afterwards rose into a commutation, and was at last announced, though not officially, as an entire abolition. Next, the Marriage Bill was virtually given up, and several Ministers expressed their private opinion that marriage should be a civil contract. Next came a proposition for a general registry of births, marriages, and deaths; but at first, only from a brother of the Lord Chancellor; afterwards Lord Althorp hoped that such a registry, by being combined with another measure, might be introduced as a Government question; and possibly some relief might be afforded to the Dissenters on the subject of burials also. Lastly, a petition from Cambridge for the admission of Dissenters to graduate in that University, was presented by the Premier in the Lords, and by the Secretary to the Treasury in the House of Commons, and warmly supported both by them and by other leading members of the Administration. On this occasion (because it is a small one) they at length spoke as statesmen *should* speak: the tone was not that of reluctant concession, but of earnest advocacy: as if they were not only willing to do justice, but were glad of the opportunity.

How much more highly would they now have stood in reputation and in real power, had they adopted this tone throughout, and from the commencement! How much might they yet retrieve, were they even now to adopt it!

To Correspondents.—On the 'Application of the terms Poetry, &c.;' and on 'Death Punishment,' in our next; when we hope to bring up the arrears of our Critical Notices.

Kathleen's other song is (with her permission) gone into the 'Months.'