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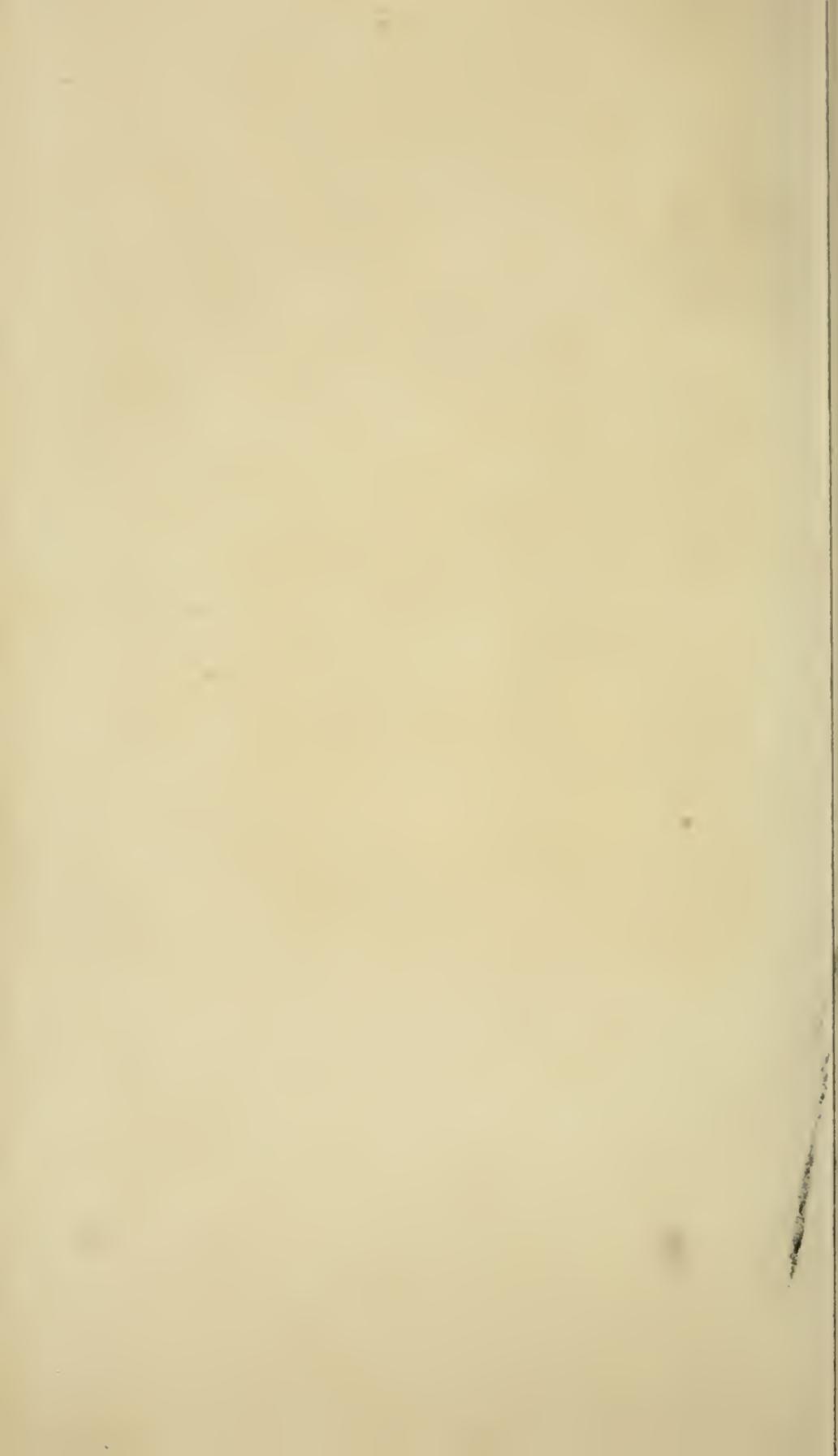
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J. R. GARDNER. 1854.

HAMPDEN

IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY;

OR,

COLLOQUIES ON

THE ERRORS AND IMPROVEMENT

OF

SOCIETY.

Wargrave, J. M.

“The Rebel HAMPDEN, at whose glorious name
The heart of every honest Englishman
Beats high with conscious pride.”

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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1834.

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UTOPIA
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P R E F A C E.

“THEY order this matter better in France;” they order another better in Spain; nay, even unhappy Portugal may have some peculiarities worthy of imitation. Happy, indeed, would it be for mankind if the delegates of all civilized nations were to assemble in congress and submit their various institutions, laws and customs to a strict comparison and scrutiny, and then synthetically form a scheme of universal polity! This could not be a Utopia, according to the general misapplication of that term, but a system deduced from experience upon the clearest principles of science. What! the same laws for the people of all countries

and of every clime! Where the laws are just, the climate is in comparison powerless. Would you know the relative force of climate and of good institutions, go to the banks of the Tiber, and there, beholding the present degenerate race, remember that it was once the theatre of Roman valour, and of all that is great in eloquence and virtue*.

Such were my reflections while wandering on the sea-shore, after bidding adieu to the friend who had consigned to my care the following manuscript, and as I watched the boat (in which he had departed for the vessel moored at some distance,) crossing the glittering stream of moonlight.

* Dr. Falconer, in his "Remarks on the Influence of Climate, Situation, Nature of Country, &c., upon Mankind," commences his large and interesting work by ascribing great importance to the first: in the subsequent chapters, however, a multiplicity of facts are enumerated, which prove its feeble operation when opposed to other influences.

I had attended him to Torbay, whence on the following morning he was to sail for Sicily, intending to visit the classic shores of the Mediterranean, particularly Greece and Egypt, without any fixed determination of ever returning to England.

When he requested me to accompany him to the coast, I conceived that he contemplated a voyage of a few months, and it was therefore with feelings of surprise and regret that I heard him declare his return to be problematical. I had known him more intimately when a boy, but since then our pursuits and connexions had thrown us wide apart, and for many years I had lost sight of him, until we accidentally met in London a few weeks previous to his departure. Our intimacy was then renewed, and at our frequent meetings he recounted some of the principal occurrences of his life; but I knew not then that he had committed them to paper.

In delivering to me the manuscript he said, "I beg of you to attend to my final request,—that you will superintend the publication of these memoirs. How far they will be acceptable to the public, I know not; but should they tend in the smallest degree to diminish the antipathies arising from differences of opinion, they will achieve more than I have been able to accomplish by other means. My health has been impaired and my strength exhausted in ineffectual endeavours to contend with the prejudices of mankind. Earnestly advocating the cause of truth and justice, so far from awakening sympathy, I have been stigmatized and assailed with opprobrious epithets, and classed with the enemies of social order. But let us hope for the dawning of a brighter day: intelligence is widely diffusing itself, and that good which we fondly hoped to accelerate will perhaps descend upon the next generation.

“I quit the shores of my country with a heavy heart, but, I trust, with a conscience void of offence towards men. Should I live to revisit my native land, and behold the seed that has been sown springing up with the promise of a future harvest, I shall be amply repaid for all the obloquy that has been heaped upon my exertions.”

I promised to discharge with care and fidelity the trust consigned to me; and in obedience to the injunctions of my friend, a portion of the memoirs is now submitted to the public. Should it create a desire for the remainder,—which exhibits the result of the applications made to other influential characters by the persevering triumvirate,—it shall be sent to the press. But in an age of political contention and of sectarian controversy, where can a desire for universal principles be discovered? One party feels itself called upon to resist innovation, and to secure the blessings already in posses-

sion;—another, looking back to “the glorious revolution of 1688,” would lead us to suppose that it considered the perfection of political wisdom then attained,—if at the same time we did not mark their continued efforts to promote the progress of liberty;—a third party seeks the subversion of existing institutions before the public mind is prepared for a better, or before it has itself a better to offer. Thus first principles are rarely considered: no sooner do they make their appearance than they are put aside for some ephemeral and more exciting topic; but let all parties investigate, and perchance there may be found innovation without danger, liberty without disorder, and a revolution not only without violence, but with general consent, in harmony and in peace.

That an author should acknowledge the truth of particular tenets, is the preliminary of the sectarian: with him, in disregard of

all logic, the less should include the greater; he would have the universal principle of love subservient to some mode of *faith*, and, perverting the maxim of the purest morality, declares that "he who is not for me is against me," contenting himself with a profession and a form, with scarcely one emotion from the spirit that giveth life. But let it be remembered that religion is a *feeling*, and not merely an opinion; that if it exists at all, it resides deep in the heart; and though it may sometimes breathe forth its silent aspirations, it is a perpetual spring of sympathy and love, and its outward manifestation an active benevolence.

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ERRATUM.

Page 96, line 10, *leave out that*; and in line 12, *after population add to be well grounded*

HAMPDEN

IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

“ He whose soul
Ponders this true equality, may walk
The fields of earth with gratitude and hope ;
Yet in that meditation will he find
Motive to sadder grief, as we have found,—
Lamenting ancient virtues overthrown,
And for the injustice grieving, that hath made
So wide a difference between man and man.”

WORDSWORTH.

HOW difficult the task which has been assigned me!—to rely on a memory far from tenacious for the detail of occurrences, conferences, dialogues, and communications long since past ! And then what cuffs and blows may not be expected from those who dread exposure ! what

accusations of deceit from those who dispute my accuracy! what imprecations from those of every sect and party, whose dogmas are questioned, and whose partial and narrow views are examined and condemned! Having, however, pledged myself to the undertaking, they must all be encountered; as the friends with whom for fourteen years I was associated in challenging inquiry into the true principles of society, have relinquished their contemplated design of recording the result of our labours.

In entering upon this review, it may satisfy a natural curiosity should it be commenced with a brief sketch of my own history, as it will include those circumstances which gave rise to my opinions and pursuits. But how can I hope to obtain credit for impartiality, since autobiography is a field in which unalloyed truth is seldom expected to be found? for, however free from reproach in candour and integrity the character of the writer, he is presumed to be unconscious of those secret springs which guide the pen when he is himself the subject. The age is not yet arrived when the thoughts and feelings of men shall be invariably traced to their real source, and neither merit nor demerit attributed to the individual for his conduct; when he shall be regarded as merely the member of a body which is itself alone accountable for the character that has

been formed for him, and consequently responsible for all his thoughts and deeds. There will then be no motive for disguise, and deception will be unknown.

The Dutch physician, who published a treatise on medicine, in his preface begged of the gentle reader to ascribe all the errors in his book to the imperfections of human nature. There was more of justice in the appeal than may be at first apparent. To society it belongs to correct the imperfections and to heighten the best qualities of human nature* ;—but more of this hereafter.

I was the only son of Henry Fitzosborne, who, descended from an ancient family in Monmouthshire, resided upon his estate in the neighbourhood of Ross. He died when I had attained the age of ten years, and I lost my mother in the year following. I was left to the care of two intimate friends of my father, who considered their duty of guardian discharged by a faithful administration of my property. With little education themselves, they were indifferent about the cultivation of my mind, and sent me to the

* “The idea of forming a superior race of men has entered little into schemes of policy. Invention and effort have been expended on matter much more than on mind. Lofty piles have been reared; the earth has groaned under pyramids and palaces. The thought of building up a nobler order of intellect and character, has hardly crossed the most adventurous statesmen.”—Dr. CHANNING.

grammar-school of Chelmsford, in Essex, conducted at that time by the Rev. Thomas Roberts, who was upon terms of intimacy with one of my father's executors. There I remained for four years. My previous education, if such it could be called, consisted of occasional lessons in Latin from our village curate. The progress I made under his instruction and at Chelmsford had led to no proficiency; and indeed so little was curiosity aroused, that my studies, like those in general at schools, were uninviting; nevertheless, the beauties of Virgil's Eclogues and portions of Ovid awakened my attention. At this school there were three boys of the name of Tyndal,—John, Thomas, and George,—younger brothers of the present Lord Chief Justice, who had also, a few years previously, been at the same school. They were all distinguished for superior talents, and were kind enough, unluckily for the other boys, to construe for them their Latin tasks. John entered the navy, and was killed while displaying extraordinary courage in the battle of Camperdown. Thomas was brought up to the law, and is now an eminent solicitor at Aylesbury and steward to the Duke of Buckingham. George also entered the navy, and died of fever in the West Indies: I corresponded with the latter for a few years after we had left Chelmsford. Mr. Roberts was particularly animated when reading

to his pupils the heroic achievements of the Greeks, and he would dilate with enthusiasm upon the most distinguished examples of public virtue in the history of Rome. About two years after I had quitted school, he called upon me one morning, when I brought out a print representing the youthful Hannibal swearing at an altar eternal enmity to the Romans. Great was my disappointment, when, instead of extolling the patriotic feeling in which I appeared to sympathize, he counselled me to direct my attention to other subjects. Yet this was the sentiment to which his tuition had given birth. One exception in particular must, however, be made; for, in the contest between Ajax and Ulysses for the armour of Achilles, he desired us to mark the triumphant reply of Ulysses,—that Ajax was not sufficiently learned even to comprehend the characters upon the shield; repeating with peculiar emphasis the line,

Postulat ut capiat, quæ non intelligit, arma;

and reminding us of the vast superiority maintained by Ulysses over his boisterous rival, in consequence of his intellectual attainments. Nevertheless the brilliant eloquence with which deeds of heroism are celebrated leave upon the youthful mind the most durable impression; and the warrior, clad in armour, with the glittering helmet adorned with waving plumes, is the at-

tractive character, and becomes to the excited imagination a model of perfection. Had the truths in natural history been enforced with equal interest, its objects submitted to actual observation, and some of the phænomena illustrated by philosophical experiments,—how much would our minds have been strengthened, and how much better prepared justly to appreciate the useful and the beautiful*! The train of my thoughts and my pursuits was, however, destined to receive a bias from other circumstances. During the vacations, I was in the habit of spending a few weeks with a distant relative of my mother's in London. Upon one occasion, when making a purchase in a shop, an aged man came to the door supplicating relief: I gave him a penny; which being observed by some ladies who were present, they commended me for the act of charity, and presented me with some silver;—the ladies were the Misses Grimstone, daughters of

* “The first strokes which form the sketch of a picture cannot be pencilled with too much truth. If you fail in these first lineaments, let the colouring be ever so brilliant and rich, far from concealing this want of proportion, it will only make the deformity more apparent. Indeterminate ideas serve only to confuse the minds of children; they afford no instruction to them, and prevent their future improvement; because the false ideas they receive will always contradict the true ones which we endeavour to give them. The first impressions will be in opposition to the second, and the consequence confusion.”
—FATHER GERDIL.

the late Earl, and aunts of the present Earl Grimstone. I mention this, although apparently trifling in itself, as it may have had considerable influence in determining the direction of my future inquiries; for I retain a vivid impression of the circumstance, notwithstanding the recollection of many more important occurrences of the same period has been effaced.

When I had reached my twentieth year, I was attacked by a lingering fever, which confined me for several months: during that period I was compelled to resort to books for amusement, and reading became a habit. One of the works that I perused was an abridged "Zimmerman on the Advantages of Retirement," and such was the influence of that fascinating writer, that I became enamoured of solitude; it was however a solitude in which I may truly say, with an ancient philosopher, that I was never less alone than when alone.

In the state of mind induced by frequent meditation, the earth appeared like an enchanted garden: no longer regarding nature with listless indifference, or enjoying the sight of objects as ministering to the gratification of the senses, or at most as affording a fine prospect, I remarked the changing scenes with wonder and delight. As I beheld the clouds display their beautifully varied colours, when tinged with gold by the

declining sun, I considered how much we should be struck with admiration and astonishment, if such exhibitions were of rare occurrence. When from the diminutive seed deposited in the ground there springs up a plant of such exquisite form and colour; when the egg is broken there escapes a prisoner furnished with pinions to float through the air, and bear him away to distant regions; when the majestic oak, emerging from an acorn, attaining its full growth, supports the nests of winged inhabitants, and shelters the animals from the noon-tide heat;—why will man revive his never-ending disappointments in frivolous pursuits, while nature has provided an inexhaustible field of exquisite enjoyments? Is it because they are common, that they are less wonderful?—Such were the reflections during my slow recovery; and when health was completely re-established, the fields were my daily resort. With Thomson's "Seasons" in my hand, I traversed many a hill and dale; while my general reading was confined chiefly to those poets whose descriptive pages afforded moral lessons. The "Pleasures of Memory," the "Deserted Village," and Kirke White's "Clifton Grove," were my pocket companions. Sometimes for whole days I wandered through the most beautiful and romantic scenery; at others I sought sequestered spots, and indulged

in silent contemplation. My heart dilated with generous sentiments and religious feeling too warmly for their effects to be entirely lost but with existence itself: for the retrospection of this spring-time of life is still cherished with delight; and never do I revert to it without experiencing more strongly a desire for improvement. In the neighbourhood of my estate there was no congenial society, and my time was divided between books, gardening, and the "Studies of Nature." Life passed like an elysium; when it occurred to me, that however refined were my enjoyments, they appeared to be destitute of usefulness to others, and I began to think of adopting some profession*. With this view I let my estate and mansion, and found myself in possession of an annual income of one thousand pounds, which, with my moderate desires, was far more than I required, without any addition that a profession might yield. I brought my library to town, and entered myself a member of the Middle Temple. Soon after my arrival in London, I became ac-

* "The more a moralist binds man to man, and forbids us to divorce our interests from our kind, the more effectually is the end of morality obtained. They only are justifiable in seclusion, who, like the Greek philosophers, make that very seclusion the means of serving and enlightening their race; who from their retreats send forth their oracles of wisdom, and make the desert which surrounds them eloquent with the voice of truth."—E. L. BULWER.

quainted with the Rev. Thomas Maurice, author of "The History of Hindostan" and of "Indian Antiquities." He was particularly urgent in recommending me to engage in some pursuit which would fully occupy my time, and that I should recommence the study of the Classics. "You are still young enough," he writes in one of his letters, "for any career of honourable distinction and true glory in literature and science. What are called the *dead* languages, are those that, more than any modern one, make us *alive* to all the genuine fires of genius; though dead, they yet speak, and lead to immortality itself." Habits of meditation had but ill qualified me for any laborious or intense study; and as I found it difficult to decide upon the Bar or the Church, I resolved to devote myself for a time to historical reading, a course I had hitherto neglected. I went through Xenophon, Herodotus, Mitford's "Greece," Hume's "England," and all Dr. Robertson's Works, when I entered upon Gibbon's "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire." I had not long pursued my studies in this history, before some doubts of the truths of revealed religion disturbed my mind. I felt uneasiness and distress;—to live, I thought, without God in the world, would condemn me to a cheerless and fearful existence.

Even now I cannot recur to this period with-

out feelings of deep emotion, when, recollecting the painful and arduous struggle between the dawning convictions of the understanding and long-cherished opinions,—opinions blended with all the fairy scenes of childhood, when novelty and joy and ardent hope threw their fascinating hues over every impression. My alarmed imagination presented bitter reproaches and the loss of sympathy. So powerful and various were the motives for resisting any invasion of sentiments held in common with my dearest friends, as well as with society at large, that firm was my determination not to surrender until every means of defence had been tried and proved ineffectual. The privation of fortune or of health appeared insignificant in comparison with the annihilation of that hope of an hereafter which had cheered me on my way, had checked the violence of youthful passions, and had directed me in the selection of the most pure even of terrestrial enjoyments. How different were the feelings with which I heard the condemnation of the infidel, than when the bare idea of such a being thrilled my frame with horror! I shrunk from the inquiring gaze of friends who once esteemed me for steadfastness of opinion, as if a guilty conscience admonished me of error: and then would I thus reason with myself; “Why should I be disconcerted in holding opinions not

in my power to reject, if, divesting the mind of partiality and prejudice, all diligence has been used in seeking the truth? If moral improvement and the well-being of society are the invariable objects of my pursuit,—why stand abashed either in private or public society? or rather, why not anticipate both private and public approbation? Is it not a duty to expose error, if detected;—and if truth has been discovered, should individual considerations retard its announcement?” However tranquillizing the character of this reasoning,—however calculated to inspire courage in the day of battle, it imparted no balm to my wounded spirits; and I sought retirement, rejoicing to escape the conflict of opinions.

After some hesitation, I resolved to continue the perusal of Gibbon, but at the same time to seek an antidote to what appeared to be the poison of infidelity. I attended regularly at the Temple church, and listened with deep attention to the argumentative discourses of Dr. Rennell, the Dean of Winchester. I read Dr. Beattie's “*Essay on Truth*,” the effect of which, however, was neutralised by Locke on “*The Conduct of the Understanding*.” The latter work, from its independence and the invincible love of truth manifested throughout, became my favourite; while in the “*Essay on Truth*,” neither mild in its spirit nor philosophical in its conclusions, in-

effectual attempts are made to assail with ridicule what is found too powerful to be overcome by argument. Next to the efficacy of fervent prayer and frequent perusal of the New Testament, I found my best support, by far, in Butler's "Analogy;" for, although his argument applies to the difficulties of any religion, still it reconciles the Christian especially to the difficulties of his own, unrivalled as it is in the excellence and beauty of its morality: for however just may be the admiration bestowed upon the aphorisms of the Grecian sages for their equity and truth; though Plato formed such sublime conceptions of the possible attainments of humanity, as to have acquired the title of *divine*;—yet where shall we find the power of sympathy recognised, or at least enforced with any depth and intensity of feeling, but in the New Testament and in the Prophets of old? How spiritless are the cold maxims of moral systems, compared with the vitality and fervour which animate the writings of St. Paul? How emphatically is expressed the utter worthlessness of almsgiving, so far as the improvement of the benefactor is concerned, in the passage "And though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing." Here the greatest actions are accounted as nothing, unless prompted by an ardent love.

What exquisite tenderness and beauty in the lamentation over Jerusalem ;—“ how often would I have gathered thy children together, as a hen doth gather her brood under her wings, and ye would not ?” And how impressively are we reminded in the following passage, of that innocence and purity which we should strive to preserve,—“ Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of God.” Not merely serenity of mind, but a heart alive to the finest sensibilities, is implied in the sentence,—“ the peace of God which passeth all understanding.” Most of the books in the Old Testament, the Psalms in particular, abound in the most touching appeals to the affections, written with a knowledge of human nature which deemed it sufficient to remind us of the happiness arising from good actions, without enforcing the performance of them as a duty.—Pascal’s “ Thoughts on Religion,” Paley’s “ Theology,” and Law’s “ Serious Call,” I also read ; and at length, with the exception of an occasional doubt, which, in the course of my reading, would in spite of all my efforts arise, I was in a great degree restored to my former confidence and tranquillity.

About this period I resolved to enter more into society ; but in this my endeavours were impeded by acquired habits. The choice I had made of books, the companions of my retreat,

and the pleasures derived from vivid representations of the beauties and order of nature, however delightful in themselves, were little calculated to fit me for participating in those pursuits which are the chief recommendations of the metropolis. The pride, rivalry, and hostility I perceived agitating the majority of individuals, were so many jarring notes, which broke painfully upon the harmonious world in which I had lived, and I experienced a nervous irritation whenever I entered society. Again I asked myself, "Is this the way I propose to enlarge my sphere of usefulness? And then I would repeat the maxim, 'Over-delicacy makes us seek for companions that can please us in everything; it is far better to seek for things that can please us in every companion*.' Where my own conduct is really more conducive to happiness than those I associate with, an opportunity offers of contributing to their information and improvement; where it is inferior, then have I something to learn."

These reflections, however just, were attended with little practical benefit; for long-continued habits had confirmed my distaste for society, and in the centre of the metropolis I still continued a recluse.

* The Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus acknowledged himself indebted to each of his relations who afforded living illustrations of different virtues.

In the course of my historical reading, I was struck with the endless vicissitudes to which human nature appeared to be doomed, either through the ambition of the rulers of mankind or the fluctuating regulations of governments; and I came to the conclusion, that if the interests of the people at large were the real objects of legislation, the general qualities of all mankind being the same, the best general institutions for one country would be suitable to all others; and once discovered and adopted in any portion of the globe, they would be speedily imitated wherever civilization had advanced. With this reflection frequently recurring, I was delighted to find in Dugald Stewart's "Philosophy of the Mind," a corresponding opinion; for he somewhere observes, that in order to lay a solid foundation for the science of politics, the first step ought to be, to ascertain that form of society which is perfectly agreeable to nature and to justice; and what are the principles of legislation necessary for maintaining it. Nor is the inquiry so difficult as might at first be apprehended; for it might be easily shown, that the greater part of the political disorders which exist among mankind, do not arise from a want of foresight in politicians, which has rendered their laws too general, but from their having trusted too little to the operation of those simple institutions which nature and justice re-

commend ; and, of consequence, that, as society advances to its perfection, the number of laws may be expected to diminish, instead of increasing, and the science of legislation to be gradually simplified.

It was not long after, that a work entitled "Essays on the Formation of Character" fell in my way. The author clearly establishes, that the character is formed *for* and not *by* the individual ; and demonstrates that his natural faculties and dispositions, influenced by the circumstances under which he has existed, constitute his character. The knowledge of this truth revived my former inquietude: it seemed difficult to reconcile the formation of character with a system of rewards and punishments. There are, however, some passages in Scripture favouring this view of man, who is described like clay in the potter's hand. The eloquent work of Dr. Southwood Smith, on "The Divine Government of the World," satisfied me at the time that partial or apparent evils lead to universal good. I had been early struck with the vices arising from the inequalities of wealth. Some scenes of which I had been witness strongly excited my attention ;—one in particular I well remember. Soon after the termination of the late war, a considerable number of seamen were discharged, who found it extremely difficult to procure employment,

Passing one morning through Paternoster-row, I observed two sailors supporting a third, who appeared scarcely able to stand:—upon inquiring the cause of his illness, they informed me that he had been without food for several days, and that they had taken him down to the Admiralty, but no relief could be there obtained. I gave them some money, and walked away: but before I reached Cheapside, I had more seriously reflected upon the emaciated state of the poor fellow, and felt that I had but half discharged my duty. I returned, recommended them to proceed to the nearest public-house in Warwick-lane, whither I accompanied them, and ordered some refreshment; but ere it could be administered, the worn-out sailor sunk upon the bench, and died. I was summoned as a witness on the inquest, where I remarked an evident anxiety, on the part of the coroner, to evade the verdict of “Death through starvation.”—Such was the reward of ungrateful England to those who had endured hardships, fought her battles, and bled in her defence! Upon generals and admirals liberal rewards and dignified honours are bestowed, whether possessed of previous independence, or not* ; but as for

* “ Though the world is crowded with scenes of calamity, we look upon the general mass of wretchedness with very little regard, and fix our eyes upon the state of particular persons, whom the eminence of their qualities marks out from the multitude: as in reading an account of a battle, we seldom

those who are destitute, and disqualified by their seafaring habits, for employments upon land, they are left to seek a precarious subsistence; and sometimes, goaded by necessity and misled by ill-disposed men, are tempted to violate the laws of their country. Far be it from my intention to inflame the passions of the multitude;—there are enough to do that work, and their progress is already too rapid for the advance of real knowledge among the influential few, whose attention, if not arrested by the cries of humanity, will soon be awakened by prudential considerations for their own security. It is time that the delusion by which thousands and millions of human beings have been induced to slaughter their fellow-creatures, lay waste with fire and sword, and sacrifice their own lives, should be dispelled. Knowledge will teach them the genuine laws of justice, and right and wrong will no longer be determined by ancient prescription, and interested authority.

This melancholy occurrence, in which a disregard of those who had the strongest claims upon the bounty of the nation, manifested in a manner so affecting, added fresh stimulus to the

reflect on the vulgar heaps of slaughter; but follow the hero with our whole attention, through all the varieties of his fortune, without a thought on the thousands who are falling around him.”—JOHNSON.

course of inquiry I had entered upon. I was gratified in finding two works in accordance with these views,—“ Chatelin on Public Happiness,” in which the personal history of heroes and kings is passed over, and the actual condition of the people at large in all ages and countries is investigated; and Hall on “The Effects of Civilization*,” a book but little known: it contains an able analytical examination of the errors of the existing system. The author was in very reduced circumstances,—his work was published without funds to make it known; and as it concerned the poor who could not purchase, no bookseller would incur the risk of advertising. Dr. Hall reached the age of eighty years; but he died in the Rules

* “ We often hear of inquiries into the state of nations being made in legislative assemblies; but such inquiries are of a very confined nature. If made by a Minister of State, nothing is understood further than the financial state of a kingdom, the supplies and expenditure; if by a Secretary-at-war, the state of the army is the object of inquiry; if by a Merchant, the state of trade and commerce. But it seems that there is a subject of much more importance than any of these to a nation, that never enters into the thoughts of any one to make inquiries about; namely, the state and condition of the great mass of the people; how they are fed; how they are clothed; what kind of houses they live in; how they are supplied with fuel; how they are instructed; in short, what advantages, corporeal, mental, and even spiritual, they enjoy or are deprived of. To know these particulars with regard to the great mass of the people, is truly to know the state of a nation.”—*Effects of Civilization.*

of the Fleet prison, where I frequently saw him : occasionally when he could obtain a day-rule he dined at my chambers ;—his conversation was particularly animated and intelligent : although skilled in the classics, he was more distinguished for attainments in natural philosophy. He had friends who would have released him from prison ; but he was confined through a lawsuit,—as he considered unjustly ; and rather than permit the money to be paid, he had resolved to remain incarcerated for life. Dr. Hall proves in his work, that the working classes, even thirty years back, before labour was so much aided by science, retained only one eighth part of the produce of their own labour.

CHAPTER II.

“ Yet one I knew.

Could I the speech of lawgivers assume,
One old and splendid tale I would record,
With which the muse of Solon in sweet strains
Adorn'd this theme profound, and render'd all
Its darkness, all its terrors, bright as noon,
Or gentle as the golden star of eve.”

AKENSIDE.

IN the month of August 1817, a Letter appeared in the newspapers from the author of the “*Essays on the Formation of Character*,” announcing a public Meeting at the City of London Tavern, for the purpose of taking into consideration certain plans for the relief of the labouring classes.—Although this was the partial and avowed object of the scheme, it proved of a far more comprehensive and general nature, as the principles developed were applicable to all mankind. I was present at the Meeting, and heard the grand but simple outline of society promulgated. There I recognised as a foundation the principles of universal justice, and hailed the dawn of mental emancipation. From that moment I anticipated the speedy deliverance of mankind from the thralldom of ignorance: but, alas! the prejudices of old institutions were too deeply

implanted to be soon removed, and many years have since witnessed the increasing difficulties and miseries of the country, with a total disregard of this remedy*. For some time I was at a loss to account for the inattention of society to the relief which appeared so obvious and certain. There was no lack of beneficence in the Government, and the labours of parliamentary committees had long been devoted to the collection of important and illustrative evidence. How was it, that that which was so clear and demonstrative should not be understood by minds superior to my own? Whatever abilities individuals might possess, yet if they omitted to bring to the consideration of a subject, so new and so directly opposed to their previous opinions, the requisite attention, it was impossible they could master it. The opposition which the plans experienced from men of great and unquestionable talents, induced me to return to the examination of the subject, to discover the fallacy which I presumed must exist

* “ When a great truth is to be revealed, it does not flash at once on the race, but dawns and brightens on a superior understanding, from which it is to emanate and to illumine future ages. On the faithfulness of great minds to this awful function, the progress and happiness of men chiefly depend. The most illustrious benefactors of the race have been men who, having risen to great truths, have held them as a sacred trust for their kind, and have borne witness to them amidst general darkness, under scorn and persecution, perhaps in the face of death.”—*Dr. Channing on National Literature.*

in the system, but which I might have overlooked. The more, however, I examined, the stronger became my conviction. It is probable that I was indebted to the work "On Character," which I had read a few years before with intense interest, for my instant assent to the propositions. Certain it is, that the principles were not developed in any consecutive order, calculated to arrest the attention of an unwilling and prejudiced audience; yet, as the author was known to be a practical man, who had succeeded in making a great moral experiment, he was listened to with considerable deference. When, however, he predicted, in the language of enthusiasm, results so far beyond the past experience of the world, they seemed rather to be the creations of fancy, than the sober calculations of reason and philosophy: nevertheless, these results were susceptible of rigid demonstration, and the perception of them was obtained by that course of inductive investigation in morals which Lord Bacon had so successfully followed and recommended in the physical sciences. Man was not regarded with the partial and exclusive views of the metaphysician, the political œconomist, the theologian, or the statesman; but rather as a being endowed with physical, intellectual and moral faculties, which it was essential to his happiness, should be developed and cultivated, in harmony with each other.

But there was another reason which led me to conclude it possible that I might still be deluded by error. I recollected how warmly I had sympathized with the author of the "Pursuits of Literature" in his boasted overthrow of all those general principles of philanthropy, which were struggling to emancipate themselves from the petty passions engendered by national and international divisions; how completely he demolished the result of Volney's laborious researches, and of Godwin's philosophical investigations. It was quite true I had not at that time read Volney, and could not therefore anticipate the high and deserved reputation he has since acquired. I scarcely knew that Godwin had written the "Political Justice," the great work upon which his fame rests, but which Dr. Mathias entirely passed over, to ridicule some light Essays thrown off, apparently, at random.

I knew not that the expansive benevolence advocated by these celebrated men, was asserted by them to be compatible with the warmest affection for relatives and friends*, or that the spirit of

* A similar mistake was made by Hutchison in his chapter, "How Property is acquired," when speaking of the schemes of community by Plato and Sir Thomas More.

"The more extensive affections will never give the generality of men such ardours, nor give them such enjoyments, without particular affections as are plainly necessary in our constitution to diligence and happiness."—*Hutchison's Philosophy.*

their inquiries was more in accordance with the genuine feelings of religion than the harsh epithets of its *soi-disant* champions: still, as I had before been restrained by prejudice from an impartial examination of both sides of a question, it was the more imperative that I should not again deceive myself by present prepossessions, and I earnestly sought for whatever could make against them*.

I was accompanied to the Meeting by my friend Charles Bertrand, a young man with whom I had been upon terms of intimacy for several years. When we met at a party for the first time, I happened to sit next to him; and our conversation turning chiefly upon literature, I remarked that no pleasures were so permanent as those which a library afforded:—he dissented from me, and instanced the pleasures of benevolence. I felt and acknowledged the superiority of his views, and resolved from that moment to cultivate his acquaintance. At this time he was about twenty-two years of age, of a handsome figure, and with

* “There is no learned man but will confess he hath much profited by reading controversies, his senses awakened, his judgement sharpened, and the truth which he holds more firmly established. If, then, it be profitable for him to read, why should it not at least be tolerable and free for his adversary to write? In logic, they teach that contraries laid together more evidently appear; it follows, then, that all controversy being permitted, falsehood will appear more false, and truth the more true, which must needs conduce much to the general confirmation of unimplicit truth.”—MILTON.

a countenance highly intelligent; there was, however, an expression of melancholy, which I am inclined to think was partly constitutional, but increased by disappointment in finding the world so much opposed to the practice of precepts which he held in common with society at large as sacred,—for Bertrand was very religious; so much so, that he had published at his own expense a small pocket Testament, translated by Campbell and Macknight, and which he considered superior to the common version: nevertheless, his religion was not one of forms, but a living principle of action shining forth in all his conduct. He had remarked with regret the scepticism that had disturbed my mind, and strove with solicitude to uphold my declining faith: but the clear exposition of the formation of character, had convinced me that in that truth was to be found the firmest basis upon which to rear the structure of society; and although I still venerated the practical precepts of religion, and perhaps valued them more highly than before, my opinions as to the destiny of those denominated wicked had materially changed: I felt more inclined to believe in the final restoration of all. But my preference upon the whole, was to reserve the discussion of speculative opinions, until society had resolved itself into a state in which more leisure and a higher degree of intelligence could be devoted to this

interesting topic. In the mean time, the truths recently elicited in the progress of moral science had opened a wide field for immediate practical exertion, in which the most important benefits might be secured. Charles Bertrand concurred in this opinion; nevertheless, he availed himself of every favourable opportunity of bringing forward his theological arguments. A mutual confidence sprang from that sincerity which taught us to think aloud to each other; and although differing in our speculations regarding futurity, we equally recognised the inconsistency of attaching merit or demerit to an individual on account of his belief.

The day after the Meeting, Charles called upon me, and brought with him a young friend, a school-fellow, who was also present at the City of London Tavern, and with whom I had become acquainted a few months previously. His name was John Hampden. He subsequently united with us in forwarding the object we had so much at heart, and was by far the most distinguished for energy of character. He was the eldest son of a wealthy baronet, the descendant of an ancient family in the West of England. His friends were high Tories and inflexible adherents to the Church of England, from the doctrines of which none of their connexions were permitted in the slightest degree, with impunity, to swerve. Hampden

had been intended for the Church ; but having met with a copy of " Helvetius sur l'Esprit," and of the Baron d'Holbac's celebrated work, his opinions had undergone so decided a change, that he resolved at all hazards to abandon a course which he could not conscientiously pursue. The expression of his doubts was suppressed until his final resolution was taken ; for he knew too well that with his friends no argument would avail. So much was his father exasperated with his determination, although conveyed in the most respectful and affectionate terms, that he at once determined to disinherit him, and thus deprive him of the prospect of succeeding to an estate, the rental of which was little short of thirty thousand pounds per annum. He possessed, however, in his own right, an income of two thousand pounds, left him by an uncle, who died about four years before. With a heart overflowing with benevolence, united to a strong sense of justice, he was at the same time so impressed with the necessity and importance of openly avowing and defending the truth upon all occasions, that in the heat of debate he would frequently wound the feelings of an opponent, and occasion to himself, upon reflection, the most poignant regret. The natural goodness of his disposition had been somewhat impaired by the severe conduct of his father, and he was liable

to great transitions, from determined purpose and sanguine expectation to inertness and despondency. There was a remarkable resemblance in the countenance of John Hampden to that of the portrait of the celebrated patriot of the same name,—the forehead expanded, the eye penetrating and bold. By the kind permission of Henry John Pye, Esq.*, of Chacombe Priory, I have obtained a drawing from a painting belonging to him, and at present at the house of his mother, at Pinner, where his late father the poet laureate resided. Although my own opinions were more in accordance with those of Hampden, yet my feelings inclined to Charles Bertrand, whose mild and amiable manners, joined to an elegance of taste, rendered him at all times agreeable. Neither could I sufficiently restrain Hampden from premature attempts to gain an audience with individuals, who would resent the unceremonious introduction of a subject upon which their decisions had been already declared.

After the first salutations,—“ I congratulate you,” said I to Charles, “ upon the glorious triumph of truth.”

Bertrand.—Not yet, my friend ; prepare not

* This gentleman is descended in a direct line from Hampden, being the immediate representative of Sir Robert Pye, of Farringdon, Berkshire, who married the second daughter of Hampden.

your triumphal arch before you know who will be crowned as victor.

Fitzosborne.—Can you in this age of intelligence and inquiry doubt the speedy conviction of mankind, when truth has been so clearly demonstrated and held up to universal observation*?

Bertrand.—If there had not been a declaration prejudicial to religion, the people would not have turned away from a subject so deeply interesting; and it appears to have been exceedingly injudicious to avow opinions not necessarily connected with the form of society advocated. You well know that I am far from participating in those opinions myself; but I still perceive that the principle of united interests can be successfully adopted by religionists of every denomination.

Hampden.—Elated as I was with the promulgation of the long sought for science of human society, there was no circumstance at the Meeting delighted me half so much, as the determination on the part of the lecturer, to insist upon the necessity of a proper basis upon which to build his superstructure; and I am surprised that you, Charles, the constant advocate for sincerity, should not approve the noble candour displayed upon that occasion.

* “ If any country could furnish twenty such men as he, they would, without pay, and with mere liberty to speak their sentiments, put to flight twenty thousand listed to support error.”—*Life of Whiston.*

Bertrand.—I should most certainly reprobate any species of deception, and if silence had been maintained upon that question, no charge of insincerity could have been preferred. The lecturer's individual sentiments were nothing to the world, so long as his practical suggestions could be adopted purified, if I may be allowed the expression, from his pernicious doctrines.

Hampden.—I cannot agree with you. Do not imagine, Charles, that because the irrefutable principle of the formation of character,—namely, that it is formed *for* and not *by* the individual,—is reconcileable to your own enlightened views of Christianity, the religion of mankind at large will bear the amalgamation. So long as they continue in ignorance of this principle, never can they be imbued with genuine charity.

Fitzosborne.—But surely you would not deprecate attempts to induce individuals of every religion to adopt the principle of united interests. I intend, without professing to believe many mysteries which I can neither understand nor deny, to endeavour to prevail upon all with whom I have any intercourse, to fall in with measures so essential to their happiness, as voluntary associations for mutual aid and improvement*.

* “ A new influence is arising, which is sufficiently able to supply the deficiencies of governments in attaining ends which they cannot reach, and in affording aids over which they have no control,—the power of voluntary association. There is no

Hampden.—You may make the attempt; but I foretell that it will be fruitless. The ominous die is cast,—your leader has passed the Rubicon, and neither himself nor his disciples can retrace their steps: either they must profess the faith of those to whom they appeal, or they will not be listened to; even their silence will be suspected, their proceedings watched with jealousy; nay, further—

object to which this power cannot adapt itself; no resources which it may not ultimately command; and a few individuals, if the public mind is gradually prepared to favour them, can lay the foundations of undertakings which would have baffled the might of those who reared the pyramids; and the few who can divine the tendency of the age before it is obvious to others, and perceive in which direction the tide of public opinion is setting in, may avail themselves of the current, and concentrate every breath that is favourable to their course. The exertions of a scanty number of individuals may swell into the resources of a large party; which, collecting at last all the national energies into its aid, and availing itself of the human sympathies that are in its favour, may make the field of its labour and its triumph as wide as humanity itself. The elements being favourably disposed, a speck of cloud collects vapours from the four winds, which overshadow the heavens, and all the varying and conflicting events of life; and the no less jarring and discordant passions of the human breast, when once the channel is sufficiently deepened, will rush into one accelerating torrent and be borne towards their destined end. The power of voluntary association, though scarcely tried as yet, is of largest promise for the future, and when extended upon a great scale, is the influence most removed from the shock of accidents and the decay of earthly things, renewing its youth with renewed generations, and becoming immortal through the perpetuity of the kind.”—*The Advancement of Society in Knowledge and Religion*; by James Douglas, Esq.

let your benevolence be ever so conspicuous ; let your moral character transcend that of all your contemporaries ; “ though you bestow all your goods to feed the poor, and have not” faith, “ it shall profit you nothing ;” the whispers of detraction shall find willing auditors ; your most trivial errors shall be magnified, and your reputation shall be blasted by the breath of calumny.

Bertrand.—Refrain, Hampden, from this tone of severity, equally unjust and in opposition to your own principles. Presuming the temper of the times to be such as you have described, surely mankind are to be regarded “ more in sorrow than in anger” ; their characters formed by nature and by the circumstances under which they have been trained,—how can you, with this conviction on your mind, be indignant at the exhibition of feelings engendered of necessity? By encouraging this antipathy, you disqualify yourself from becoming useful in the banishment of error. Anger, real or apparent, will rouse the hostility of many already too prone to impugn the motives of those who aim at innovation. Adopt the language, but above all encourage the spirit, of conciliation ; for by such means you will disarm your enemies, and rivet the attention of your friends ; but, what is of infinitely greater consequence, you will command more general sympathy. If men are under the influence of prejudice, and are unable to com-

prehend principles at variance with prevailing opinions,—why inflame those prejudices by intemperate language, and close more effectually the avenues to their minds? In the ordinary affairs of life, we endeavour to secure the esteem of men before we expect them to listen to our proposals: and besides, will not violence on your part strengthen the doubts of the value of your theory, when they find your own conduct so deficient in amiable feeling?

Hampden.—If by the little knowledge that some of us have acquired we are enabled to trace the course of human vice and misery, are we to forbear communicating this knowledge to those whose obstinate prejudices tend to perpetuate the suffering and degradation of mankind? Is it not rather the duty of all virtuous minds to unite in exposing the effects of the erroneous principles which have produced such a moral chaos, that no distinct rule of right or wrong could ever be discovered,—the consequence of which is, that there is nothing but inconsistency in human actions, and fraud, force, violence and hypocrisy, triumph over reason and humanity? Do we not follow in the steps of the teachers of error, when we ask men to adopt our principles, without proving to them that their own are eminently vicious,—that they condemn the whole human race to be vicious, that is, to be unjust to one another, and to

be filled with angry and hateful passions? How shall we make this clear, but by putting men through a course of moral arithmetic, which shall expose to them the fallacy of the principle they proceed upon, and by summing up the frightful consequences of their actions, as they affect their own or the general happiness? In this way alone can they be brought to a sense of their miserable and dangerous condition*.

Bertrand.—Mankind are already convinced that they are in a fallen state.

Hampden.—Men do not want, it is true, to be told that they are a very wicked and consequently a very wretched species,—they know it already; but their minds have been so trained as to believe that the Deity has condemned them to this deplorable condition, and that their duty is to depend on Omniscience for relief, and to make no effort for themselves. No, my friends, you are

* “The correction of one single prejudice has often been attended with consequences more important and extensive than could be produced by any positive accession to the stock of our scientific information. Such is the condition of man, that a great part of a philosopher’s life must necessarily be spent, not in enlarging the circle of his knowledge, but in unlearning the errors of the crowd, and the pretended wisdom of the schools, and that the most substantial benefit he can bestow on his fellow-creatures, as well as the noblest species of power to which he can aspire, is to impart to others the light he has struck out by his meditations, and to encourage human reason, by his example, to assert its liberty.”—DUGALD STEWART.

mistaken; a little virtuous indignation from those who are the awakened victims of these false principles and barbarous prejudices, has some influence in drawing the attention of the stupid, self-approving and blind oppressors of mankind into an examination of their doctrines, and the practice which proceeds from them.

Fitzosborne.—Hampden, you are wrong. Professing to have the knowledge of a moral architecture of surpassing solidity and beauty, is it wise in us to seek the employment of those who are pulling down old and decayed buildings? It is sufficient to hold up the design and plan of execution, for the excellence and vast superiority of the principles to be recognised.

Hampden.—Oh what an egregious error, to suppose that men are generally reflective enough to contrast your principle with their own, and adopt the best, because it is the best! Men are never their own accusers; and the more ignorant they are, the more will they be content with themselves:—in a word, if we never complain of an injury, it would be absurd to expect its redress; and if I writhe under an intense anguish that awkwardness or malice has inflicted upon me, yet, like the Spartan boy, never make it known to the perpetrators of the mischief, but content myself with calmly announcing that I have found a remedy for every wound,—I must not be sur-

prised if they laugh very heartily at my discovery, and continue as awkward and malignant as ever. No, no, my friends, mankind are very vain and very obtuse. How should they be otherwise, under a system of education which has spoken to them of rewards and punishments for certain actions that at one time shall be right and at another wrong, as the caprice or selfish interest of those who rule may decide?

Fitzosborne.—Can you doubt the desire of governments to rule justly?

Hampden.—They may with impartiality exact obedience to the laws, such as they found them: but what is their conduct if the equity of those laws is questioned? Prisons, tortures, scaffolds and bullets are the arguments they are accustomed to; and every sense of justice thus extinguished, it is admissible, nay, it is humane to speak daggers to the cruel and vice-perpetuating prejudices which inflict so much positive suffering on our species, and consequently on every other in creation. We may “be angry and sin not;” and I doubt the existence of virtue in that character which is not indignant at the principles which compel men to be vicious. The Emperor Trajan, like most of our modern half-thinkers, decided, that “he who hates vice hates mankind.” The very reverse is the case,—those who love mankind hate vice; that is, hate con-

fusion, and love order, usefulness, and harmony, which form all the ingredients of virtue, and constitute the moral state that man is destined to arrive at.

Bertrand.—I conjure you, for the good of the cause you espouse as well as for your own happiness, to moderate this impetuosity ; for be assured that your powerful talents, so well calculated to render important service, will become nugatory, unless you endeavour to cultivate a milder spirit.

Hampden.—Your friendly admonitions, Charles, I receive with affectionate acknowledgement ; and while I admit that upon some occasions the style you recommend would be more effectual, yet, in general, I should despair of commanding attention, without a bold avowal of the truth. Whatever the warmth of feeling may indicate, my general character and personal sacrifices are too well known to admit a misconstruction of my motives, or a doubt of the sincerity of my desire to benefit mankind. It is the single wish of my heart ; and now that the means of restoring harmony to a troubled world have been loudly proclaimed, are we to shrink from the manly discharge of our duty, in deference to the narrow sphere of prejudiced and contracted minds? Are we, who have nothing to disguise, who court inquiry in the open day, and invite acquiescence

from conviction only, to move with the fear and trembling of those who entertain opinions which they dare not subject to the test of reason? Never can I concur in these tame proceedings, so utterly unworthy the announcement of truths of unequalled magnitude and of such universal interest.

Fitzosborne.—I fear, Hampden, that you are, in some degree, led away by the warmth of your imagination. You acknowledge that your impelling motive is a desire to achieve the greatest possible happiness for mankind; let this be your polar star, and you will then be careful not to employ those means, which, although more congenial with your temperament, are the least effectual. Concede to others the same freedom of opinion you claim for yourself. It has been justly remarked, in the Biography of Gabriel Daniel, that “there is a sort of knight-errantry in philosophy, as well as in arms. The end proposed by both is laudable; for nothing can be more so than to redress wrongs and correct errors. But when imagination is let loose, and the brain is over-heated, wrongs may be redressed by new wrongs, errors may be corrected by new errors. The cause of innocence may be ill defended by heroes of one sort, and that of truth by heroes of another.” If the world is becoming too enlightened to be dazzled by the false glare of military

glory, do not expect that it will be captivated by a splendour equally meretricious. The principle you have laid down is excellent; and remember that those means are the most truly glorious, which not only secure the object in the shortest time, but produce happiness even in their application. Yield to the good advice of Bertrand;—and now let us resolve upon the altar of friendship, to go forth and extend the knowledge of these truths. You, through your family connexions, can obtain introductions to the least accessible of the aristocracy; while myself and Charles will seek out those who, by their writings or conduct, have manifested a desire to improve the condition of society,—and with them our object will be a sufficient introduction.

Hampden.—I will then in all my best obey. With calmness will I behold the powerful oppress the weak; I will hear the wealthy upstart coldly pity the unfortunate; the delicate and fastidious shall, uncensured, amuse themselves with the details of misery and crime;—all this will I bear witness to, and yet be meek and silent. Most patiently will I attend in the ante-rooms of the great, and humbly solicit that they will deign to hear me. But in thus comporting myself, it will be only in compliance with your advice, and no longer than as success shall flow from moderation. Once more I warn you not to expect an

accession of converts, unless you display a moral courage worthy of your upright cause. Much shall I rejoice when you are at length convinced of the inefficacy and weakness of these temporizing measures, and when I shall be released from restraints so tedious and so galling. To the boldness of Luther, and not to the mildness of Melancthon*, are we indebted for the glories of the Reformation.

* "Nature," says his biographer, "had given Melancthon a peaceable temper, which was but ill suited for the time he was to live in. His moderation served only to be his cross. He was like a lamb in the midst of wolves. Nobody liked his mildness; it looked as if he was lukewarm; and even Luther himself was sometimes angry at it. It was, indeed, considering his situation, very inconvenient; for it not only exposed him to all kinds of slander, but would not suffer him to 'answer a fool according to his folly.' The only advantage it procured him was to look upon death without fear, by considering that it would secure him from the *odium theologicum*."

CHAPTER III.

“ I would express him simple, grave, sincere ;
 In doctrine uncorrupt ; in language plain,
 And plain in manner ; decent, solemn, chaste,
 And natural in gesture ; much impress'd
 Himself, as conscious of his awful charge,
 And anxious mainly that the flock he feeds
 May feel it too.” COWPER.

REVOLVING in my mind one morning to whom I should first apply, I read in *The Times* newspaper a Charge by the Recorder of London, in which he dwelt with unusual earnestness upon the enormous increase of crime in the metropolis. It immediately occurred to me that the Bishop of London would probably grant an interview upon such a subject, and more especially as the evil complained of existed in his diocese. The more I reflected upon this step, the more eligible it appeared. Dr. Howley was in every respect a most distinguished prelate, active in the discharge of his pastoral duties, learned, pious, and humane. His promotion to the see of London had given general satisfaction, and had been often referred to as an instance of impartial selection ; for he was devoid of patronage, and had become conspicuous through his exemplary conduct. I

had no sooner formed my resolution, than I used all diligence in searching the New Testament for Scriptural authorities for our design.

Having addressed a letter to the Bishop, explaining in general terms the object I had in view, I was honoured with an appointment for the following morning. So often had I been diverted by theological discussions from the consideration of the practical details of our plans, that I became extremely anxious upon the present occasion to confine the attention of the Bishop to the absence, in our scheme, of those temptations by which, under the present constitution of society, mankind were ensnared. As I ascended the flight of steps of his magnificent mansion in St. James's Square, I could not help remarking the wide contrast between the huts of the humble fishermen of Galilee* and the palace I was entering. If I was under any apprehension of want of dexterity in the anticipated interview, it was not diminished upon first beholding the Bishop. There

* "Alas! the quantity of the good things of this wicked world, which, by men calling themselves spiritual, are every day consuming,—would they but content themselves with the consuming of these same good things in a *spiritual* sense,—leaving to the growers, and makers, and buyers, the consuming them in a *carnal* sense,—how much less would there be to be seen of that *pauperism*, which, under the covering of prosperity, that glitters at and about the *head*, is in the heart of the population so plainly seen, as well as so severely felt!"—
BENTHAM.

was a solemnity and firmness in his countenance which warned a stranger from uttering a single syllable against an *orthodox* opinion: but there was also a mildness which promised a kind feeling towards all within the pale of the Church: the expression of inflexibility of opinion, however, predominated; and whatever confidence I had been inspired with by previous reflection, it had all fled by the time I was seated.

The Bishop began by stating that he had witnessed with pain the great increase of crime, and was most anxious to hear of any means that would tend to check it,—that for his own part, he could impute it to no other cause than the spread of infidelity, and he was not aware of any other remedy than the multiplication of schools for religious instruction.—I took the liberty of reminding him, that this extraordinary increase of crime had taken place after education had been for many years established, and that juvenile delinquency in particular had advanced in an alarming ratio; that scholastic education alone would not, I apprehended, effect much, unless it was accompanied by what might be termed the education of favourable circumstances, for the good impressions produced on the minds of the children when at school, were too often effaced by the conversation and bad examples of the parents.

The Bishop.—In what way do you propose,

then, to check the growing evil?—and to what cause do you attribute it?

Fitzosborne.—I attribute it, my Lord, to the gradual depression in the value of labour, and the uncertainty and irregularity of employment, which have rendered it necessary to place the working classes, who cannot find constant occupation, under other circumstances more conducive to industry and to their general well-being.

The Bishop.—But are we not informed that high wages generally lead to dissipation, rather than to improved morals?

Fitzosborne.—It is no doubt true, that any accession of funds beyond what may be necessary to gratify those desires to which any class may have been accustomed, is frequently misapplied; and at a period when the great bulk of the people are weighed down by care and destitution, the few who, possessing a peculiar skill, and are enabled to get higher wages, are more likely to be corrupted by the general dissatisfaction and turbulence. But it is not to the general causes of crime in society as at present constituted, but to the immediate cause of the late increase of delinquency, that I would invite your Lordship's attention; and to remedy which, it is proposed to form communities of about two thousand individuals each, granting them land in which they shall have joint property, and where all their

exertions for their own support and welfare will be conducted upon a principle of united interests.

The Bishop.—The system you advocate, then, is no other than that of an individual who, upon bringing it forward, declared that he was not of one of the religions hitherto taught. This avowal would be a sufficient reason for me to disregard it, even if Mr. Malthus had not pronounced it utterly impracticable. I must confess that I am surprised to find any one, desirous of improving the morals of the people, advocating a cause which all respectable persons concur in condemning.

Fitzosborne.—You will find, my Lord, that these practical arrangements are totally unconnected with any particular faith, and are not opposed to any religion whatever.

The Bishop.—I cannot listen to a proposal that is not only free from hostility to religion, but which does not set out with making it the primary consideration, and the ground-work of all further proceedings.

Fitzosborne.—I submit with deference, my Lord, that this system is in a particular manner identified with Christianity, conformable to the practice of the early Christians, and eminently calculated to foster a spirit of charity and mutual kindness*.

* “And the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and one soul: neither said any of them that aught of the

The Bishop.—There is no form of society in particular identified with religion; the questions are altogether distinct, and must be considered apart; it is the Form of Faith* alone that can be of vital importance to society; and are you not strongly impressed with the serious consequences of any the slightest deviation from the Established Church?

Fitzosborne.—But, my Lord, the causes of crime—

things which he possessed was his own; but they had all things common.”—*Acts* iv. 32.

The Essenes, a sect of the Jews, or, according to Vossius, of the Christians, are thus described in Whiston's *Josephus*, Book viii. chap. i. sect. v. “Yet is their course of life better than that of other men; and they entirely addict themselves to husbandry. It also deserves our admiration, how much they exceed all other men that addict themselves to virtue, and this in righteousness; and indeed to such a degree, that as it hath never appeared among other men, neither Greeks nor Barbarians, no, not for a little time, so hath it endured a long while among them. This is demonstrated by that institution of theirs which will not suffer any thing to hinder them from having all things in common.”

* “The diffusion of knowledge stands in the same relation to ignorance, as positive evil to the absence of good. It is an enormous increase of power, without any adequate check or controul,—injurious to the individual, injurious to the community, and thus destructive of happiness, the only reasonable end of all attempts at improvement. And here we should carefully guard against the dangerous maxims too often recommended by the specious names of liberality, charity, and love of peace. *Indifference to forms of faith* is indifference to truth or falsehood!”—*Dr. Howley's (then Bishop of London) Sermon at St. Paul's, June 16th, 1814.*

The Bishop.—The causes of crime are to be found in the corrupt and fallen nature of man,—in the obliteration of the divine image, imprinted when he first issued from the hands of his Maker, and which nothing can revive but a humble reliance upon the atonement and merits of his Redeemer. No, Sir, I must hear no remark that impugns the doctrine of original sin.

Fitzosborne.—I was not, my Lord, about to question the truth of any religious doctrine whatever. Whether the aberrations of the human mind result from ignorance or from original sin, they are more or less injurious to society, in proportion as the individual is exposed to the influence of good or bad circumstances; and I think you will admit, that when we find the crime of murder committed chiefly by the lower classes, (for the few instances among the other classes can be considered only as exceptions,) that there must be some influence attributable to external causes, otherwise all would furnish the same abhorrent evidence of innate depravity*.—Permit me to re-

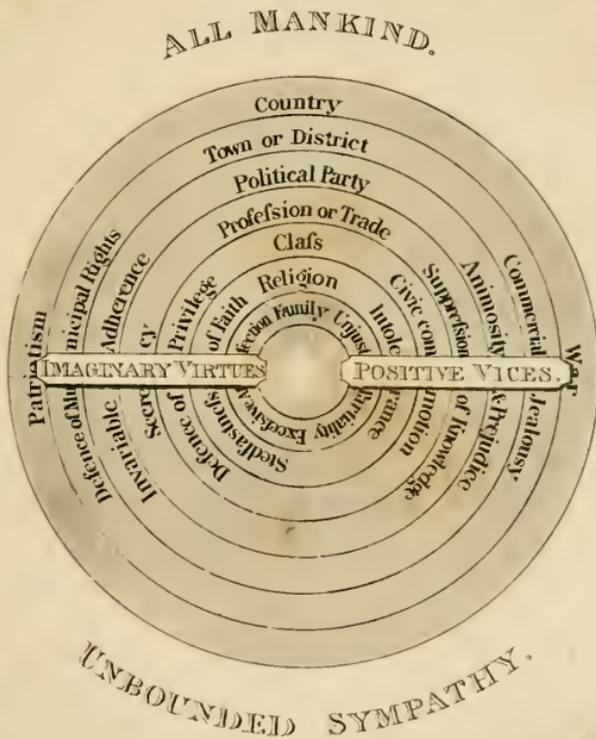
* “ If every human being is guided and governed in all his actions by a judgement and inclinations over the formation of which he has no controul; if those individuals who have the worst natural formation, and who are neglected and degraded in infancy, are most liable to offend; and if the habits and intellects of such individuals might have been materially improved by a proper system of education,—which, in infancy, they had no power to bestow on themselves;—I say, if these suppositions be true (and who can doubt their truth), then

quest your Lordship's attention to a diagram I have designed, for the purpose of exhibiting in a more clear and striking manner, the variety of impediments which restrain the exercise of that love and universal brotherhood enjoined in the New Testament. The six inner circles, viz. Family, Religion, Class, Profession or Trade, Political Party, Town or District, describe the different classes of conflicting interests which, in the existing constitution of society, prevent the diffusion of sympathy among the members of the same community; and which, together with the seventh circle (Country), tend to the suppression of universal sympathy. On the right are some of the "Positive Vices," resulting from this division of interests. Many qualities esteemed virtuous under the present system I have, on the left, denominated "Imaginary Virtues;" for, being opposed to universal sympathy, they are vices, having the semblance only, of virtue.

The Bishop.—I observe that you place "Steadfastness of Faith" among the "Imaginary Virtues."

must offenders be the most unfortunate, as they are the most miserable of our fellow-creatures; and justice requires us to do unto them as we would wish others to do unto us were we in a similar situation. This mode of proceeding contains the essence of Christianity, and its general adoption will follow the propagation of these principles as a matter of necessity."—ABRAM COMBE.

*’Tis the sublime of man,
 Our noontide majesty to know ourselves
 Parts and proportions of one wondrous whole!
 This fraternizes man, this constitutes
 Our charities and bearings.*



*No common centre man, no common sire
 Knoweth! A sordid solitary thing,
 Amid countless brethren with a lonely heart,
 Through courts & cities the smooth savage roams,
 Feeling himself his own low Self the whole,
 When he by sacred sympathy might make
 The whole One Self; Self that no alien knows!
 Self far diffused as Fancy's wing can travel!
 Self-spreading still! Oblivious of its own,
 Yet all of all possessing!*

Fitzosborne.—If steadfastness of faith prevents freedom of inquiry, it cannot be a virtue ; and if the result of investigation, it is the necessary conviction of the understanding, and can have no more claim to the denomination of a virtue, than the conviction of a truth in mathematics, in chemistry, or in any other of the sciences.

The Bishop.—By strengthening the religious principle, the individual is enabled to rise superior to all the obstacles by which he is surrounded. Have we not read of men who have submitted to the most cruel tortures, and even to martyrdom itself, in obedience to its dictates?

Fitzosborne.—My Lord, such instances of heroic fortitude are of rare occurrence ; and although the power of conscience is such as to enable men, especially upon great and conspicuous occasions, to sacrifice even their fortunes and their lives, this devotion belongs not exclusively to the professors of faith, much less of any particular faith*.

* Heckewelder relates an anecdote of the Canadian Indians which would afford us an instructive lesson, whatever religion we may profess.

“ Two Indians met in the village of La Chine, and one of them, a man of great personal strength, insulted the other, calling him a coward, and addressing him in other opprobrious terms ; upon which the latter drew out his knife, and stabbed him to the heart. A crowd immediately collected, calling out, ‘ Kill him, kill him ! ’ The Indian sat down by the dead body, and placing himself in an attitude, proper to receive the stroke of the tomahawk, coolly awaited his fate. This he expected

Witness the examples of Regulus, Mutius Scævola, the Decii, the Gracchi, and the Spartans. After all, it is perhaps the perpetually recurring annoyances of private life, which, however trifling in themselves, most effectually check the exercise of the kindly affections: the contentions about wealth which exists in superfluity* ; the struggles

from some relative of the deceased, but no person seemed inclined to strike the blow. After the body was removed, the Indian was left sitting alone on the spot. Not meeting the fate he expected, he rose and went to a more public part of the village, and again lay down on the ground waiting the fatal stroke; but no one attempted to touch him. He then went to the mother of the Indian whom he had killed, an aged widow, and thus addressed her;—‘Woman, I have slain thy son. He had insulted me, it is true; but still he was thine, and his life was valuable to thee. I therefore now surrender myself up to thy will.’—‘Thou hast indeed killed my son who was dear to me,’ replied the woman, ‘and the only support of my old age. One life is already lost, and to take thine on that account can be of no service to me. Thou hast, however, a son, whom, if thou wilt give me in the place of him thou hast slain, all shall be wiped away.’—The Indian then said, ‘Mother, my son is yet a child, only ten years old, and can be of no service to thee, but rather a trouble and charge: but here am I, capable of maintaining thee. If thou wilt receive me as thy son, nothing shall be wanting on my part to make thee comfortable while thou livest.’—The woman accordingly adopted the Indian as her son, and took the whole family into her house.”

* “As it must be extremely difficult to establish such wise regulations where private property takes place, it must be justly doubted whether property must not be excluded out of the most perfect government.”—*Wallace’s Various Prospects of Mankind.*

“A scheme of government may be imagined that shall, by

for the supply of factitious wants, for frivolous distinctions; and the competition among all ranks and classes, generate a spirit hostile to Christianity, and create envy, anger, revenge, and the most horrid crimes. It is only by a superior education and a combination of superior influences upon man, that we can deprive him of the *improbis amor habendi*; for in vain may parents, by religious precepts, excite the growth and foster the germ of sympathy planted in the breast of every individual, if, upon entering the world, its expansion is checked by the prejudices generated by the inculcation of disputed doctrines, and by the rivalry of opposing interests. None can enjoy an unalloyed love for all mankind, within this seven-fold barrier.

The Bishop.—In this world of trial all are exposed to temptations of one kind or another, and it is necessary that all should be instructed in that faith and discipline which can alone enable them to resist the evil and cleave to the good. To impute conduct to the influence of circumstances is to destroy the distinction between virtue and vice, and to make mankind believe they are not

annihilating property and reducing mankind to their natural equality, remove most of the causes of contention and wickedness.”—*Dr. Price’s Four Dissertations on Providence, 1777, p. 138 (note).*

“Mihi certè persuadeo, res æquabili ac justâ aliquâ ratione distribui, aut feliciter agi cum rebus mortalium, nisi sublatâ prorsus *proprietas*, non posse.”—*Sir T. More, Ut. lib. i.*

accountable beings. The details of the plan you propose are more fitted for the consideration of the Government, and are unconnected with the sacred functions of my office: you have, however, disclosed sufficient to induce me to regard it with increased suspicion, if not with a conviction that it is founded upon opinions dangerous to the peace and good order of society, and subversive of the holy doctrines of religious truth.

Fitzosborne.—Excuse me, my Lord, for repeating once more, that no Christian society, properly so called, can exist upon any other principle than that of united interests; for besides the numerous evils arising from contention, which are thereby averted, it appears to be so distinctly recognised as an apostolic institution as to be unquestionable. To say that, because it has not been continued in the Church, it was found impracticable, affords no better argument against it than might be adduced against those primitive truths which have been corrupted.

The Bishop.—You overlook, Sir, the numerous references to a man's household throughout the Old and New Testaments, plainly indicating that distinct family arrangements were the best adapted for the development of his good qualities, by the necessity imposed upon him to educate and provide for his offspring*.

* “Richard Baxter says, ‘There are few texts of Scripture more abused than that of the Apostle; ‘He that provideth

Fitzosborne.—But I think, my Lord, there are far more direct exhortations to mutual assistance, and such as obviously denounce the ambition to rise above others; the expression of “brethren” is perpetually recurring, and St. Paul writes to the Corinthians: “For I mean not that other men be eased, and ye burdened: but by an *equality*, that your abundance may be a supply for their want, that their abundance may also be a supply for your want: that there may be *equality*: as it is written, He that had gathered much had nothing over; and he that had gathered little had no lack*.” And again, “They that will be rich fall into temptation and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful lusts, which drown men in destruction and perdition. For *the love of money* is the root of all evil†.”

not for his own, and specially those of his family, hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel.’ This is made a pretence for gathering up portions, and providing a full estate for posterity, when the Apostle speaketh only against them that did cast their poor kindred and family on the church, to be maintained out of the common stock, when they were able to do it themselves.’—‘His following words show that it is present provision, and not future portions, that the Apostle speaketh of, &c.’ ‘You are bound to do the best you can to educate your children, &c., but not to leave them rich.’—*Gildas Salvianus*, p. 238.

See An Inquiry respecting Private Property and the Authority and Perpetuity of the Apostolic Institution of a Community of Goods.—*From the Monthly Repository*, February 1821.

* 2 Cor. viii. 13—16.

† 1 Tim. vi. 9, 10.

The Bishop.—Covetousness is, no doubt, reprehensible.

Fitzosborne.—St. James also has several passages which bear a similar construction ; for instance, “ Let the brother of low degree rejoice in that he is exalted ; but the rich in that he is made low : ” and, “ For if there come into your assembly a man with a gold ring, in goodly apparel, and there come in also a poor man in vile raiment ; and ye have respect to him that weareth the gay clothing, and say unto him, Sit thou here in a good place ; and say to the poor, Stand thou there, or sit here under my footstool : are ye not then partial in yourselves, and are become judges of evil thoughts ? Hath not God chosen the poor of this world rich in faith, and heirs of the kingdom which he hath promised ? But ye have despised the poor. Do not rich men oppress you, and draw you before the judgement seats ? Do not they blaspheme that worthy name by which ye are called ? If ye fulfil the royal law according to the Scripture, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself, ye do well : but if ye have respect to persons, ye commit sin*.” And again : “ Behold the hire of the labourers who have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth. Ye have lived in pleasure on the earth, and been

* James, chap. ii. ver. 2—9.

wanton; ye have nourished your hearts, as in a day of slaughter: ye have condemned and killed the just; and he doth not resist you*.”

The Bishop.—Your Scriptural quotations are rather prompt for one who does not attach sufficient importance to some of the doctrines: but in seeking for authorities in support of your own theory, you have over-looked passages that are equally forcible in favour of another view of the condition of mankind. What can be more unequivocally referable to the existing state of society, than the admonition given by our divine master to the questions of the Pharisees and Herodians,—“Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar’s, and unto God the things that are God’s”? thereby plainly enjoining obedience to the civil authorities.

Fitzosborne.—My Lord, I do assure you that I am continually urging those who entertain opinions similar to my own, to yield a willing obedience to all who are in authority, satisfied that discussion and an appeal to reason in a proper spirit, are the only legitimate means by which reformation can be effected, and the progress of truth promoted. It is on this account that I come directly to your Lordship, convinced that every improvement and innovation could be more ef-

* James, chap. v. ver. 4, 5.

fectually introduced by the public functionaries themselves, and more especially by the clergy.

The Bishop.—But why not take for your foundation Christianity, which contains all that is valuable in your principles? The Church has been always considered as a body, of which individuals are the members; as St. Paul says, “that there should be no schism in the body; but that the members should have the same care one for another. And whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honoured, all the members rejoice with it*.”

Fitzosborne.—Granted, my Lord: but is society constituted upon this Christian doctrine? It is common to speak of each individual as a member of society, implying that there is a mutual sympathy between the member and the whole body: But in what consists the sympathy between the inhabitants of St. Giles’s, and those of the neighbouring squares†? Is the health of one part of the body disturbed by the afflictions of another?

* 1 Cor. chap. xii. ver. 25, 26.

† “In every wealthy nation, the rich shun the view of wretchedness, which is attended with a silent reproach. Those who have property mistrust the honesty and blame the conduct of those who have none.”

“It was never heard of, that a young horse, or any useful animal of the brute creation, was left to die with hunger in a land of plenty.”—PLAYFAIR.

Are they not disjointed, separated and unknown to each other, and therefore no longer a society, much less a Christian society?

The Bishop.—But the text I have quoted is to be taken in a spiritual sense. You appear to be actuated by motives of benevolence, and it would be well if your zeal and good intentions were directed in the right path. But in dismissing the subject, I would give you, as a young man, this admonition: In the prosecution of your objects, be careful with whom you associate; for there is much infidelity abroad, and there are many who, under the specious names of liberality, charity, and love of peace, will undermine your religious principles, and destroy your hopes of an hereafter. From the candour you have displayed, I feel an interest in your exertions, but more particularly in your spiritual welfare; and if, in your search after truth, you should require my aid, you will find me accessible.

Fitzosborne.—It was the high estimation in which your Lordship's character is held, that induced me to solicit the honour of an interview; and I shall avail myself of your kind assistance in rectifying my mistakes, presuming that you would prefer an undisguised expression of my sentiments; for I can conceive nothing so valuable as sincerity and truth, or that there could be found an individual wilfully persevering in con-

scious error. I must then freely confess, my Lord, that for many years I have entertained doubts of the correctness of opinions instilled into my mind at the period of childhood, and that I have experienced considerable pain from the discrepancy between my present convictions and those early prepossessions, the recollection of which is so highly interesting. But truth itself has always appeared to me of such paramount utility and importance, that no sacrifices, however painful or costly, should be withheld that would contribute to its attainment. Hence I have persevered in my inquiries, notwithstanding the inroads they made upon the dominion which early opinions had maintained, and the loss of friends who regarded every attempt to pass the boundaries of their church as absolutely sinful. I have thus been deprived of their sympathy, and compelled to enjoy in comparative solitude, those anticipations of social and intellectual improvement which mankind are destined to realize.

The Bishop.—You might have retained your friends, and escaped all your difficulties and doubts, had you attended to that silent monitor which was first awakened by your early education.

Fitzosborne.—Indeed, my Lord, I have sought truth in all sincerity of heart, and with far greater preference have I listened to those arguments which would confirm my early impressions ; for

what interest could I have in disturbing associations which are seldom recurred to in advancing years but with increased delight; whereas a contrary course was certainly to be attended with great disadvantages—loss of public and private esteem—to be stigmatized with contumelious epithets, and to excite even the hostility of the majority of mankind. Yet, great as were these endurances, I account them as nothing in comparison with the conscientious discharge of moral duty, which will not tolerate any insincerity. It is this freedom of mind that qualifies the individual for investigating every subject with diminished prejudices, and enables him to arrive at more correct conclusions.

The Bishop.—Place not so much dependence upon the conclusions of unassisted reason, and presume not to set up its dictates in opposition to divine authority. The oracles of God must be approached with a prostration of the understanding*.

* The present Archbishop of Canterbury, in a charge to his clergy, when Bishop of London, describes a set of men “on whom the charge of infidelity attaches in a certain degree.” He says, they are generally men of some education, whose thoughts “have been little employed on the subject of religion; or who, loving rather to question than learn, have approached the oracles of divine truth without that humble docility, that *prostration of the understanding and will*, which are indispensable to proficiency in Christian instruction.”

On the other hand, Dr. Jortin says: “A theological system

Fitzosborne.—But is not reason the only faculty by which we can be enabled to distinguish that which is really a revelation* by the Deity? I recognize many parts of the Scriptures so fully in accordance with the nature of man, that no doubt can remain that they originate in the source of all truth: but surely, my Lord, these incontestible truths and valuable precepts, are not to ratify with sacred authority interpretations put upon other passages of doubtful meaning, or to sanction an entire acquiescence in deductions

is too often a temple consecrated to implicit faith; and he who enters in there to worship, instead of leaving his shoes, after the Eastern manner, must leave his *understanding* at the door; and it will be well if he find it when he comes out again.—*Dissert.* ii.

* “The Gospel is a system founded upon sufficient evidence, and an appeal to the sense and *reason* of mankind.”—*Dr. Jortin’s Sermon on Apostolical Authority.*

“If we examine the objects of religious truth, we shall find that the faculty which gives them admission into our souls, is Reason. Sense and Reason are the two eyes of the mind, and while material objects appeal to Sense, spiritual objects appeal to Reason; she is the porteress, as it were, sitting at the gate of the soul to receive and usher them in. I do not mean that she first suggests them; that is the higher office of that great Power, the primary source of all illumination, who created her for this among other purposes. But I assert, that she does and must first entertain them; the leading idea of the existence of a Deity is in the first place recognized and received by her; and the other elementary truths of religion follow in their order.”—*Inaugural Address at the Bristol College* by the Rev. *W. D. Conybeare*, M.A. Rector of Sully: 1831.

repugnant both to reason and the general tenour of Scripture*. Nothing can be more congenial with the philosophy of the mind than that spirit of love and charity enforced in the Gospel,—not merely addressed to the understanding, but in affectionate appeal to the feelings, and recommended as a constant and living principle of action. It is the preponderance which Christians have given to Faith over Charity that has caused so much dissension. The translator of Grotius observes that “if what St. Paul says be true, that charity is greater than faith, it is evident no Christian ought to be guilty of the breach of a greater duty upon account of a lesser. They should not disturb that peace and unity which ought to be amongst all Christians, for the sake of any matters of faith, any differences of opinion; because it is contrary to the known law of charity.” It is the absence of this spirit of love which has brought so much discredit upon the professors of Christianity, which at this day manifests itself in antipathies and jealousies, and

* “Since those ordinary means of expounding Scripture, as searching the originals, conference of places, parity of reason, and analogy of faith, are all dubious, uncertain and very fallible, he that is the wisest, and by consequence the likeliest to expound truest in all probability of reason, will be very far from confidence.”—*Bishop Taylor's Liberty of Prophesying*, Sect. iv.

hinders many who are desirous of benefiting society from acting in unison with others differing from them a shade only in opinion.

The Bishop.—Those mischiefs which you impute to a difference of opinion, and which cannot be sufficiently deplored, arise solely from the pride of reason arrogating to itself a power superior to the Word of God, attesting the necessity of humble submission to those decrees which it is not given to us, in our present imperfect state, clearly to comprehend. They prove also the folly of deviating from the established religion of the country, handed down to us in primitive purity from our ancestors: when once you abandon this rock of your salvation, you will be carried about with every wind of doctrine.

His Lordship then assuming a more distant manner, as if conscious that he had allowed too great a latitude to my remarks, expressed a hope that before he saw me again I should have seriously pondered the dangerous consequences of any laxity in my religious opinions.

I was so much absorbed, on my way to the Temple, in reflecting upon the subject of my conference with the Bishop, that it was not until I had been an hour in my chambers, that the total failure in the object of my visit,—and from the

very cause that I had apprehended,—flashed upon my mind ;—the whole of our conversation had almost an exclusive reference to Faith.

I left the following “Catechism of Society” with his Lordship, requesting him to do me the honour of perusing it ; to which he kindly assented.

CATECHISM OF SOCIETY.

What is Society?

That union among mankind most conformable to nature.

What is meant by Nature?

The term Nature is here used to denote all things in existence.

What is an essential property of Nature?

Self-preservation.

Does this property manifest itself in all bodies in the same manner?

No: differently in inanimate and in living bodies.

How does it manifest itself in inanimate bodies?

By the keeping together of the atoms or smaller particles of which they are composed: this power, in some bodies, such as stones and hard metals, is so strong as to resist considerable force; and is called attraction of cohesion.

How does it manifest itself in living bodies?

By the exercise of functions and actions necessary to their growth and preservation;—in plants it is called vegetation; in animals, instinct.

What is this property called with reference to man?

Self-love; and manifests itself in the exercise of his bodily and intellectual powers.

What is the conduct resulting from the exercise of these powers called, in relation to one man?

His character.

Are the characters of all men alike?

No; for their actions being different, their characters must be different also.

Why are men different in their actions?

First, On account of their different organization. Secondly, On account of the different external circumstances under which each organization is developed.

What do you understand by the word circumstance?

Whatever produces an effect upon the organization.

How are the circumstances distinguished in relation to the effect they produce?

Into those which produce a good or virtuous effect, and those which produce a bad or vicious effect. The first are those which promote happiness; the second, those which produce misery.

What circumstances produce virtue?

Those which direct man to seek his happiness in advancing that of all mankind.

What circumstances produce vice?

Those which direct man to seek his happiness without regard to his fellow-beings.

Why can man be happy only in promoting the happiness of others?

Because by such endeavours only can he cherish that sympathy for his species which he possesses in common with all the animal creation; and which, under the guidance of reason, becomes an inexhaustible source of the most pure and delightful pleasures. Because each individual acting upon this principle enjoys the sympathy and aid of all.

By what rule can a good circumstance be distinguished from a bad one?

By its tendency to encourage or to check, in man, his sympathy for all his fellow-creatures: as it approaches to, or recedes from, this standard, its effect is virtuous or vicious.

Give an example of the latter.

The inculcation of the error,—that man forms his own character.

In what way does this error check the sympathy of man?

By attaching merit or demerit to his actions, and thus rendering it necessary to adopt a system of artificial rewards and punishments, in order to stimulate to good, and to deter from bad conduct; thereby fostering emulation, which is the germ of ambition, envy, and hatred: to this error that most pernicious of all institutions, “private property*,” owes its origin.

* “The poets, whom Plato would have excluded from his republic, appear to have understood better than the majority of philosophers and legislators, the origin, operation, and progress of the sentiments of the human heart. They have styled

In what consists the injurious tendency of this institution?

In disjoining the interest of each individual from that of his fellow-beings, thereby calling into active operation the uncontrolled passions of his nature, engendering strife, confusion and anarchy. It also creates two classes,—the one rich and luxurious, though few in number; the other poor, but numerous, and barely supplied with the necessaries and comforts of life.

What are the physical, moral, and intellectual effects produced on the condition of these two classes respectively?

Physically, The rich suffer from indolence, sensuality, and dissipation:—The poor, from the want of sufficient nourishment and clothing; from unhealthy habitations, from noxious employments, and excessive labour.

Morally, The rich suffer from their factitious wants and insatiable desires; from intrigue, vanity and ambition:—The poor, from their credulity and temptations to commit crimes; from punishment and loss of character, and from the desire of revenge.

Intellectually, The rich suffer from the contracted views and prejudices of an exclusive class; from their mistaken ideas of right and wrong; from their frivolity and puerile honours*; from the false notions

the golden age, that happy period, when individual property was unknown; sensible that the distinction of *mine* and *thine* had been the parent of every vice.”—ABBE' DE MABLY.

* “ D’où viennent ces armories si bizarrement ornées dont parmi nous la noblesse paraît encore si jalouse et si fière ? l’on

entertained of their own importance* and of that of military glory:—The poor, either from the total want of education or from imperfect instruction; from the dogmas and mysteries forced upon their minds in early youth, and from supernatural fears.

Is there not a middle class, exempt from these evils?

The middle class is exempt from the excess only of the vices and follies of the rich and poor: but even this class is striving to emulate the former in their extravagancies; or, in struggling to escape abject poverty, is subject more or less to the evils of the other two classes.—Thus does the institution of private property

y voit des animaux et des figures que des sauvages tout nus se traçaient d'abord sur la peau pour se rendre plus terribles, qui, lorsqu'ils eurent appris à se vêtir, furent portés grossièrement sur des écus ou boucliers, et furent ensuite entourés des peaux des bêtes qu'ils avaient tuées à la chasse. Telle est la véritable origine de cet art puérile connu sous le nom d'Héraldique, qui servit le basse à la science non moins futile des généalogies, inventée pour repaître la vanité de quelques hommes très-curieux de prouver à l'univers qu'ils descendaient en droite ligne de quelque ancien sauvage féroce et vagabond. Ces colliers, ces chaînes dont les souverains se servent encore pour decorer leurs favoris, et pour exciter les desirs des grands qui les entourent, étaient déjà des distinctions pour les mêmes brigands dans une antiquité tres-reculée.”

—DUMARSAIS.

* “ There are a set of men in all the states of Europe who assume from their infancy a pre-eminence, independent of their moral character. The attention paid them from the moment of their birth, gives them the idea that they are formed for command; they soon learn to distinguish themselves as a distinct species; and being secure of a certain rank and station, take no pains to make themselves worthy of it.”—ABBE' RAYNAL.

oppose in every direction the best sympathies of man, and prevent the existence of society properly so called.

Now give an example of a circumstance producing a virtuous effect.

The inculcation of the truth, that the character of man is formed *for* him; that he has no control over the qualities given him at birth; that he can have no choice as to the place of his nativity, or the circumstances by which he is surrounded in early life.

In what manner is sympathy encouraged by this knowledge?

It annihilates all angry feelings against those who fall into the commission of crimes, by referring their conduct to the real causes; creates a desire to remove those causes, and to substitute others of an opposite tendency; finally, it leads to the discovery of the true basis of society,—the principle of mutual aid and of undivided property.

State the most important consequences of this institution.

By merging the interest of the individual in the general interest, contention ceases, and all the obstructions to the exercise of sympathy are withdrawn; anxious care is bestowed upon the harmonious development of all the faculties of man; the appetites are neither injuriously restrained nor immoderately excited; the causes of disease, immorality, and of mental imbecility, are ascertained and removed; for all participate in the beneficial prevalence of health, morality, and intelligence. The individual feels that to society belong the fruits of his exertions, for to society

alone is he indebted for the cultivation and improvement of his qualities, physical, moral, and intellectual. The knowledge of the principle upon which the character is formed, pervades society ; hence envy, hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness disappear : it prompts the man of genius and those who are gifted with extraordinary talent to communicate freely their advantages to that community, with the happiness of which their own is indissolubly united, as is the welfare of each community with others. It teaches that all who are least favoured by nature, have the strongest claims upon the commiseration and solicitude of society, no less from a regard to the public good than from the dictates of justice and humanity. Wealth created by men trained in accordance with the laws of their nature, is no longer misapplied, and ceases to be an object of inordinate desire. The only unquenchable desire is that of improvement, developed in infancy ; under the superintendence of skill and judgement, it not only grows with the growth, and strengthens with the strength, but retains its vivifying power to the latest period of existence.

You say that the principle of united interests encourages sympathy ; but will it not be confined to members of the same community ?

Mankind are assembled in communities only for the convenience of superior œconomy, in producing and distributing, and for the important purposes of education or the formation of character*. The same

* Education, in the true sense of the word, commences at the birth of the infant, and ends only with death.

principle which binds the members of one community to each other, unites all communities; for the happiness of each is advanced by the prosperity of all.

... How does this apply to communities widely separated from each other;—those, for instance, of Europe and New South Wales?

Because it is the interest of all countries that each should adopt those arrangements best calculated to yield, for exportation, the largest quantity of productions indigenous to the soil;—because, to the rightly constituted mind, the contemplation of order, beauty, and harmony is no less grateful in the moral than in the material world:—but chiefly, because the sympathy of man is more extensively gratified, and, when duly cultivated, is, in the range of its objects, circumscribed only by the globe itself*.

* “Is a social interest joined with others such an absurdity as not to be admitted? The bee, the beaver, and the tribes of herding animals, are enough to convince me, that the thing is, somewhere at least, possible. How then am I assured that it is not equally true of man?”

“I pursue this social interest as far as I can trace my several relations. I pass from my own stock, my own neighbourhood, my own nation, to the whole race of mankind as dispersed throughout the earth. Am I not related to them all by the mutual aids of commerce; by the general intercourse of arts and letters; by that common nature, of which we all participate?”—HARRIS.

CHAPTER IV.

“ With such foundations laid, avaunt the fear
Of numbers crowded on their native soil,
To the prevention of all healthful growth
Through mutual injury ! Rather in the law
Of increase, and the mandate from above,
Rejoice !—and ye have special cause for joy.”

WORDSWORTH.

CHARLES BERTRAND and myself had resolved upon a visit to one of the most influential writers of the day,—one indeed who, in our estimation, had succeeded in obtaining a command over the opinions of the opulent, which had proved destructive to the best interests of humanity. Whatever benevolence of feeling might be traced in some of the pages of the “*Essay on Population* ;” whatever redeeming clauses could be found for the harshness of some of the conclusions in the highly patronized work of the Rev. Mr. Malthus, and more particularly in the later editions, yet it could not be denied that the general effect of his lucubrations had been to check the efforts of those who aimed at any important diminution of the ills of life, while many who possessed the wealth and power of the country were too happy in finding an excuse for their indo-

lence, and for their indifference to the wants of the people, in the axioms of political œconomy deduced, and inscribed by the hallowed hand of a clergyman of the Church of England. Not long after the publication of the “ Essay on Population,” (nearly thirty years since,) Mr. Malthus sent forth a pamphlet, entitled, “ An Investigation of the Cause of the present high Price of Provisions ;” and, as if it was to be the fate of all his speculations to stay the hand of benevolence, he pronounced the cause to be “ the attempt in most parts of the kingdom, to increase the parish allowance in proportion to the price of corn.” Whether his reasoning was just or not, it does not appear to have been satisfactory to the reviewers, who condemned the performance with sound argument and in severe terms.

So sensible does Mr. Malthus appear to be of the tendency of his statements to arrest the efforts of benevolence, that no sooner has he alleged certain facts, which obviously expose him to this imputation, than a paragraph is introduced, urging society not to relax in promoting the comfort and welfare of the species : —not unlike a potentate calling upon his subjects to be free, while he held them securely enthralled by despotic institutions. He informs his readers, that if the people are placed beyond the reach or the apprehension of want, their numbers would

increase too rapidly, and lead to dreadful consequences. What movement was there on the part of the rich that indicated a desire to elevate the condition of the poor, even to a certain though bare subsistence? Christianity, as if contemplating a neglect of the humbler classes, abounds in eloquent and pathetic appeals to the best sympathies of mankind, in order to subdue selfishness and promote the spirit of charity; and how frequently are the ministers of religion of every denomination earnestly exhorting their audience to works of beneficence!—and yet destitution and misery prevail. Of all our clergy, Mr. Malthus alone has dreaded the overflowing of benevolence: by others it has not even been anticipated; for they complained that with all their persevering labours they could not sufficiently excite it; while Dr. Watson, when bishop of Llandaff, in allusion to the population theory, observed, that he should have considered the author much better employed, had he endeavoured to show how two blades of grass could be made to grow where one grew before. Mr. Malthus may reply, that in urging submission to a minor evil, he was warding off a greater. In the first edition of this too celebrated work, was the assertion that a certain number in society were inevitably renounced by nature. “A man who is born into a world already possessed,

if he cannot get subsistence from his parents, and if the society do not want his labour, has no claim of right to the smallest portion of food, and, in fact, has no business to be where he is. At Nature's mighty feast there is no vacant cover for him. She tells him to be gone, and will quickly execute her own orders." This paragraph was of too revolting a character, and too irreconcilable with the principles of justice and humanity, to withstand the successful assaults of more consistent and able writers, and accordingly it has been omitted in the later editions.

The morning we had appointed for our excursion to the College at Hertford was rather unpromising, which prevented our setting forward on foot, and we rode as far as Tottenham High Cross, when the sun broke forth. "Here," said Bertrand, "we will alight; for this is classic ground, endeared to memory as the opening scene of Walton's inimitable work." We walked at a slow pace; for the hour was early, and the country beautiful. "I have been considering," said I, "not only the immense importance of inducing Mr. Malthus to renounce his errors, but the almost insurmountable difficulties that present themselves. From the influence he now maintains over the public mind, his sanction to our plans, together with their intrinsic truth, would secure the general assent. On the other hand,

his whole life has been devoted to the support of certain opinions, and upon them has his reputation been raised. Alas, with what tenacity will he cling to such opinions !”

Bertrand.—I cannot persuade myself but that with a writer of so much celebrity, and a clergyman, a desire to benefit mankind must be the predominant wish ; and unless we meet with a perverseness which I am not prepared to expect, I shall be very sanguine of success. That we are all more or less subject to prejudice in favour of our own theories cannot be denied ; but recollect, we do not intend to dispute the fact of the liability of population to increase, but to maintain the practicability of the moral check, if any is necessary.

At this moment we were passing a cottage of remarkable neatness. The little garden in which it stood was in excellent order, and abounded in flowers. A group of little children, full of life and health, were playing upon a grass-plot in the centre. Bertrand paused ; and both of us, as if instinctively, leaned upon the pales to contemplate the lovely scene. After a silence of some minutes, Bertrand remarked, “ How sad is the reflection, that through the errors of society some of these innocents may be led astray, and doomed to a life of wretchedness ; that, through defect of education, their better faculties may not be cul-

tivated, or they may fall an easy prey to the excitement of riches, the temptations of want,—and folly, crime, and bitterness be their portion!”

Fitzosborne.—Do you then ascribe no influence to original sin, which I imagined formed a part of your creed?

Bertrand.—Original sin, or a natural propensity to evil, is too palpable to be denied. Observe that child striking another because he has snatched the flower from his hand:—what can you call that but the consequence of original sin?

Fitzosborne.—May it not be the effect of the selfish principle inherent in all the animal creation, implanted for their preservation, and the direction of which is, in man, improved by the gradual development of his sympathies and the growth of intelligence? Experience teaches him that the cultivation of benevolent feeling, while it promotes the welfare of others, produces in himself the most refined and exquisite enjoyment.

Bertrand.—So philosophically true is the Christian axiom, that “it is far more blessed to give than to receive;” for the benevolent man is, after all, the only possessor of true riches.

Fitzosborne.—Of all animals, none appear to be endowed with so little instinct, compared with his capacity for enjoyment, as man. In the rudest stages of society, none evince so much

ferocity, even towards those of their own species, or so much oppression of the weak by the strong. How few in remorseless cruelty can be compared with the cannibal! yet he is of the class destined to become "the paragon of animals, and in grace and action like a god." "There are many habits," says Bishop Butler, "not given us by nature, but which nature directs us to acquire."

Bertrand.—Would you resolve virtue and vice into knowledge and ignorance?

Fitzosborne.—Will not true knowledge lead to correct practice, and is not vice the offspring of ignorance?

On arriving at the College we were directed to the apartments occupied by Mr. Malthus, and Bertrand having sent in his letter of introduction, we were requested to enter. The Professor's table was strewn with papers, and he appeared to be occupied in preparing some work for publication. The letter which Bertrand brought, announced, it should seem, the object of our visit, and Mr. Malthus said, that he should be happy to explain any part of his work, for truth was his only object; that, notwithstanding his motives had been misconstrued, he was sincerely desirous of promoting the welfare of mankind, and of the poorer classes in particular. Of this Bertrand assured him we were fully sensible, or we should not have taken the liberty of calling

upon him ; there were, however, some remarks upon systems of equality which we were unable to reconcile with the general tenour of the book. Mr. Malthus reached down the volume, and requested him to read them ; at the same time desiring us to make our remarks with perfect freedom.—*Bertrand read as follows:—*

“ It was suggested to me, some years since, by
 “ persons for whose judgement I have a high re-
 “ spect, that it might be advisable, in a new edi-
 “ tion, to throw out the matter relative to systems
 “ of equality, to Wallace, Condorcet, and Godwin,
 “ as having in a considerable degree lost its in-
 “ terest*, and as not being strictly connected with
 “ the main subject of the Essay, which is an ex-
 “ planation and illustration of the theory of popu-
 “ lation. But, independently of its being natural
 “ for me to have some little partiality for that part
 “ of the work which led to those inquiries on

* “ We are so entirely governed by considerations of private interest, so little alive to the advantages of communities, so little disposed to afford one another assistance, and to live in harmony, that we hold for chimerical all that is told us concerning a society which is reasonable enough to put its goods and its labours in common. Yet, both ancient and modern history furnish several examples of this sort. The Lacedæmonians, so renowned among the Greeks, formed a republic in the exact sense of the term; since what is called property was almost unknown to them. The same may be said of the Essenians among the Jews, of the Gymnosophists among the Indians. We have even something of the kind in the establishment of the Clerks of the Common Life, (described by

“ which the main subject rests, I really think
 “ that there should be somewhere on record an
 “ answer to systems of equality founded on the
 “ principle of population.”

Fitzosborne.—From this opening paragraph it should appear that you consider your principle of population established in the public mind, and that you calculate upon your book becoming a standard work of reference.

Mr. Malthus.—The multiplicity of facts adduced in support of my theory could not fail to render it unassailable; and accordingly it is appealed to by almost every individual high in authority.—

Bertrand proceeded :—

“ The appearances in all human societies, particularly in all those which are furthest advanced
 “ in civilization and improvement, will be ever
 Mosheim in his Ecclesiastical History,) who formed a community towards the middle of the seventeenth century.

“ But more particularly in the province of Auvergne we have some ancient families of cultivators, who have lived from time immemorial in a perfect association, and who may be rightly considered the Moravians of France; and we are informed that a similar society has been established these twenty or thirty years. At the head of the communities of Auvergne are placed the Quinard Pitou as the most ancient, and able to prove five hundred years of association. We hear also of the Arnauuds, the Pradels, the Bonnemoys, the Tournels, and the Anglades, ancient and wise villagers, whose origin is lost in remote ages, and whose habitations are situated in the barony of Thiers in Auvergne, where they are solely occupied in cultivating their own lands.”—*Encyclopédie*, article “*Moraves.*”

“ such as to inspire superficial observers with a
“ belief that a prodigious change for the better
“ might be effected by the introduction of a system
“ of equality and of common property. They see
“ abundance in some quarters, and want in others;
“ and the natural and obvious remedy seems to be
“ an equal division of the produce. They see a
“ prodigious quantity of human exertion wasted
“ upon trivial, useless, and sometimes pernicious
“ objects, which might either be wholly saved or
“ more effectively employed. They see invention
“ after invention in machinery brought forward,
“ which is seemingly calculated, in the most mark-
“ ed manner, to abate the sum of human toil. Yet
“ with these apparent means of giving plenty,
“ leisure and happiness to all, they still see the la-
“ hours of the great mass of society undiminished,
“ and their condition, if not deteriorated, in no
“ very striking and palpable manner improved.”

Bertrand.—We must not expect to escape the censure here cast upon all the advocates of equality:—but may I take the liberty of inquiring if you esteem Plato, Lord Bacon, and Sir Thomas More superficial observers? and yet the Republic, Atlantis, and Utopia were founded upon a principle of equal property.

Mr. Malthus.—Those works were composed as amusing stories, and not in earnest advocacy of any great moral principle.

Fitzosborne.—But I think, Sir, it was not in the character of Lord Bacon to write tales of mere pleasantry; nor is it probable that we should have had the Atlantis, unless it was intended to convey some important but neglected truths. The Gaudentio de Lucca of Bishop Berkeley is another instance of the principle of equal interests attracting the notice of an acute and powerful mind.

Bertrand.—I suspect, Sir, that the cause of the revival of speculations upon systems of mutual aid, is rather to be found in their intrinsic truth and justice, which must for ever rescue them from total oblivion, however they may for a time be obscured.—*Bertrand read on:—*

“A gentleman, for whom I have a very sincere
 “respect—Mr. Owen of Lanark—has lately pub-
 “lished a work, entitled ‘A New View of So-
 “ciety,’ which is intended to prepare the public
 “mind for the introduction of a system involving
 “a community of labour and of goods. It is
 “also generally known that an idea has lately
 “prevailed among some of the lower classes of
 “society, that the land is the people’s farm, the
 “rent of which ought to be divided equally
 “among them; and that they have been deprived
 “of the benefits which belong to them from this
 “their natural inheritance, by the injustice and
 “oppression of their stewards, the landlords.

“ Mr. Owen is, I believe, a man of real bene-
“ volence, who has done much good ; and every
“ friend to humanity must heartily wish him suc-
“ cess in his endeavours to procure an Act of
“ Parliament for limiting the hours of working
“ among the children in the cotton manufactories,
“ and preventing them from being employed at
“ too early an age. He is further entitled to
“ great attention on all subjects relating to edu-
“ cation, from the experience and knowledge
“ which he must have gained in an intercourse
“ of many years with two thousand manufac-
“ turers, and from the success which is said to
“ have resulted from his modes of management.
“ A theory professed to be founded on such ex-
“ perience, is, no doubt, worthy of much more
“ consideration than one formed in a closet.

“ Of the two decisive arguments against such
“ systems, one is, the unsuitableness of a state
“ of equality, both according to experience and
“ theory, to the production of those stimulants to
“ exertion which can alone overcome the natural
“ indolence of man, and prompt him to the proper
“ cultivation of the earth, and the fabrication of
“ those conveniences and comforts which are
“ necessary to his happiness. And the other, the
“ inevitable and necessary poverty and misery in
“ which every system of equality must shortly
“ terminate, from the acknowledged tendency of

“ the human race to increase faster than the
 “ means of subsistence, unless such increase be
 “ prevented by means infinitely more cruel than
 “ those which result from the laws of private pro-
 “ perty, and the moral obligation imposed on
 “ every man by the commands of God and na-
 “ ture to support his own children.”

Fitzosborne.—In the passage last read, you appear to be entering upon the examination of Mr. Owen’s system, as if it was identified with some other. Who is the author of “The New Doctrines relating to Land”?

Mr. Malthus.—Spence, who recommended a division of land among the people as their natural right.

Fitzosborne.—But as Mr. Owen did not advance any claims upon that principle, and as he appealed to the nation at large, inviting them to an investigation of his views, on account of their tendency to secure the prosperity of all, is it just to confound his work with that of a political writer, whom you insinuate was a designing man? Besides, there is great indistinctness in mixing up the two systems.

Mr. Malthus.—Both systems require the occupation of land, which is private property.

Fitzosborne.—But is there not a wide difference between an invitation to the possessors of land to apply it to a purpose more beneficial to them-

selves and others,—and urging the people to a forcible possession?

Bertrand.—You say that Mr. Owen is entitled to attention on all subjects relating to education, and that his theory, being founded on experience, is superior to the studies of the closet?

Mr. Malthus.—Certainly.

Bertrand.—Now Mr. Owen, after thirty years experience in education, and in the management of a class of men the least likely to be actuated by enlarged views, pronounces it to be perfectly practicable to provide not only a sufficient stimulus to exertion under a system of equal distribution, but also the moral check which you deem so essential.

Fitzosborne.—But, without the experience of an individual, I should have thought that a satisfactory reply to these apprehensions might be found in the principles of human nature. In many parts of your work you have stated that the higher and middling classes refrain from marrying for a time, rather than forgo those advantages which they derive from spending their incomes exclusively upon themselves,—that they look forward to the consequences of early marriages, and prudently wait. Can it then for a moment be supposed, that with a highly intellectual and in every respect well-educated people, the moral check would be less influential,

especially if this tendency should become alarmingly evident?—*Bertrand* proceeded:—

“ The first of these arguments has, I confess, always appeared to my own mind sufficiently conclusive. A state, in which an inequality of conditions offers the natural rewards of good conduct, and inspires widely and generally the hopes of rising and the fears of falling in society, is unquestionably the best calculated to develope the energies and faculties of man, and the best suited to the exercise and improvement of human virtue. And history, in every case of equality that has yet occurred, has uniformly borne witness to the depressing and deadening effects which arise from the want of this stimulus*. But still, perhaps, it may be true that neither experience nor theory on this subject is quite so decisive as to preclude all

* “ Were all this satisfactorily proved as to the *past* conduct of the great mass of mankind, it would only prove that great evils had been hitherto experienced by this great mass, the ignorant part of mankind, from want of prudence respecting the increase of numbers. It would by no means prove that these evils were irremediable, that prudence could not be acquired, and that those evils must proceed for ever, because they had hitherto existed. Arguments like these are the eternal sophisms of ignorance. ‘ These evils exist; I do not know how they may be avoided; therefore they must remain for ever.’ Such arguments were once equally cogent when applied to physical science; it is time that moral, should be as free from the precedents of past ignorance as physical, science.”—*Thompson on the Distribution of Wealth*, p. 536.

“ plausible arguments on the other side. It
“ may be said that the instances which history
“ records of systems of equality really carried
“ into execution, are so few, and those in so-
“ cieties so little advanced from a state of bar-
“ barism, as to afford no fair conclusions rela-
“ tive to periods of great civilization and im-
“ provement; that in other instances in ancient
“ times, where approaches were made toward a
“ tolerable equality of conditions, examples of
“ considerable energy of character in some lines
“ of exertion are not unfrequent; and that in
“ modern times, some societies, particularly of
“ Moravians, are known to have had much of
“ their property in common, without occasioning
“ the destruction of their industry. It may be
“ said that, allowing the stimulus of inequality
“ of conditions to have been necessary, in order
“ to raise man from the indolence and apathy
“ of the savage to the activity and intelligence
“ of civilized life, it does not follow that the con-
“ tinuance of the same stimulus should be ne-
“ cessary when this activity and energy of mind
“ has been once gained. It may *then* be allowed
“ quietly to enjoy the benefit of a regimen, which,
“ like many other stimulants, having produced
“ its proper effect at a certain point, must be
“ left off, or exhaustion, disease and death will
“ follow.

“ These observations are certainly not of a
 “ nature to produce conviction in those who
 “ have studied the human character ; but they
 “ are to a certain degree plausible, and do not
 “ admit of so definite and decisive an answer
 “ as to make the proposal for an experiment in
 “ modern times utterly absurd and unreasonable.”

Fitzosborne.—You have not mentioned one of the instances of equality of property in ancient or in modern times, excepting that of the Moravians, which is the most imperfect example of all, —although it is notorious that many societies of the Shakers and of the Harmonists have long flourished upon this principle, and are still increasing in wealth. You notice not the Essenes mentioned by Josephus, or the celebrated establishments of the Jesuits in Paraguay*. But

* A remarkable example occurs in a society formed by the Jesuits in South America. About the beginning of the seventeenth century they obtained admission into the fertile province of Paraguay, which stretches across the southern continent of America, from the bottom of the mountains of Potosi to the confines of the Spanish and the Portuguese settlements on the banks of the river De la Plata. They found the inhabitants in a state little different from that which obtains among men when they first begin to unite together ; strangers to the arts, subsisting precariously by hunting or fishing, and hardly acquainted with the first principles of subordination and government.

The Jesuits set themselves to instruct and to civilize these savages. They taught them to cultivate the ground, to rear tame animals, and to build houses. They brought them to

really, Sir, after such an enormous increase in the application of scientific power to almost every branch of industry, as will render the employment of each individual for two hours in the day adequate to the liberal supply of his wants, it is quite unnecessary to fear the absence of sufficient stimuli.

Mr. Malthus.—But you cannot use machinery in agriculture.

Fitzosborne.—If we could, it would not be deemed desirable, since there cannot be a more

live together in villages. They trained them to arts and manufactures. They made them taste the sweets of society, and accustomed them to the blessings of security and order. These people became the subjects of their benefactors, who governed them with a tender attention, resembling that with which a father directs his children. Respected and beloved almost to adoration, a few Jesuits presided over some hundred thousand Indians. They maintained a perfect equality among all the members of the community. Each of them was obliged to labour not for himself alone, but for the public. The produce of their fields, together with the fruits of their industry of every species, were deposited in a common storehouse, from which each individual received everything necessary for the supply of his wants. By this institution, almost all the passions which disturb the peace of society and render the members of it unhappy, were extinguished. A few magistrates, chosen by the Indians themselves, watched over the public tranquillity, and secured obedience to the law. The sanguinary punishments frequent under other governments were unknown. An admonition from a Jesuit, a slight mark of infamy, or on some singular occasion a few lashes with a whip, were sufficient to maintain good order among these innocent and happy people.

healthful occupation for human beings; and when we take into consideration the facility with which the articles of clothing, and all other requisites, not excepting food, can be produced, through the aid of mechanic power, there will be so much time left for agricultural operations, that they will not be more toilsome than gardening.

Bertrand.—You observe, Sir, that the new state of society will not offer the natural rewards of good conduct. What is deemed a natural reward in one stage of society is contemned in another. The savage is rewarded in the hunt, by his prey; the shepherd is rewarded for anxiously tending his flock, by its preservation. Now when, through the aids of science, man has obtained a superfluity of food and clothing, and so far perfected education, that the most rational desires can be generated, the natural rewards are the improvement of his nature, and his consequent happiness. To define the immediate objects of his wishes: having secured the best food, clothing and habitation, he desires intelligent and agreeable society, extensive libraries, the most complete philosophical apparatus, and facility of access to lectures and concert-rooms; he desires to behold his children receiving the best education, and under circumstances calculated to develop their highest faculties and best dispositions; he desires that in the event of his death his children

may find parents in all the elders of the community, and affectionate brothers and sisters in all the other children. Can it really be supposed that intelligent minds, formed especially to appreciate these advantages, could be deficient in that prudence, energy, and exalted character, necessary to their conservation?

Mr. Malthus.—I have stated that the proposal for an experiment is not utterly absurd and unreasonable.

Fitzosborne.—But as you know that both Houses of Parliament have for years experienced considerable difficulty in disposing of the question of pauperism, and are also aware of the deference paid to your opinions, may I inquire why you have not *earnestly recommended* an experiment?

Mr. Malthus.—If you proceed, you will find some cogent reasons for my silence on the subject.
—*Reading continued.*

“ It is a very superficial observation which
 “ has sometimes been made, that it is a con-
 “ tradiction to lay great stress upon the efficacy
 “ of moral restraint in an improved and im-
 “ proving state of society, according to the pre-
 “ sent structure of it; and yet to suppose that
 “ it would not act with sufficient force in a
 “ system of equality, which almost always pre-
 “ supposes a great diffusion of information, and

“ a great improvement of the human mind.
 “ Those who have made this observation do not
 “ see that the encouragement and motive to
 “ moral restraint are at once destroyed in a
 “ system of equality and community of goods*.”

Fitzosborne.—You yourself furnish so complete a refutation to your own objections, that if the opulent were not prejudiced in favour of your principle of population, they might be left to neutralize each other†. Even if the moral restraint

* “ The contradictions of Mr. Malthus multiply on every separate topic. He talks of the wisdom of the Author of nature, ‘ which is apparent in all his works ;’ and again, ‘ the laws of nature, which are the laws of God.’ Yet how grievously he charges with evil these same laws in the following words,—‘ that though human institutions appear to be, and indeed often are, the obvious and obtrusive causes of much mischief to mankind, they are in reality light and superficial in comparison with the deep-rooted causes of evil, which result from the *laws of nature* and the passions of mankind.

Est operæ pretium duplicis pernoscere juris
 Naturam.’

This is truly a new way of reasoning from nature’s laws to nature’s God.”—*Enso on Population.*

† “ After an examination of the various systems of equality of Condorcet, Wallace, Godwin, and Owen, through sixty-six pages, Mr. Malthus triumphantly remarks, ‘ The impossibility of checking the rate of increase in a state of equality, without resorting to regulations that are unnatural, immoral, or cruel, forms an argument at once conclusive against every such system.’ If Plato, in his Republic, suggested means for restricting population that were ‘ unnatural and cruel,’ why must other systems necessarily adopt the same means? But we

depended solely upon the fear of wanting food, clothing and habitation, men of comprehensive minds and of superior training would observe some general rule. But as this fear cannot prevail where an ample supply is always at hand, let us inquire whether there are other objects, the desire of which is equally operative. In another place, you state that the higher and middling classes of society frequently live in celibacy for the sake of "rising in the world," or, in other words, for the sake of obtaining public esteem; to secure which, they submit to disagreeable forms and customs, to inconvenient and ridiculous fashions. In a rational state of society, this public esteem will be bestowed on the most valuable qualities and the most exemplary conduct; the means to obtain which, would be such as are most congenial to enlightened minds; so that, according to your hypothesis, men will make less

will venture to say, and we are borne out by facts, that systems of equality are the *only* constitutions of society in which we can be certain that 'the moral restraint,' if necessary, can be generally adopted. At this time there are societies in America, the Shakers and the Harmonists, in which marriages are forbidden in their systems of religion; and ecclesiastical history records many societies devoted to celibacy. After these proofs that the passions can be altogether subdued by education, early imbibed opinions and institutions, can there remain any doubt of the possibility of their beneficial regulation in societies composed of beings of superior intellectual attainments?"—*Remarks on the Practicability of Mr. Owen's System.*

sacrifice to obtain public esteem when it is in conformity with, than when opposed to, their own inclination and judgement.—*Bertrand continued:—*

“ Let us suppose that in a system of equality,
 “ in spite of the best exertions to procure more
 “ food, the population is pressing hard against
 “ the limits of subsistence, and all are becoming
 “ very poor. It is evidently necessary, under
 “ these circumstances, in order to prevent the
 “ society from starving, that the rate at which
 “ the population increases should be retarded.
 “ But who are the persons that are to exercise
 “ the restraint thus called for, and either to
 “ marry late, or not at all? It does not seem
 “ to be a necessary consequence of a system of
 “ equality, that all the human passions should
 “ be at once extinguished by it; but if not,
 “ those who might wish to marry would feel it
 “ hard that they should be among the number
 “ forced to restrain their inclinations. As all
 “ would be equal and in similar circumstances,
 “ there would be no reason whatever why one
 “ individual should think himself obliged to
 “ practise the duty of restraint more than an-
 “ other. The thing however must be done, with
 “ any hope of avoiding universal misery; and
 “ in a state of equality, the necessary restraint
 “ could only be effected by some general law.

“ But how is this law to be supported, and how
 “ are the violations of it to be punished? Is
 “ the man who marries early to be pointed at
 “ with the finger of scorn? Is he to be whipped
 “ at the cart’s tail? Is he to be confined for
 “ years in a prison? Is he to have his children
 “ exposed? Are not all direct punishments for
 “ an offence of this kind shocking and unnatural
 “ to the last degree?”

Bertrand.—Admitting for one moment that your predictions as to the rapid increase of population, why cannot emigration be resorted to? You assume that population is always pressing upon the means of subsistence, and then you triumphantly demand a rational reply. I maintain, that as long as there is sufficient land, every new-born child is to a community an increase to its power of producing wealth, inasmuch as every individual can produce far more than he can consume. When any given space has yielded all that it is capable of, other territories can be possessed, until the whole earth is cultivated.

Fitzosborne.—It should therefore appear, Sir, that your speculation as to the people becoming poor, through those means that have always created wealth, is a vague hypothesis; and the language about “ the finger of scorn, and the cart’s tail,” was scarcely to have been expected from a philosopher and a divine. The ridicule with

which you affect to treat a subject that you are wholly incapable of subverting by argument, is a proof of the weakness of your cause.

Mr. Malthus.—And have I not been treated with ridicule and every species of vulgar abuse?

Fitzosborne.—Certainly not by Mr. Owen.—
Reading resumed:—

“ And yet, if it be absolutely necessary, in
“ order to prevent the most overwhelming wretch-
“ edness, that there should be some restraint on
“ the tendency to early marriages, when the re-
“ sources of the country are only sufficient to
“ support a slow rate of increase, can the most
“ fertile imagination conceive one at once so
“ natural, so just, so consonant to the laws of
“ God and to the best laws framed by the most
“ enlightened men, as that each individual should
“ be responsible for the maintenance of his own
“ children ; that is, that he should be subjected
“ to the natural inconveniences and difficulties
“ arising from the indulgence of his inclinations,
“ and to no other whatever ? ”

Fitzosborne.—If by the laws of God you mean the laws of nature, those laws are different in different stages of society ; the savage acts in obedience to the laws of nature, when, regardless of the children of others, he seeks the protection and support of his own ; the civilized man conforms to the laws of nature when time and expe-

rience have taught him, that by uniting in society and engaging with others in mutual aid, he will ensure that protection and support with greater certainty.

Bertrand.—But if by the laws of God you refer to sacred history, there it is expressly said, “He shall save the children of the needy:” and the New Testament abounds in exhortations to the practice of general benevolence, in which the care of children cannot be excluded. But what laws in particular do you mean as having been framed by the most enlightened men?

Mr. Malthus.—The general laws of Europe, which are all founded upon a principle of inequality.

Fitzosborne.—The principle of inequality was established by conquerors; and enlightened men, under the controul of the interested and powerful of subsequent times, enacted laws to protect existing institutions. Besides, there are no “inconveniences and difficulties” from an increase in the number of children, excepting those which arise from the disorganized state of society: as men can create more than they can consume, every new-born infant is an enlargement of the power of creating wealth.—*Bertrand read on:*—

“That this natural check to early marriages, arising from a view of the difficulty attending the support of a large family, operates very

“ widely throughout all classes of society in every
 “ civilized state, and may be expected to be still
 “ more effective as the lower classes of people
 “ continue to improve in knowledge and pru-
 “ dence, cannot admit of the slightest doubt.
 “ But the operation of this natural check de-
 “ pends exclusively upon the existence of the
 “ laws of property and succession ; and in a state
 “ of equality and community of property, could
 “ only be replaced by some artificial regulation
 “ of a very different stamp and a much more un-
 “ natural character.”

Bertrand.—The continuance of the present system imposes a restraint much more severely upon the working, than upon the other classes. Without presuming to infringe in the smallest degree upon any of the privileged orders of society, I must be allowed to maintain, in behalf of the poor, that their birth-rights ought to be held as sacred as those of any of the other ranks. The distinctions of society are the work of men’s hands; but the former are the gifts of a beneficent Creator, bestowed equally on all. Indeed, it should appear to be the peculiar duty of those born in more favoured stations, to watch over and protect the rights of the less fortunate part of mankind ; to be solicitous that, as they were destitute of many advantages peculiar to the other classes, they should not be abridged in the

enjoyment of those blessings which it was the evident design of Providence should be common to the human race. Are not the privations of the poor sufficiently numerous, but that we must also take from them the pleasures of the exercise of the social affections? If none are to marry but those who can obtain adequate wages, we may dismiss our fears of a redundant population, since the present race of paupers must soon be extinct.—*Reading continued* :—

“ Of this Mr. Owen is fully sensible, and has,
 “ in consequence, taxed his ingenuity to the ut-
 “ most to invent some mode by which the diffi-
 “ culties arising from the progress of population
 “ could be got rid of, in the state of society to
 “ which he looks forward. His absolute inability
 “ to suggest any mode of accomplishing this ob-
 “ ject, that is not unnatural, immoral, or cruel
 “ in a high degree, together with the same want
 “ of success in every other person, ancient or
 “ modern, who has made a similar attempt, seems
 “ to show that the argument against systems of
 “ equality, founded on the principle of popula-
 “ tion, does not admit of a plausible answer even
 “ in theory.”

Bertrand.—I think, Sir, you are in error in stating that Mr. Owen has endeavoured to devise means to check a rapid progress in the increase of population. He neither admits the probability

of a rapid increase, nor deprecates it if it should occur;—much less has he devoted much time or argument to the overthrow of a theory which he deems palpably false and delusive. If you had his works, I could point out a passage in which he gives a conclusive and brief reply to this objection to the social system.

Mr. Malthus.—His works are here; and you can turn to the passage to which you refer.

Bertrand.—It is at the end of the third Essay, on “The Formation of Character;” and, with your permission, I will read it:—

“ Mr. Malthus is however correct, when he
 “ says that the population of the world is ever
 “ adapting itself to the quantity of food raised
 “ for its support; but he has not told us how
 “ much more food an intelligent and industrious
 “ people will create from the same soil, than will
 “ be produced by one ignorant and ill-governed.
 “ It is however as one to infinity.

“ For man knows not the limit to his power
 “ of creating food. How much has this power
 “ been latterly increased in these islands! And
 “ in them such knowledge is in its infancy. Yet
 “ compare even this power of raising food with
 “ the efforts of the Bosgemens or other savages,
 “ and it will be found, perhaps, as one to a thou-
 “ sand.

“ Food for man may be also considered as a

“ compound of the original elements ; of the
 “ qualities, combinations, and controul of which,
 “ chemistry is daily adding to our knowledge ;
 “ nor is it *yet* for man to say to what this know-
 “ ledge may lead, or where it may end.

“ The sea, it may be remarked also, affords an
 “ inexhaustible source of food. It may, then,
 “ be safely asserted, that the population of the
 “ world may be allowed naturally to increase for
 “ many thousand years ; and yet, under a sy-
 “ stem of government founded on the principles
 “ for the truth of which we contend, the whole
 “ may continue to live, in abundance and hap-
 “ piness, without one check of vice or misery ;
 “ and under the guidance of these principles, hu-
 “ man labour, properly directed, may be made
 “ far more than sufficient to enable the popula-
 “ tion of the world to live in the highest state of
 “ human enjoyment.”

Mr. Malthus.—Now read the concluding para-
 graph of my last chapter :—

“ The fact of the tendency of population to
 “ increase beyond the means of subsistence, may
 “ be seen in almost every register of a country
 “ parish in the kingdom. The unavoidable effect
 “ of this tendency to depress the whole body of
 “ the people in want and misery, unless the pro-
 “ gress of the population be somehow or other
 “ retarded, is equally obvious ; and the impossi-

“ bility of checking the rate of increase in a
 “ state of equality, without resorting to regula-
 “ tions that are unnatural, immoral, or cruel,
 “ forms an argument at once conclusive against
 “ every such system.”

Fitzosborne.—I do not understand how the parish registers can furnish any proofs of the correctness of your theory. The interposition of unjust laws and the monopoly of land, may deprive human beings of the means of subsistence; but this is no proof of superfluity of numbers or of inadequate fertility in the soil.

Mr. Malthus.—I have heard no argument to induce me to retract any of my statements, and I still believe they will be found incontrovertible.—I have now an appointment which calls me away; but I shall at any other time be willing to resume this inquiry.

After thanking Mr. Malthus for his attention, we quitted the college, convinced that the only objection,—that of excess of population and the want of sufficient stimuli to exertion,—had been satisfactorily refuted by other writers.

CHAPTER V.

“ The harmony and happiness of man
Yields to the wealth of nations ; that which lifts
His nature to the heaven of its pride
Is barter’d for the poison of his soul.”

SHELLEY.

AFTER the lapse of a few years, the public appeared to regard the “ New Views ” as a by-gone subject, upon which general reprobation had been pronounced : the journals seldom would admit into their columns any letter upon a theme no longer exciting any public interest, and which had apparently fallen into oblivion. It is true, that no individual of any literary eminence had ventured an opinion ; and if the Quarterly or Edinburgh Reviews had deigned to notice it, they had commented upon the scheme as belonging to the question of the Poor Laws, and not as a system of polity derived from a careful examination of the laws of human nature. The few individuals who had felt a conviction of the truth of the principles were widely scattered, and had no opportunity of communicating with, or were perhaps unknown to, each other. Yet, if the knowledge of the science was not imbibed by

many, it failed not to make a deep impression upon those who understood it; for however baffled in their attempts, they always persevered in devising means of circulating truth, confident “that silence would not retard its progress, and opposition would give increased celerity to its movements*.”

I was so dispirited by repeated failures to induce influential men to investigate the subject, that I had repeatedly determined to give up the task as hopeless, and endeavour to pass on with the stream, participating in the general amusements and pursuits; but upon every topic of popular interest, it was necessary either to observe silence, or revert to first principles in justification of opinions so opposed to the prevailing doctrines in politics and morals. This course was troublesome to those unaccustomed to penetrate below the surface, or who had adopted opinions without inquiry; and yet there remained no alternative, unless by seeming to assent to propositions at variance with my own sentiments, and practise a species of deception to which I had the strongest aversion. But the progress of

* “Reformation is a work of time. A national taste, however wrong it may be, cannot be totally changed at once; we must yield a little to the prepossession which has taken hold on the mind, and we may then bring people to adopt what would offend them, if endeavoured to be introduced by violence.”—SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS.

crime continually arrested my attention; and often would the melancholy recital of punishments and executions, private distresses, and plunder, seem to reproach me for supineness in not exerting my humble efforts in the cause until others, better qualified, came forward in its support. But, perhaps, the most painful circumstance of all was the gradual decline of sympathy between myself and my more intimate friends, who were tenacious of old opinions. Well do I remember the severe terms with which one, whom I sincerely respected, denounced the principle of the formation of character, when I had submitted it to his examination. Suspecting danger from the inquiry, he turned away with feelings and expressions of antipathy, that condemned me to silence; for in such conflicts I was unaccustomed and unwilling to engage. Reflection, however, satisfied him that he had acted wrong; for on the following morning he called upon me, offered a humble apology for his intemperate language, and assured me that he entertained as high an opinion of me as ever. This manly conduct, so highly creditable to himself, increased my regard and respect. Still, however, the want of congeniality in our opinions and views has estranged us from each other; and the determination on his part to avoid the subject will probably prevent our intimacy from being resumed. This disinclination

to investigate has been much strengthened by the intemperate language of those converts who are ignorant of the true spirit of that which they profess to teach.

In the year 1818, I published a small pamphlet, endeavouring to prove the practicability of the scheme and its harmony with Christian principles. The Dedication, addressed to Mr. Wilberforce, contained the following paragraphs :—

“ Your name is intimately associated with so
“ many subjects, involving the welfare of man-
“ kind, that any apology for this address might
“ be construed into a doubt of your sincerity ;
“ but, besides the zealous interest which you
“ are known to exert in benevolent objects, there
“ is another reason which induces me to appeal
“ to you upon the present occasion. If I mis-
“ take not, you always consider political mea-
“ sures abstractedly from the individuals with
“ whom they originate ; and although those who
“ are accustomed to decide from preconceived
“ opinions cannot understand the conscientious
“ deliberations of a mind sincerely desirous of
“ distinguishing truth from prejudice, yet a re-
“ trospect of your parliamentary conduct will not
“ fail to convince impartial observers of the con-
“ sistency of your intentions. Your views re-
“ garding our foreign relations have been mis-

“ understood, when they were held subordinate
“ to those higher considerations which, as they
“ appeal to our moral character, contributed to
“ the real strength, and to the dignity and glory
“ of the empire. You have shown, that ‘ Chris-
“ tianity, in its regards, steps beyond the nar-
“ row bound of national advantage in quest of
“ universal good. It does not encourage parti-
“ cular patriotism in opposition to general benign-
“ ity ; or prompt us to love our country at the
“ expense of our integrity ; or allow us to in-
“ dulse our passions to the detriment of thou-
“ sands. It looks upon all the human race as
“ children of the same Father, and wishes them
“ equal blessings : in ordering us to do good, to
“ love our brethren, to forgive injuries, and to
“ study peace, it quite annihilates the disposi-
“ tion for martial glory, and utterly debases the
“ pomp of war.’ Many years have passed away
“ since you first gave to the world a ‘ Treatise
“ on Practical Christianity,’ and you have exhi-
“ bited in the long career of your public life a
“ splendid illustration of its principles.”

A copy was sent to Mr. Wilberforce, who ac-
knowledged it in the following note.

“ SIR,—I return you many thanks for your
“ obliging communication, and it is all I can
“ now do, having a complaint in my eyes, which

“ allows me to write very little, and to read
 “ scarcely at all, while my amanuensis is indis-
 “ posed.

“ I am, Sir,

“ Your most obedient servant,

“ W. WILBERFORCE.”

It was not honoured with any further notice by Mr. Wilberforce.

In the autumn of 1821, I visited Edinburgh, where I had an opportunity of meeting at a party the Professor who at that time filled the chair of Moral Philosophy. Upon this occasion, I expected to hear the objections of the Professor, since he had not publicly given the system his support, which I concluded he would have done had it met with his sanction. Dr. Barclay, Professor of Anatomy, was also present, and although the lady who presided earnestly desired an investigation of the subject, there appeared an unwillingness to entertain it. I passed over to Glasgow, having provided myself with letters of introduction to Dr. Chalmers, by whom I was received with politeness, and invited to breakfast on the following morning. I returned elated to the house, not doubting that the author of the “ Civic Economy of large Towns” was the accomplished individual I had so long sought for,—one who would point out the error in the “New

Views", or avow his approbation. I arrived when the family were at prayers; another clergyman was present: but how great was my disappointment in finding the same disinclination to promote inquiry as at Edinburgh, notwithstanding I tried various expedients to bring it on! At parting, the Doctor informed me that the plans of relief, so interesting to me, he had not particularly investigated; but from what he had noticed in the newspapers, the principles both of theology and of political œconomy were not in accordance with his own. I was much surprised when he added that he had not visited New Lanark, although within fifteen miles of his residence, and so illustrious from the successful experiments made by a Company formed solely for benevolent purposes. This, from a minister of the Gospel, who had devoted his attention to political œconomy with the object of protecting the lower classes, was to me at the time incomprehensible. Whatever judgement might have been formed regarding some of the opinions of Mr. Owen, he had given the most unequivocal proofs of the honesty of his intentions,—this was admitted by all. Besides expending large sums in benefiting the population of New Lanark, he had subscribed one thousand pounds to the Lancasterian schools, and five hundred pounds to Dr. Bell's; and that these sums could not have been advanced with any

sinister view, the tenour of his whole life was an ample guarantee ;—besides, in the New Lanark works, he was associated with Mr. Bentham, Mr. William Allen, and several other members of the Society of Friends.

Before leaving Scotland I intended visiting the Highlands, and early one morning went in a steam-boat from the Bromielaw to Dumbarton. We had not proceeded far, before our pleasures were somewhat interrupted by one of the unhappy results of competition. Another steamer going for the same destination, in its endeavours to take in passengers, ran foul of our boat, and great alarm was excited. The hilarity of the morning was destroyed by this untoward event, and more particularly as it produced an abundance of angry feeling and vituperation between the commanders. The vessels were separated without any material injury, and we glided rapidly down the beautiful and expanding Clyde. The morning was remarkably fine, and the numerous vessels going to and returning from Greenock added considerable spirit to the scene. From Dumbarton a coach took the passengers to Loch Lomond, where we embarked on board another steam-vessel, which conveyed us among the wooded islands of different sizes, but displaying a variety of form and beauty, until we reached Tarbert, immediately opposite to the sublime elevation of Ben Lomond.

I took up my quarters at the inn, intending to ascend the mountain on the following morning, when, however, I was prevented by the rain, which came down in torrents nearly the whole day. The post brought me letters from London, and the prospectus of a plan similar to that of Mr. Owen's, but having Christianity for its basis. It was drawn up, I believe, by Mr. William Allen and Mrs. Fry; at all events their names were at the foot of the paper. Having been informed that Mr. Jeffery, the editor of the Edinburgh Review, was in an adjoining house, in the garden connected with the inn, I could not suffer the opportunity to be lost of endeavouring to obtain an interview. Accordingly I sent the papers to him, accompanied by a note, which I hoped would have led to a personal conference.

In the course of the day I received the following reply:—

“ SIR,—Mr. Owen is a very old friend of
“ mine, and I believe there are not many per-
“ sons who are more fully acquainted with the
“ scope of his speculations. With the greatest
“ esteem for his character, and the greatest
“ admiration for the zeal and ingenuity with
“ which he has arranged many details of the
“ utmost utility, I must say, that I have a very
“ decided opinion as to the fallacy of what he
“ calls his system, and what he speaks of as his

“ discovery. In these I am firmly persuaded,
 “ not only that there is no merit, but that any
 “ attempt to act upon them must be attended
 “ with the most pernicious effects.

“ The scheme to which the venerable names
 “ of William Allen and Elizabeth Fry are an-
 “ nexed, disclaims, I observe, all sanction of that
 “ system. There are not many names to which
 “ a good man would less hesitate to subjoin his
 “ name, without inquiry, in any plan of practi-
 “ cal benevolence, and it is very likely that I
 “ may soon seek to honour myself by such an
 “ association ; but there are reasons which must
 “ withhold me at present from pledging myself
 “ even to this slight support of any of Mr. Owen’s
 “ suggestions, out of the sphere of his own manu-
 “ factory.

“ With every sense of the amiableness of the
 “ motives which have led you to take a casual
 “ opportunity of trying to do good, and of the
 “ honour you do me in every sense, I have the
 “ honour to be,

“ Sir,

“ Your obliged and faithful servant,

“ F. JEFFERY.”

“*Tarbert, Sept. 2, 1821.*”

Thus had I no less reason for despair in my application to Mr. Jeffery. His reply precluded me from any further overture, or it would have

been peculiarly interesting to ascertain the nature of those "pernicious effects" that were to arise from a constitution of society founded upon principles of truth and justice. With regard to the merit of the discovery, if there were any point upon which the projector had been most earnest, it was in disclaiming any originality in the principles of the "New Views," or even in their combination, which he attributed to John Bellers, who published the prospectus of a plan nearly two centuries back. But whatever Mr. Owen may renounce, to him alone are we indebted for indicating the *practical* means of securing, through a union of efforts, in lieu of isolated exertion, the general welfare and happiness of mankind. He was the first who distinctly defined the fundamental characters of the old and new systems, when he ascribed to the former a belief that the character was formed *by*, and to the latter that it was formed *for* the individual. Most of the principles had, for the last century, been advocated by superior minds; and it was by an induction of facts that he was enabled to sketch the outline of a science which has proved itself unassailable, because in perfect accordance with the laws of our nature*.

* "Nor must we omit to mention the value which the art of printing communicates to the most limited exertions of literary industry, by treasuring them up as materials for the future

It was of very minor importance by whom the truth was discovered; all I was anxious to learn was, if there existed any objection in the mind of Mr. Jeffery to its proposed application to practice. But almost every author, whose aid was solicited, had some little theory, political or theological, of his own, and was generally too intent upon discovering if there were any parts of the "New Views" in accordance with his previous opinions, to allow him to regard it as a comprehensive and universal scheme of society.

Among the penalties which are annexed to the advantages of periodical criticism, is the self-sufficiency too often engendered in the minds of those who are the arbiters of literary merit. Accustomed to pass an oracular opinion upon composition and the fine arts, they deem themselves

examination of more enlightened inquirers. In this respect, the press bestows upon the sciences an advantage somewhat analogous to that which the mechanical arts derive from the division of labour. As in these arts the exertions of an uninformed multitude are united, by the comprehensive skill of the artist, in the accomplishment of effects astonishing by their magnitude and by the complicated ingenuity they display; so, in the sciences, the observations and conjectures of obscure individuals on those subjects which are level to their capacities, and which fall under their own immediate notice, accumulate for a course of years; till, at last, some philosopher arises, who combines these scattered materials, and exhibits, in his system, not merely the force of a single mind, but the intellectual power of the age in which he lives."—*Stewart's Phil. of Mind*, vol. i. p. 271.

qualified to pronounce with equal authority the fiat of their judgement upon works of science and moral philosophy. The necessity for their attention to a variety of subjects renders it impossible for them to reach excellence in all; yet, to such writers must the truth or fallacy of his discoveries be submitted, who, pursuing his inquiries far beyond the general attainments of his age, arrives at conclusions which none are so competent to decide upon as himself. If when critics discovered the least evidence of a superior mind, and of deep and laborious research, they would allow themselves time for more patient investigation, rather than decide from preconceived opinions, they might accelerate rather than impede the progress of improvement.

Whatever may have been the general plan of the Edinburgh Review, of which Mr. Jeffery was the ostensible editor, at its commencement,—it was at the period to which we are referring, and continues so at present, less a review of books than a collection of essays upon various popular questions, each essay being headed with a list of the works recently published upon the subject to be canvassed. The Edinburgh Review had for its contributors those who were chiefly in the Whig interest, among whom were included the political economists. Important benefit was derived by the strenuous endeavours of this class to diffuse know-

ledge among the people. There was, however, one fundamental error in their system,—they considered that no material progress could be made in a society not constituted upon a principle of separate individual interests, stimulated by emulation and the hope of individual aggrandizement.

Like the French philosophers, who, in the half century preceding the revolution, disseminated their opinions through the medium of the *Encyclopédie*, our political œconomists are the authors of various articles in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*; and as they lay claim to a knowledge that qualifies them for instructing society in the most interesting and important subjects, it will not be amiss briefly to examine into some of their opinions.

In their speculations they differ from the French school of philosophers, who excelled them in depth of feeling, in more comprehensive views, and in a knowledge of the general principles of human nature. The English œconomists, as if they had themselves imbibed the spirit of trade and commerce by which their own country is distinguished, limit their inquiries chiefly to the most effectual means of producing the largest quantity of goods*; and in estimating the motives

* In the fifth edition of an able work, published so far back as the year 1757, and entitled “An Estimate of the Manners and Principles of the Times,” is the following remark: “For it seems to be the ruling maxim of the age and nation, that if

by which man can be impelled to action, they regard those only which they find in the existing constitution of society. Mr. Mill, for instance, in his introductory chapter to the "Elements of Political Œconomy," commences with the following just definition: "Political œconomy is to the state, what domestic œconomy is to a family:"—but now mark an important omission; "the family consumes; and in order to consume, it must be supplied with production. Domestic œconomy has therefore two grand objects in view,—the consumption and supply of the family." A third object should have been added, that of "distribution." It would very properly be objected to a father who gave to some of his children a superfluity, and left others destitute, that he neglected an important branch of domestic œconomy, viz. "a just and beneficial distribution." This principle of political œconomy is altogether discarded by Mr. Mill; nor is he more successful in describing the most powerful motive to production, when he commends freedom of competition without any direction or ad-

our trade and wealth are but increased, we are powerful, happy, and secure. And in estimating the real strength of the kingdom, the sole question for many years hath been, 'What commerce and riches the nation is possessed of?' A question which an ancient lawgiver would have laughed at."—Political œconomists and legislators have not much improved since this period.

vice from those whose province it is to protect the interests and promote the welfare of the whole. Competition offers a less influential stimulant than enlightened union*. But what are its worse consequences,—the distiller and publican are induced, by rivalry, to encourage intemperance;—hence the splendour of the establishments for the sale of liquor. The competitors in the distribution of the articles of dress resort to similar expedients: indeed, a bribe is held out to every counteraction of the efforts of those whose duty it is to improve the health and morals, and advance the happiness of the people. When it is urged upon the political œconomists, that they overlook the moral consequences of some of their doctrines, they reply, that such considerations are foreign to the science. As if the truths of a science could be inconsistent with any other facts! It has been truly said, that in this school a small part of political œconomy is mistaken for the whole. If I may venture a definition of the object of the science, it would be, “That mode of production and distribution most conducive to the improvement and consequent happiness of mankind.”

Then, again, in the article “Government,” in

* It was about this period that I published a coloured diagram, illustrative of the formation of character, with remarks in refutation of this principle.—I will annex it to this chapter.

the Supplement to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, by the same author, he states: "It is immediately obvious, that a wide and difficult field is presented, and that the whole science of human nature must be explored, to lay a foundation for the science of government." So far excellent: but in the second paragraph from the foregoing, the field of inquiry is contracted; "That dissection of human nature, which would be necessary for exhibiting, upon proper evidence, the primary elements into which human happiness may be resolved, it is not compatible with the present design to undertake. We must content ourselves with assuming certain results." I apprehend that Mr. Mill has not only deemed it unnecessary to present his readers with a "dissection," but also omitted to anatomize for himself; for his subsequent reasoning betrays an imperfect acquaintance with human nature, when he considers man with passions equally ungovernable, or nearly so, as in the rudest stages of society. He overlooks the improved methods of education at present partially in practice, as well as the superior character to be derived from better institutions; when the desires of man, except for knowledge and for the more enlightened sources of happiness, will be circumscribed. Neither does he take into consideration, that while the passion for inferior gratifications can be diminished, the means of supply are immeasurably

increased ; and that mankind is now placed in a more commanding situation than at any former period of the world, for attaining that more elevated character of which it is susceptible.

Among those denominated political œconomists, there are said to be almost as many opinions as there are individuals ; and it is curious to witness an assemblage of learned men, united for the purpose of extending the knowledge of what they term a science, remaining so long in ignorance of some of its elementary principles.

A few years since, one of the most respectable firms among the booksellers in the metropolis had engaged to publish a poem*. Upon the first copy being sent to them, they begged to withdraw their names, but very handsomely offered to be at the expense of the reprint of the title-page. Upon inquiry as to the objection, they stated that certain remarks and comments upon the writings of Mr. MacCulloch compelled them to decline, as the *Edinburgh Review* was published at the same house. The motive was highly honourable to the feelings of the partners, while it proved their conviction of the sensitiveness of the political œconomist.

Although satire is not to be defended as an approved means of correcting error, there were no epithets in the poem which would not be

* Reproof of Brutus.

deemed legitimate in that species of composition. In allusion to Mr. MacCulloch's lectures at the London University, and which were so little attended as to be soon relinquished, his name appears only in the following lines :—

“ What painful sounds in Caledonian twang
Grate on the ear ?”

“ MacCulloch's harsh harangue ;
That cold disciple of a wavering school,
Where truth and error hold alternate rule.”

And again :

“ Retire, MacCulloch ! from your toil desist,
Nor bring to happier climes your native mist :
Add one rare blunder to your gross mistakes—
A Scot returning to the Land of Cakes !”

In the preface, the political œconomists generally are alluded to.

“ In contemplating the history of our species,
“ there is no fact more striking than this ;—that
“ in every period of extraordinary difficulty has
“ arisen some individual, whose elevation of mind,
“ towering far above his contemporaries, has dis-
“ covered the source of their miseries, and, sus-
“ tained by the energies of his genius, conducted
“ them into untravelled paths of improvement.

“ But in these our days a new class has sprung
“ up, who, although more deeply imbued than
“ others with the errors of the age in which they
“ live, have complimented each other into a be-
“ lief that they are the chosen ones of Israel.

“ Ignorant of human nature, and of the first
 “ principles of political œconomy, they have
 “ attempted to put together an ill-constructed
 “ system, which they dignify with the name of
 “ ‘ Science.’ ”

“ While the country has for many years past
 “ been inundated with wealth, and overwhelmed
 “ with the still increasing power of production,
 “ their sole object is to devise means for its
 “ augmentation : whether those means shall con-
 “ firm the monopoly, and foster the pride and
 “ prejudices of the great, while the people are
 “ consigned to sufferings and dependence, is with
 “ them a question of subordinate consideration.

“ The only problem mankind require to be
 “ solved is, that of a more equitable distribution ;
 “ and to this they are wholly incompetent.

“ They have latterly formed themselves into a
 “ club ; and although there are one or two points
 “ upon which they are agreed, but which happen
 “ to be errors, they exhibit a most heterogeneous
 “ compound of opinions ; and notwithstanding
 “ this concentration of all their talents, they
 “ have been unable to emit one single ray of
 “ genius.”—*Preface to Reproof of Brutus.*

Is the class of writers thus spoken of described
 in terms less courteous than in the following
 passage from a work which was not composed as
 a “ Satire” ?

“ A new race of jargonists, the barbarous me-
“ taphysicians of political œconomy, have struck
“ at the essential existence of the productions of
“ genius in literature and art ; for, appreciating
“ them by their own standard, they have misera-
“ bly degraded the professors. Absorbed in the
“ contemplation of material objects, and reject-
“ ing whatever does not enter into their own
“ restricted notion of ‘ utility,’ these cold arith-
“ metical seers, with nothing but millions in their
“ imagination, and whose choicest works of art
“ are spinning-jennies, have valued the intellec-
“ tual tasks of the library and the studio by ‘ the
“ demand and the supply.’

“ In their commercial, agricultural, and manu-
“ facturing view of human nature, addressing
“ society by its most pressing wants and its
“ coarsest feelings, these theorists limit the moral
“ and physical existence of man by speculative
“ tables of population. Planning and levelling so-
“ ciety down in their carpentry of human nature,
“ they would yoke and harness the loftier spirits
“ to one common and vulgar destination. Man
“ is considered only as he wheels on the wharf,
“ or as he spins in the factory : but man as a
“ recluse being of meditation, or impelled to ac-
“ tion by more generous passions, has been struck
“ out of the system of our political œconomists.”
—*The Literary Character, by D’Israeli.*

By whom the article on Southey's " Sir Thomas More," in the Edinburgh Review, was written, is not known : it contains the following passage :

" Mr. Southey brings to the task two faculties
" which were never, we believe, vouchsafed in
" measure so copious to any human being,—the
" faculty of believing without a reason, and the
" faculty of hating without a provocation.

" He seems to have an instinctive antipathy
" for calm, moderate men,—for men who shun
" extremes and render reasons.

" He has treated Mr. Owen of Lanark, for
" example, with infinitely more respect than he
" has shown to Mr. Hallam and Dr. Lingard ; and
" this for no reason that we can discover, except
" that Mr. Owen is more unreasonably and hope-
" lessly in the wrong than any speculator of our
" time."

The critic has withheld his reasons for placing Mr. Owen below the standard of his favourite authors, Mr. Hallam and Dr. Lingard. If Mr. Hallam has really proved himself anything more than a faithful chronicler, if he has understood the philosophy of history, and successfully deduced useful and important inferences from the facts recorded,—never was there a period when mankind required more that wisdom which is derived from experience ; for the world is rich in the materials for building up a superior moral

edifice, and is suffering from the absence of an approved design.

As for Dr. Lingard, he has distinctly avowed, that the province of the historian is confined to the narration of events; and as he has chosen that very humble, though useful department of literature, it is not surprising that Dr. Southey should sympathize more with a philosopher who from a comprehensive survey of the past deduces rules for the future. The judicious architect is surely a more interesting character than the most laborious and skilful stone-mason.

But the great moral revolution that is going forward is perhaps faithfully described in an article, in the *New Monthly*, on *Political Changes*, and which, from the enlarged views it displays, is most probably from the pen of Mr. Bulwer.

“ A new mind is first infused into society ;—it
 “ takes root, it expands, silently, almost imper-
 “ ceptibly—for the surface of things remains the
 “ same: the same laws, the same form of go-
 “ vernment, the same acknowledged practices
 “ and customs—though these fall much into
 “ disuse. In the meanwhile, the spirit that is
 “ abroad is breathed from individual to indivi-
 “ dual, from family to family—it traverses dis-
 “ tricts—and new men, men with new hearts
 “ and feelings, unknown to each other, arise in
 “ different parts. A new people is dwelling with

“the old people—but their power is little, for
“they have no ties of association. At last a
“word is spoken which appeals to the hearts of
“all—each answers simultaneously to the call—a
“compact body is collected under one standard,
“a watchword is given, and every man knows
“his friend.”—*New Monthly Mag.*, June 1832.

When Mr. Owen was in London, he occasionally visited my chambers, where a few of his friends assembled one evening in the week, among whom was an individual at that time connected with the Sun newspaper, and who undertook to write a periodical to be published every Saturday, and entitled *The Economist*. The prospectus was drawn up with considerable force and eloquence, and the work, during the two years it was carried on, was distinguished by many masterly papers. Mr. Owen's committee also assembled there, and upon several occasions the Earl of Blessington attended,—without perceiving the universality to which the principles once brought into action, must extend; for when one of the committee referred to its general adoption, he remarked, that if it was intended to interfere with the yeomanry of the country, he should withdraw his patronage.

Upon the ground-floor of the chambers was a model of a village, for the purpose of facilitating explanation. Among the numerous distinguished

visitors, I remember Prince Esterhazy, M. Prevost of Geneva, Cuvier, Mr. Mill, and the present Lord Chancellor ; the Rev. E. Irving also called, and observed, "It is our duty, Mr. Owen, to guide the individual in safety through the storm ; now you wish to allay the storm."

I will not detain my readers with any of the details of the public meetings, many of which must be in their recollection. Upon some occasions the late Duke of Kent presided, when his courteous and dignified conduct added greatly to the importance of the assemblies. The cause sustained a great loss by his death. He had made considerable progress towards a full comprehension of the subject ; and, for an individual of his high rank, was remarkably free from political or sectarian prejudices*.

* The Duke commissioned Dr. Macnab to visit New Lanark. After investigating the general arrangements and the mode of education adopted in that village, he published an interesting Report, dedicating it to His Royal Highness. In his Dedication are the following just observations : "During these last five hundred years, more or less, the fruits of learning, of science, and of religion (excepting in the physical sciences), have been in a great degree lost, by mankind having thrown the improvement of society on *speculative knowledge*. This assertion may be regarded as doubtful, particularly by those in philosophy who are advocates for the *Aristotelian school*, and those in morals who are *sceptics respecting the science of the mind*, and those also who in religion delude themselves into the criminal belief that persecution for conscience' sake is a *Christian duty*. An appeal to the great standard of truth,

Perhaps one of the most complete triumphs of truth was displayed in the adherence of Mr. William Thompson, author of "The Distribution of Wealth." When composing that elaborate and profound work, his attention was directed to the

"recommended by the profound Bacon, who regarded the fruits
 "of systems as the best criterion of their excellence, will, I
 "believe, remove all doubts on this subject. Why have not
 "intellectual instruction and discipline, zealous exertions in
 "religion, refined precepts in morals, lessons the most syste-
 "matic in politics, all of which have been enjoyed for ages,
 "and presented to us in the history of the rise, decline, and
 "fall of nations and of empires, rendered the learned more
 "virtuous, religion more honoured, and civil society more
 "friendly to that order which constitutes the bonds and
 "strength of individuals and collective bodies? The actual
 "state of Europe unfortunately furnishes incontestable facts,
 "which prove that the fruits of science, of moral philosophy,
 "and of religion in the beginning of the nineteenth century,
 "are less beneficial to the bulk of mankind than they were in
 "the days of our forefathers. *Speculative knowledge* must be
 "in harmony with the fruitful and precious social principle in
 "man. In philosophy, in morals, and in religion, it has hi-
 "therto, by excluding the social affections, destroyed the strong
 "relations established by Providence between the head and the
 "heart. The minds of men have thus been weakened and
 "sickened, and the consequences have been, that disorder and
 "discord, wars and persecutions, both religious and civil, have
 "been produced by *divorcing the social* from its natural relation
 "with our contemplative powers and faculties. These obser-
 "vations are relevant to the principal object of this work.
 "The fact is, if I be not much deceived, that Mr. Owen ap-
 "pears to have formed just and *profound views* on the danger
 "and folly of attempting to form the character, and render the
 "bulk of mankind wiser and better, exclusively by speculative
 "knowledge."

plan as a means of relief for the paupers. To his surprise he discovered that it embraced the whole science of morals and legislation. With a mind unbiassed by prejudice, and having truth only in view, he examined it thoroughly, and concluded his work by one of the most able expositions of the system that has yet appeared. Notwithstanding the great merit of this production, it has not been patronized by the public, nor even noticed by the Westminster, Quarterly, or Edinburgh Reviews. I suspect the political economists find it irreconcilable with their theories, and too powerful to be overthrown.

Some years subsequent to the appearance of Mr. Thompson's book, I endeavoured to interest the world in the principles of the social system through the medium of a small imaginative work, suggested by a visit, when in Scotland, to the Pentland Hills. It was praised by some reviewers, and condemned by others. A gentleman in Ireland, an entire stranger, sent me a gold seal with an impression representing a beehive, with the motto "Each for all." In the year 1828 I visited Paris, and had opportunities of communicating with several characters interested in the improvement of society. I was much pleased with the benevolent and humane dispositions of Le Comte de Lastérie and of M. Baptiste Say; the opinions of the latter on

political œconomy corresponded in general with those of the professors of the English school. I sent him my work, which he reviewed in the *Revue Encyclopédique*, and attributed to its author too good an opinion of human nature. It was during the year 1821 that a subscription was proposed for raising an edifice at Motherwell, near Hamilton, for a community: many influential individuals put their names down for large sums: the adequate amount was not however completed, and the design was abandoned, partly in consequence of the offer of New Harmony, which Mr. Owen purchased of Mr. Rapp. By the indiscriminate admission of nearly a thousand persons into Harmony, the attempt to organize a society has been hitherto abortive. Soon after the commencement, the proprietor was compelled by his affairs in England to leave, for a whole year, the heterogeneous materials of which the community was composed in a great measure to themselves. On his return, he found them, as might have been expected, in a state of great confusion. All of the present generation are more or less unfitted, by habits contracted under a bad system, for a superior order of society, which must therefore be commenced by such as are best informed, and most desirous of promoting the happiness of those around them.

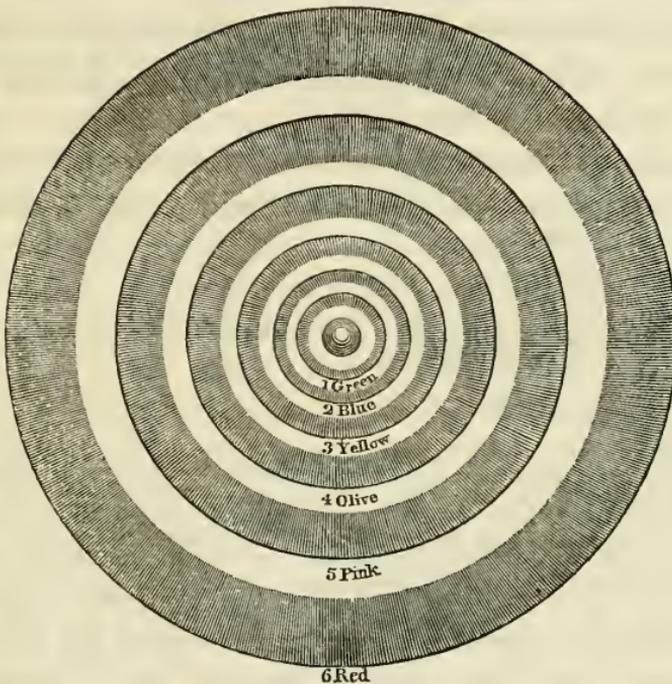
All experiments, however, have their utility;

for, although unsuccessful, they serve to indicate, for the guidance of future Societies, what was deficient, or what should have been avoided, in the trials that have gone before.

Another effort to organize a society was made at Orbiston, near Hamilton: but this was also ineffectual from similar causes; namely, the disqualifications of the individuals composing the establishment. The gentleman who had the chief management of the undertaking embarked all his property in it; his life also was sacrificed in the unwearied exertions he had made in bodily labour and in mental anxiety. To reconcile discordant and ignorant characters, and at the same time form new arrangements with means inadequate, was a task too arduous for a mind unaccustomed to the controul of a numerous body, much less of one so ill qualified for the union. It was observed, however, that in every instance of failure in these incipient attempts, there was not one of the inmates who, when the establishment was broken up, departed with less confidence in the truth of the principles: on the contrary, they all perceived that the causes of failure were to be found solely in the incompetency and abridged resources of the parties engaged.

A DIAGRAM,

ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE FORMATION OF THE HUMAN
CHARACTER.



THE centre of the circles represents the individual;*
—the circles themselves denote the different classes of
objects and circumstances by which he is surrounded

* Mr. Locke has compared the mind at birth to a sheet of white paper, free from all impressions; but the similitude has been considered defective, as it does not indicate any organic difference: nevertheless, Mr. Locke's definition was complete, so far as it enabled him to show that the mind is a perfect blank before it has received impressions through sensation and reflection; for, however different the faculties at birth, they are all capable of being affected by the same objects, though in various degrees.

and influenced, from birth to death;—the colour of the centre is therefore a compound of all the other colours:—

- No. 1. *The influence of circumstances and objects during childhood; such as the disposition and management of parents, nurses, servants, &c.*
2. *The influence of scholastic discipline, including not only the matter of instruction, but the ability and character of the tutor, together with the disposition of youthful associates.*
3. *The religion, and also the particular sect.*
4. *The class of society,—the higher, the middle, or the lower.*
5. *The profession, or trade.*
6. *The institutions of the country, but more especially the laws of property.*

Suppose the colours in the circles to represent the best System of Infant-training, Religion, National Institutions, &c. &c. which the past history of mankind and modern discoveries can suggest, the compound colour will then represent a character superior to any before known; but if the colour of one circle only is altered, it will be sufficient at once to vary the colour of the centre, *i. e.* there will be a less perfect character. If, for instance, a religion excelling all others, is taught in Europe, and the present constitution of society be continued, the vices and follies resulting from excess of riches on the one hand, or from extreme poverty on the other, will never be entirely eradicated; for the outward circle exerts an overwhelming influence, calculated either to frustrate, in numerous instances, the most zealous efforts of religious and benevolent individuals to reform

mankind, or to render the moral objects of improved tuition universally attainable.

The all-important inference to be drawn from the diagram, is the following:—that the cause of every crime will be found in one or more of the classes of circumstances described by the circles; and that those causes, without a single exception, may be removed by society, and others substituted of an opposite tendency; for, whatever may be the natural disposition of the individual, his overt acts, be they good or evil, result from a careful attention to, or neglect of, the early culture of his mind,—or from the external excitements of society,—or from the united operation of both causes;—in other words, from his education,—“not only the education usually called such, which is obtained, for the most part, from schools and universities, or through the medium of books, but also that concourse of circumstances which surrounds the child from its birth, and attends upon him throughout his future life, moving his thoughts and directing his actions, and which makes him either the best or the worst of his species*.” Such and so powerful is the combined influence of all the circles, that man may be formed into any predetermined character, from the turbulent and ferocious, up to the peaceful, benevolent, and highly intellectual. Nor let it be imagined, that a more constrained and artificial character will hence arise: on the contrary, the principles thus applied are precisely those which are now recognised, although very imperfectly acted upon, by the parent and tutor, by the divine, and by the legislator. The fear that a dull monotony would result from a more

* Introduction to Jennings's Family Cyclopaedia.

comprehensive and judicious regulation of the various circumstances in society, which promote or counteract the happiness of individuals, will prove totally groundless, when we consider from what cause arises that interesting diversity which constitutes the chief delight of social intercourse. In the savage state, and in the less advanced stages of civilization, when men have few ideas, a uniformity of character prevails. Under the feudal system, all the nations of Europe bore a very near resemblance to each other; but, when they acquired knowledge, the dormant powers of the mind were unfolded, and each country exhibited different and peculiarly directed energies;—in the present age, an insipidity and dull inertness is found, in proportion as men are ignorant; but with those who are devoted to scientific pursuits, to the study of natural philosophy, an active spirit of investigation is awakened and a varied character produced, endless as are the sources of human knowledge, and diversified as are the degrees of progress to be made in each branch of inquiry.

“ But not alike to every mortal eye
 Is this great scene unveil'd. For since the claims
 Of social life, to different labours urge
 The active powers of man; with wise intent
 The hand of Nature on peculiar minds
 Imprints a different bias, and to each
 Decrees its province in the common toil.
 To some she taught the fabric of the sphere,
 The changeful moon, the circuit of the stars,
 The golden zones of heaven: to some she gave
 To weigh the moment of eternal things,
 Of time and space, and fate's unbroken chain,
 And will's quick impulse: others by the hand
 She led o'er vales and mountains, to explore
 What healing virtue swells the tender veins
 Of herbs and flowers; or what the beams of morn
 Draw forth, distilling from the clefted rind

In balmy tears. But some to higher hopes
Were destined; some within a finer mould
She wrought, and temper'd with a purer flame.
To these the Sire omnipotent unfolds
The world's harmonious volume, there to read
The transcript of himself."

By pursuing that course of inductive investigation of which the great Lord Bacon has, in the study of physics, afforded an illustrious example, we are enabled, with equal certainty, to detect the causes of good and evil in the elements of moral science. When a system of society professing to banish sin and crime is first promulgated, it is received, like all other discoveries at variance with the prevailing opinions of the world, with distrust and ridicule; but, if we consider what is meant by the terms sin and crime, it will be found that these moral evils are no less easily corrected, than many of those physical disorders that have yielded to the advancement of knowledge. Man, like all the lower animals, is born with various appetites, necessary to his existence, and to the continuance of his species; both religion and philosophy teach him that true enjoyment consists in the temperate indulgence of all his appetites without injury to his fellow-creatures. A departure from this simple rule is, in religion, denominated a *sin*, and by the legislature, when it inflicts an injury to the community, a *crime*; if, therefore, all mankind could be induced to observe this rule, sin and crime would be banished from society. Since experience teaches that, if one passion is permitted to acquire an ascendancy, it is often attended by a correspondent diminution in the susceptibility of others,—that health is impaired and life shortened, and even the animal gratification destroyed; how does it arise that this rule, the ob-

servance of which is obviously essential to individual and social happiness, is so frequently infringed? Simply, because the constitution of society interferes with "the temperate indulgence of the appetites," by exciting factitious desires, and inflicting privations and distresses of various kinds and degrees upon a large proportion of mankind. The actions of men, be they good or bad, are never performed without an adequate motive; it is rarely found that the higher and middling classes of society commit the crime of theft;—their wants being supplied, they have no *motive* to steal; the motive actuates those only who are reduced to extreme want, and if no one was permitted to be destitute, it is scarcely possible that the motive should exist; the act therefore would cease, and with it the more dreadful crime of murder, which is generally perpetrated in order to prevent detection.

In analysing the circumstances under which mankind are trained, we shall be able to trace the origin of beneficial and injurious motives: let us, therefore, examine the classes of circumstances as they exist at present, and contrast them with those which will be introduced and regulated under the New System.

No. 1. *The influence of Circumstances and Objects during Childhood; such as the disposition and management of Parents, Nurses, Servants, &c.*

PRESENT SOCIETY.

The influence of circumstances, during the first five years, in a great degree disregarded; children are therefore left to the care of ignorant, un-

NEW SOCIETY.

The training, or education, properly so called, commences soon after the birth of the infant, and the earliest years are considered by far the most im-

skilful, and negligent nurses, and servants; while the children of the poor are permitted to wander about the streets, imbibing the worst ideas, and exposed to the most vicious examples.

portant in the formation of the mind; hence the care of children is entrusted to those only who possess good dispositions and intelligence; for at this period is laid the foundation of the future character.

No. 2. *The influence of Scholastic Discipline, including not only the matter of Instruction, but the ability and character of the Tutor, together with the disposition of youthful Associates.*

PRESENT SOCIETY.

In public schools, the old methods and matter of instruction are adopted; hence the irksomeness of the task wearies the tutor and disgusts the scholar, who, in his hours of recreation, is liable to associate with the idle and disorderly, and to contract vicious habits. Emulation, rewards, and punishments are the means employed; hence selfishness, pride, ambition and hatred, are the attendant evils. No sympathy subsists between the preceptor and his pupil; for the latter regards instruction and study as imposing a needless restraint upon his pleasures, and rejoices to escape from his prison and his keeper.

NEW SOCIETY.

Education, conducted upon a plan which comprehends all the recent improvements in the interesting art of imparting knowledge, is, indeed, "a delightful task," as well to the instructed as to the teacher, and will be eagerly pursued by the whole community: by the parent, not merely on account of its intrinsic excellence and as a source of pleasure, but also from the conviction that, to give full effect to the instruction of his child, it will be necessary to assist his associates also, in order that the useful lessons imparted may not be effaced by the contagion of bad examples; by the pupil, because his natural curiosity is stimulated and gratified by the excellent mode of teaching, and which is never continued so long as to produce tediousness. Affection is the only medium through which this superior knowledge is imparted.

No. 3. *The Religion, and also the particular Sect.*

PRESENT SOCIETY.

Notwithstanding the prevailing systems of religion inculcate charity and peace among mankind, and contain the most valuable and important truths; yet as the great majority of society have been taught to attribute merit or demerit to individuals, for the opinions which they conscientiously hold on this highly interesting question, religion too often ceases to be the bond of peace, and becomes the subject of animosity, and of bitter contention. The most pious and charitable forget themselves in controversial disputes with those, who differ from them a shade only in some minor doctrine.

NEW SOCIETY.

That the character is formed *for*, and not *by*, the individual, is a principle which constitutes the basis of the New System. Religious animosities will therefore never arise, for erroneous opinions will be ascribed either to defective judgement or to inconclusive evidence; the individual holding them will be regarded "more in sorrow than in anger," and will become the object of increased solicitude; the best and most conciliatory means will be adopted to rectify his mistakes—those questions which are beyond the present attainments of the human understanding to resolve, will afford subjects for friendly discussion and interesting inquiry.

No. 4. *The Class of Society,—the higher, the middle, or the lower.*

PRESENT SOCIETY.

The spirit of pride that is nourished by the honours paid to wealth, pervades, under various modifications, all ranks of society; but, in the higher classes, it prevents communication with men of application and experience, and thus the knowledge which a comparatively superior education has imparted, becomes of little practical utility, and renders them mere theorists. The lower classes are doomed to incessant toil in order to obtain a bare subsist-

NEW SOCIETY.

As wealth can now be created in superfluity, and will be produced in abundance, it ceases to be an object of competition, and no motive can possibly exist for any individual to desire more than is absolutely necessary to his personal convenience; and in no instance, excepting cases of insanity, can such a desire prevail, much less will society honour those who encumber themselves with a useless load of that which is superabundant; the childish distinctions arising

ence, and have no leisure for the acquisition of knowledge, and the cultivation of a more refined intercourse. The middling classes, perhaps, secure more of the advantages, and less of the disadvantages, of either of the other classes; but the anxieties by which they are agitated, amid the fluctuations and difficulties of commercial pursuits, are destructive of that equable disposition, without which happiness can never be secured.

from mere wealth will terminate, and men will no longer be esteemed for the possession of any riches, qualities, or talents, but as they are applied to promote the happiness of the species. No useful employment will be considered as degrading, and those which are most essential to the welfare and happiness of the whole will be the most eagerly sought.

No. 5. *The Profession, or Trade.*

PRESENT SOCIETY.

Notwithstanding the superiority which some acquire from the exclusive pursuit of one profession, they are at the same time apt to form a contracted habit of mind, and are unable to consider any subject, but through a particular medium; and individuals who have attained the greatest eminence in their professions, are frequently incompetent to form a correct judgement upon those questions which require more enlarged and general views. It may also be affirmed, that the artizan would be equally expert if his occupation was in some degree diversified, and that society loses, by the deterioration in his general health, more than is gained by this perpetual repetition of one particular operation. The selfishness engendered by making a secret of "the art and mystery" of particular trades, lowers

NEW SOCIETY.

From the relations, immediate or remote, which all the arts and sciences bear to each other, that individual will make the most rapid progress in his favourite study and occupation, who possesses the most extensive and varied knowledge. Such will be the groundwork formed by Education, that each individual will retain through life a liberality of sentiment and comprehensiveness of mind, and yet display an acuteness in the path of science most agreeable to his taste, far exceeding the proficiency of the most highly gifted professor under the Old System; nor will there be less dexterity in the manual operations, for the division of labour so far from being superseded, as has been erroneously supposed, will be still further extended; and to those employments to which it has not before, or in a very

the character, prevents it from acquiring more elevated feelings, and more liberal sentiments towards those of the same community, and tends to suppress every desire of benefiting mankind at large.

limited degree, been applied—to the domestic offices of life, to education, &c.: but no individual would be devoted exclusively, or for a length of time that would be irksome, to a single manual exercise. Under the New System, men will not be engaged from morning to night, heading pins or drawing wire, although each will be sufficiently occupied in his particular branch to acquire the requisite skill.

No. 6. *The Institutions of the Country, but more especially the Laws of Property.*

PRESENT SOCIETY.

The interest, real or apparent, of the individual, opposed to the general interest.

Consequences.

Delinquency and breach of public trust, duplicity, robbery, murder, and excitements of the worst passions.

The parent can, in some degree, regulate the circumstances described in the first five circles: he may improve upon the general treatment of children, select a superior academy, instil into the mind of his child the principles of the best religion; and although he cannot determine the class of society to which he shall belong, he may choose his trade or profession; but how can he controul the circumstances arising out of the institutions of the country? Here are to be found those counteractions, which, after years of solicitude and assiduous instruc-

NEW SOCIETY.

The interest of the individual, really and obviously identified with the general interest.

Consequences.

Zealous and faithful discharge of public duties, sincerity, benevolence, and the cultivation of the best feelings.

Self-gratification must ever continue the predominant principle of action; but it entirely depends upon instruction combined with the circumstances acting upon the individual, whether he seeks it in the lowest stages of sensual indulgence, or in the most pure and refined enjoyments of which his nature is susceptible; whether in a course of libertinism and individual aggrandizement, or in religious exercises, in intellectual pursuits, and in habitual benevolence. Such will be the "Civic Economy" of real society, that, upon the youthful member

tion, rob him of the anticipated delight of beholding all his cares repaid in the virtuous conduct and happiness of his child. No sooner does the inexperienced youth quit the parental roof, than dangers assail him on every side, and seldom is there a numerous family in which one or more have not fallen victims to the disorganized state of society, but who, under more favourable circumstances, might have proved a solace to the declining years of their parents, and have become the most valuable members of the community.

arriving at that age when the parental controul is now withdrawn, he sets forward in his career of usefulness without the danger of opposing obstacles: no adverse circumstances will exist to lead to moral obliquity; on the contrary, there will be every facility, and the most powerful inducements, to persevere in that course in which he has been previously trained. Surrounded by sincere and intelligent companions, competent to appreciate excellence of whatever kind, animating his exertions and participating with the liveliest interest in his success,—with what ardour and delight will he enter upon the prosecution of any design conducive to the public happiness!

But whatever advantages the advocates of a New System may derive from an appeal to principles incontrovertibly true, and in referring to their separate application in different countries, and at various periods of the world, yet as an example of the entire combination cannot be adduced, it is therefore maintained, that there are not sufficient grounds for predicting, with any degree of certainty, the result of an experiment. Accustomed to contemplate one general modification of society only, those who oppose any fundamental changes cannot conceive it possible for men to live in harmony together, and in the regular discharge of their duties, under any form of social union essentially differing from all which at present exist in Europe. Hence they assert, that if the particular stimuli which now prompt to action should be withdrawn, they cannot be replaced by others equally

powerful;—that the fear of want, the desire of riches, and an ambition to excel, are the only motives that can lead to exertion and to enterprise. Although we may be unacquainted with any national system existing in modern times, in which these motives were not made the springs of human action; yet, if it can be shown that, in every constitution of society where the greatest care has been evinced to cultivate these motives only, there have been abundant instances of individuals upon whom they have but feebly operated,—of others, who have renounced them altogether and resigned themselves to the influence of a different impulse; we may then conclude that they are not to be relied upon as a constant principle of action. If we were required to distinguish any principles of conduct that were likely to become universal, should we not select those which had sprung up in an organization of society peculiarly unfavourable to their growth? How powerful must those motives be which, under every discouragement, and in a soil where motives of an opposite character are assiduously nurtured, are still found in operation! and what important results may be expected from their application towards human improvement, when society shall be so framed as to afford every facility to the development of their energies! The motive to which we chiefly refer is, the desire of knowledge, and of whatever can contribute to the physical and mental improvement, and the consequent happiness, of the individual.

“ Witness the sprightly joy when aught unknown
Strikes the quick sense and wakes each active power
To brisker measures: witness the neglect
Of all familiar prospects, though beheld
With transport once: the fond attentive gaze

Of young astonishment; the sober zeal
 Of age commenting on prodigious things,
 For such the bounteous providence of Heaven,
 In every breast implanting this desire
 Of objects new and strange, to urge us on,
 With unremitting labour, to pursue
 Those sacred stores that wait the ripening soul,
 In truth's exhaustless bosom."

It has been justly observed, that the desire of knowledge increases with the acquisition of knowledge, and that the remark of the Roman satirist on the pursuit of wealth, "*Crescit amor nummi quantum ipsæ pecuniæ crescit,*" is equally applicable to intellectual acquirements. As a proof of this powerful motive influencing individuals in defiance of those common and prudential maxims of life, which the most pressing necessity, and every existing circumstance, seemed calculated to enforce,—how often has genius existed in obscurity! and men whose productions have contributed to the most exquisite enjoyments of society, ended their days in neglect and destitution! Among those who have either shared this fate, or omitted to make careful provision for themselves, may be ranked Butler, Milton, Shakespeare, Chatterton, Goldsmith, Thomson, Savage, Burns, and many others. But not to literary men alone has a disregard of their own individual interests been confined. Often is the man of science, when in search of inventions in the mechanical arts, wholly indifferent to any other object than the gratification arising from the completion of his discoveries: devoting himself with an ardour which no personal inconvenience can abate, he sacrifices health and fortune; and at the moment when he should reap the reward of his ingenuity and labour, the secret is unsuspectingly imparted to

some interested individual, who, applying it to a practical purpose, appropriates to himself not only the pecuniary advantages, but also the honour, of the discovery. Many of the most important inventions in those arts which minister to the convenience of life, have been discovered by those who were placed above the influence of pecuniary excitement. The steam-engine is attributed to a Marquis of Worcester; the late Lord Stanhope suggested some improvements in the art of printing; and history has handed down to us the names of Archimedes, Bacon, Newton, Boerhaave, Boyle, Franklin, and a long train of benefactors to mankind, who, if they had been actuated less by a love of science than by the hope of gain, would probably have made but slender contributions to our stores of knowledge. It may however be objected, that we are contending for a principle of action which involves the sacrifice of prudential habits;—that this is not the case we have, happily, many living proofs, in authors whose works are not inferior in genius and erudition to any of their predecessors, and who have shown that a wise discretion, and a due observance of the general rules of society, are not incompatible with profound learning, or with the exercise of a lively imagination. “That the love of literature,” observes the eloquent author of the *Philosophy of Nature*, “does not necessarily incapacitate for the more active pursuits of life, is amply instanced by the example of Xenophon, Thucydides, Aratus, and Lucullus; Cæsar, Augustus, Trajan, and the Emperor Julian; Lorenzo de Medici, Leo X., and William Earl of Chatham.”

The superiority of the new system will be more highly estimated, when it is discovered that there is no moral

principle of our nature that has been found beneficial, which it does not foster and invigorate: thus, with regard to the quality of perseverance arising from long-continued habits, so powerful as to be proverbially termed "our second nature," we cannot look around us without observing numerous instances of men addicted to particular acts in themselves disagreeable, from the mere force of habit; and others will continue so long immured within the walls of a town, that to them the scenes of nature have lost their attractions, or do not yield sufficient pleasure to induce them to quit, even for a short period, their accustomed abode. Since, then, we find habit so influential as to induce the continuance in a course originally repugnant, we cannot expect that its power will be weakened when it shall have been formed at the earliest period, and united with objects highly gratifying to every cultivated and benevolent mind.

Another important auxiliary, upon which we may confidently rely, when judiciously applied in the formation of valuable characters, is the influence of the association of ideas. To this principle we are perhaps indebted for the most interesting pleasures of our lives. Where is the man who can revisit the scenes of his childhood, without awakening in his mind the delightful remembrance of those simple and innocent enjoyments experienced before the cares and pursuits of society had engrossed his attention? Napoleon recognised this principle, when, in order to impart a martial spirit to the youth of the academy, he directed the ringing of the bell to be discontinued, and the drum to be beat at the time of rising. Lycurgus, in the celebrated Spartan Code, applied the same principle with eminent success.

Locke, in his *Essay on the Human Understanding*, c. 33, observes, "Many children, imputing the pain they endured at school to their books they were corrected for, so join those ideas together, that a book becomes their aversion, and they are never reconciled to the study and use of them all their lives after; and thus reading becomes a torment to them, which, otherwise, possibly they might have made the great pleasure of their lives." Cardinal Fleury recommends young children to be instructed in a pleasant room, having an agreeable prospect, and under any circumstances that might render the recollection of their improvement pleasing; and the amiable Fenelon is very decided on this point: "Remarquez un grand défaut des éducations ordinaires; on met tout le plaisir d'un côté, et tout l'ennui de l'autre; tout l'ennui dans l'étude, tout le plaisir dans les divertissemens." The most important instrument of human improvement is to be found in a careful regulation of the early association of ideas:—here lies the foundation of the virtue and happiness of society; neglect or misapply this principle, and the progress of the individual is beset with difficulties and obstructions; but when adopted with judgement, his acquirements are rapid, pleasurable, and lasting.

From the foregoing brief review of the most important principles of human nature,

The Desire of Knowledge,
The Influence of Habit,
The Association of Ideas,

we perceive that each, although operating alone, has been sufficiently powerful to overcome opposing influences, and to give a peculiar bias to the character of

the individual. We may therefore with confidence conclude, that, if those counteracting influences are withdrawn, the power of each will be considerably augmented; and that when all shall be directed to one object, and brought simultaneously into action, the progress of mankind in intellectual advancement, and in the attainment of happiness, will no longer be impeded by ignorance and prejudice, but will resemble those undeviating, beautiful, and harmonious movements, observable in the more stupendous and magnificent works of the creation.

Under the existing chaotic state of society, where each individual consults his own exclusive benefit, the pursuit of wealth has necessarily become the ruling passion of the mind. Under the approaching system of combined interests, the acquisition and extension of real knowledge will be the governing principle. How widely different the object and the consequences of each! The former is feeble, inconstant, and degrading; the latter, animating and persevering, and fraught with the highest gratifications. The one is an impulse resulting from a defective organization of the community; the other is the dictate of experience and comprehensive intelligence, and is at once the cause and the consequence of good order in society. One perverts the principle of self-protection, and leads to actions that reduce man below the level of the inferior animals, even to the annoyance and destruction of his own species; the other teaches him to promote and conserve whatever is truly valuable, advances him in the order of created beings, and assimilates him with the beneficent attributes of the Deity.

I will conclude these remarks with the words of a profound but neglected author, who, about the middle

of the last century, foresaw that the moral and political inquiries, at that period commencing, would finally terminate in the discovery of a system of society, in which the happiness of mankind would be secured upon an immutable basis.

“It must be acknowledged as an established principle, that man cannot in his social capacity be too enlightened. Placed within a physical, political, and moral system, a small part of one great whole, his duties arise from his relations; and that being will be said to have reached the height of moral perfection, who shall have fully comprehended in what manner he ought to co-exist with the rest. It is clear therefore, beyond a doubt, that there is a science, a doctrine, for each individual; and equally certain is it, that there is a science for societies, for empires, and for mankind in general.”—*Chatelin on Public Happiness*, vol. ii. p. 113.

CHAPTER VI.

“ Si quid novisti rectius istis,
Candidus imperti; si non, his utere mecum.”

HORACE.

. “ This is the state
Shall bless the race redeem'd of Man, when Wealth
And Power, and all their hideous progeny,
Shall sink annihilate, and all mankind
Live in the equal brotherhood of love.”

SOUTHEY.

HAMPDEN met with considerable difficulty in obtaining an audience with any of the higher ranks. Although his family connexions gave him access to the first society, the avowal of his opinions had been so unreserved, that few would listen to him except upon subjects of diurnal interest.

An unforeseen event occurred about the beginning of the year 1826, which enabled me to succeed in applying for an interview with several leading characters, less influential than they had been, but still retaining many adherents. Soon after the severe indisposition of Lord Liverpool when prime minister, Mr. Canning was commanded by the King, His late Majesty, to form an Administration. The history of that period is too recent and too striking to require repetition.

It may be sufficient to observe, that a few days after those resignations which were sent to His Majesty in such rapid succession by most of the cabinet ministers, the Duke of Wellington invited Lord Eldon, Viscount Melville, and Mr. Peel, to a private dinner at Apsley House. The whole of the ex-ministers had flattered themselves, as it was reported, that by a simultaneous abandonment of office they should so far perplex the negotiations of Mr. Canning, that no alternative would remain to the king but to select some other premier out of their own body. Elated with these hopes, they watched with affected indifference, but with real anxiety, the progress of events. It was on the morning of that day that reports had been widely circulated of the appointment of the Duke of Clarence to the post of Lord High Admiral of England; and before the party had assembled, the inconvenient intelligence was confirmed.

As the visitors entered the drawing-room, there was in the countenance of each an ill-concealed melancholy, which was met by the silent sympathy of His Grace, too dignified to betray, by any complimentary condolence, the inward workings of disappointment; but with Lord Melville this master-stroke of policy in favour of the presumptive heir to the Crown proved a deadening blight to the golden opportunities from which he

had reluctantly retired. The dinner passed over with unusual gloom ; when the Duke, observing the general despondency, determined to resume that decision of character and rapidity of movement which had so often led to victory in the field. He called upon his friends to rally their spirits, and drink to the Protestant Ascendancy. Lord Eldon and Mr. Peel obeyed the summons with alacrity, nor was Lord Melville slow to follow. The bottle circulated briskly ; and, as if actuated by the recollection of Burton's advice, " to drive down care with a cup of wine," cheerfulness sprang up, and " care no longer sat upon the faded cheek." Occasionally, however, each would in his turn relapse into thoughtfulness ; but His Grace, fearing he should lose the day, as often roused them from their reverie, until at last their hearts were completely dilated, and Apsley House was again the scene of animation and enjoyment. Having fully embued his guests with generous feeling, and reconciled them to their fate, the following conversation arose :—

Duke of Wellington.—I must now, my friends, submit to you a proposal which I have been revolving for several days in my mind, but to which the events of this morning have given a higher degree of importance. In whatever estimation we may have held the honours of office, while basking in the sunshine of royal favour, it cannot

be denied that those honours were attended with weighty and corroding cares. If there be pleasure in gratifying expectation, there is also regret in witnessing the anxieties and disappointments attending those numerous applications which are of necessity rejected. Often after perusing the pathetic and eloquent petition of the wounded soldier, who had shared with me the dangers of the field, has it pained my heart to defer his claim in favour of less deserving suitors, thrust upon me by some minion of the Court, who had contrived to divert from its legitimate objects the stream of royal bounty.

Lord Eldon.—But if you, my Lord, experienced difficulties in the distribution of rewards at the military levees, how much more were my cares augmented by the conflicting claims of suitors in the Chancery Court! When voluminous papers were laid before me, abounding in false and contradictory evidence, with the facts distorted by the ingenuity of counsel*, I have been accused

* “ My cause, which two farmers from the plough could have decided in half an hour, takes the Court twenty years. I am however at the end of my labour, and have, in reward for all my toil and vexation, a judgement in my favour. But hold, —a sagacious commander in the adversary’s army has found a flaw in the proceedings. My triumph is turned into mourning. I have used *or* instead of *and*, or some mistake, small in appearance, but dreadful in its consequences, and have the whole of my success quashed in a writ of error. I remove my suit;

of doubting. Was it for even-handed Justice to decide precipitately, when evidence was so nicely balanced, or when the widow's and the orphan's portion was exposed to the grasp of crafty and designing men? I thank Your Grace for reminding me of the repose and tranquillity that await me in resigning the seals of office, and in abandoning an envied station ;

“ For who would rob a hermit of his weeds,
His few books, or his beads, or maple dish,
Or do his gray hairs any violence ?”

Lord Melville.—As for me, I shall experience no small relief in escaping the importunate solicitations of my Highland friends, many of whom had no other claims to urge than those of clan-ship, while others would deem themselves entitled to consideration solely because their birth-place lay north of the Tweed. I could have wished, however,—but no—let it pass.

Mr. Peel.—In the Home Department I was not without my share of perplexity and painful duties. When supplicated by the tears and entreaties of the afflicted wives and children of

I shift from Court to Court ; I fly from equity to law, and from law to equity ; equal uncertainty attends me everywhere ; and a mistake, in which I had no share, decides at once upon my liberty and property, sending me from a Court to a prison, and adjudging my family to beggary and famine.”—*Burke's Vindication of Natural Society.*

criminals to arrest the uplifted arm of Justice, while the offended laws and the security of property demanded exemplary punishment, how could I comply?—and yet how distressing to refuse! I shall, notwithstanding this exclusion from office, continue my reforms in the penal code.

Lord Eldon.—Be careful, Mr. Peel, not to deviate from the ancient law; for you will never find a surer guide than precedent.

Mr. Peel.—You know, my Lord, that I seldom wander from the beaten track, unless driven by absolute necessity: I am not one of those who subscribe to the opinion of Beccaria, that the history of mankind is an immense sea of errors, in which a few obscure truths may here and there be found; for I have no doubt that the laws of the land require only to be put in force with the restoration of their original meaning, to be found all-sufficient*.

* “New laws were made to expound the old, and new difficulties arose upon the new laws; as words multiplied, opportunities of cavilling upon them multiplied also. Then recourse was had to notes, comments, glosses, reports, *responsa prudentum*, learned readings. Eagle stood against eagle; authority was set up against authority. Some were allured by the modern, others revered the ancient;—the new more enlightened, the old more venerable. Some adopted the comment, others stuck to the text. The confusion increased, the mist thickened, until it could be discovered no longer what was allowed or forbidden.”—BURKE.

Lord Eldon.—The rage for reform is overrunning every department of the state, and I much fear it may enter the courts of law.

Mr. Peel.—I shall only seek to repair what time and change of language may have rendered obscure.

Lord Eldon.—But, my Lord Duke, we have not heard the proposal.

Duke of Wellington.—I remember to have read in my youthful days of many distinguished men of antiquity who had voluntarily relinquished the cares and honours of a public station, and found in their retreat a happiness with which they were before unacquainted. We all remember that when Diocletian was solicited by Maximilian to re-assume the empire of government, “he rejected the temptation with a smile of pity, calmly observing, that if he could show Maximilian the cabbages which he had planted with his own hands at Salona, he should no longer be urged to relinquish happiness for the pursuit of power.” Charles the Fifth, although his whole life had been spent on a conspicuous and extended sphere of action, and was always engaged in vast projects, delighted, in the decline of life, to retire to the monastery of St. Justus, and there amuse himself in assisting Turriano, an ingenious mechanic, in the construction of his models;—not to

mention the more familiar example of that noble Roman who

“Held the scale of empire, ruled the storm,. . .
 Disdaining little delicacies, seized
 The plough, and greatly independent lived.”

And indeed, of all the pursuits of retirement, that of agriculture possesses the greatest attractions.

Mr. Peel.—For that opinion we have the authority of Cicero; “*Omnium autem rerum ex quibus aliquid acquiritur, nihil est agriculturâ melius, nihil uberius, nihil dulcius, nihil homine libero dignius**.” Much may be said in praise of retirement. Cowley observed, that “a first minister of state has not so much business in public as a wise man in private;” and the biographer of Plutarch, that “the most distinguished situations in life are less to be envied than those quiet allotments where science is the support of virtue.” As Your Grace has justly remarked, history is not deficient in examples of monarchs and statesmen who sought the groves to be “delivered of the gilded impertinences of life, to enjoy the moments of a solid and pure contentment.” Adrian declared that when he had resigned the imperial purple he began to live: Sir Robert Walpole took great delight in planting

* *Cicero de Officiis*, lib. i. 42.

many of the trees at Houghton;—and why should not statesmen of the present day seek in the bosom of retirement that happiness which can never be found amid the contention of parties? Let us leave these vain pursuits to those visionaries, Huskisson and Canning.

Duke of Wellington.—Cato, it may be remembered, retired into the country, and at the age of fifty began to learn Greek. Cleanthes also divided his time between his studies and the cultivation of the earth: nor should I forget Similis, that great captain under Trajan and Hadrian, who, having obtained permission to retire, ordered that it might be inscribed on his tomb,—that, of the many years he had been on earth, he had lived only seven, meaning the years of his retirement.

Lord Melville.—You quote the example of Cicero, Mr. Peel; but you must not forget his dejection at Brundisium.

Mr. Peel.—That was an involuntary retirement. He had been driven into exile by the faction headed by Clodius.

Lord Melville.—Why, Sir, you are heightening the analogy; for it is not unlike a faction by which the modern Clodius has succeeded. I will not, however, do him the injustice to confound their characters in other respects.

Mr. Peel.—I must also remind you that Cicero's

grief was much embittered by the loss of his estates, if we may judge from his lamentations in his Letters to Terentia.

Lord Melville.—I must acknowledge that such an aggravation would be painful indeed. My countrymen soon become reconciled to any portion of the globe where a fortune can be raised. In that respect they are perfect citizens of the world; and it is astonishing how rapidly their local attachments fade away, as the fruitful prospect rises in the distance to their view. In our proposed retreat, however, there is no hope of realizing anything but a revival of the golden age, of the felicity of which I have but an indistinct conception.

Lord Eldon.—Such a period must have been anterior to our oldest precedents, and of course has not fallen within the range of my researches; for a time at least such pursuits and inquiries may prove an agreeable recreation.

Mr. Peel.—For a time! my Lord. Why true, for it may only prove a temporary retreat. The Prospero of the island has raised a storm which he will find rather difficult to allay.

Lord Eldon.—I am anxious, my Lord Duke, for your proposal.

Duke of Wellington.—The remarks of Mr. Peel are so direct to the object, that if Lord Melville and yourself concur in them, I shall not despair

of your entering into the scheme I had to propose.

Lord Melville.—Although our relinquishment of office has not been entirely voluntary, it may be the part of wisdom to extract all the good we can from passing occurrences. I cannot pronounce so promptly upon the advantages of this transition in our affairs: I require experience; for never, from the commencement of my career in life, have I tasted the sweets of retirement. But you my Lord Duke, and Mr. Peel, appear to be the very Tityrus and Melibœus of the Mantuan fields, so melodiously have you sung the delights of rural recreation.

Duke of Wellington.—My proposal, then, is, that we retire for a few months to my estate at Strathfieldsay; and in order that we may uninterruptedly enjoy those delicious moments which have been lauded by illustrious men, I will give directions that the principal part of my servants remain in town, and we can then cultivate our fields and gardens, and ride about the neighbourhood as much *incog.* as possible. The distance is not great; and should you, my Lord Melville, be summoned to join the motley Administration now forming, and feel any desire to retire from the *dulcia arva*, a few hours will transport you back to the metropolis.

The party fell in with the Duke's invitation;

and as soon as the new Administration was formed without the aid of the ultra Tories, they all, with the exception of Lord Melville, who was compelled to visit Scotland, arrived in a fortnight at the seat of the Duke.

The retreat of the ex-ministers, or rather the resolution of sojourning at Strathfieldsay, was kept as secret as possible; and conjecture was busy in speculating upon their destination. It became known however to a few, and among the rest to Hampden, who suggested that a most favorable opportunity of discussing abstract truths, if any can with propriety be so denominated, would be afforded while they were enjoying their *otium cum dignitate*. I concurred in this suggestion, and resolved to go down and reside for a short time in the neighbourhood of the Duke's estate, and endeavour to avail myself of any circumstance that might facilitate an interview. Hampden was anxious to accompany me; and I, fearing his impetuosity, was as anxious to prevent him. It was at length arranged that he should occupy apartments in the same house; he would then have the satisfaction of hearing what progress had been made.

I did not long deliberate upon any expedients for opening a communication with the Duke, but immediately on my arrival addressed a letter to His Grace, in which I stated that I had with me

the drawings of a plan of arrangements which I had no doubt would prove interesting. I also mentioned some of the general principles, and concluded by soliciting the honour of an audience for the purpose of further explanation. A relative of mine, Colonel Betterton, was killed in the battle of Almeida; and recollecting that His Grace had honoured him with tokens of friendship, I referred in my letter to the family connexion.

On the following day I received a visit from the Duke's secretary, from whom I gathered that my communication had excited some interest as well as amusement, and I was requested to attend at the mansion on the Monday following.

It appears that the morning after the arrival of the party it was late before they had assembled. Mr. Peel was the first who made his appearance. The Duke reminded them that a truly philosophic life required, above all, early rising; that they must endeavour to divest themselves of many of those habits contracted under an artificial system of society, and which, if they would for a short time place themselves under his guidance, he would enable them to conquer. Mr. Peel hoped that His Grace would allow them to relinquish their old indulgences by degrees; certainly he should no longer be kept up by the sarcastic speeches of Brougham, or the tedious and perplexing calculations of Hume; and should there-

fore have less difficulty in attending an early *déjeuné*. Lord Eldon entered the breakfast-room with a pale and desponding countenance. "Why, how now?" said the Duke; "does not this smiling and beautiful morning, brightening the verdure of the park, delight your Lordship? I hope you slept soundly and dreamt of Arcadian joys."—"My sleep was sound enough," replied Lord Eldon; "but as for my dreams, they were far from pleasant."

Duke of Wellington.—Well, my dear Lord, if your dreams are not agreeable, realities shall delight you: how many are there who dream of an Elysium, and wake to misery and despair!

Mr. Peel.—May I ask the nature of the dreams that could have so grievously oppressed you?

Lord Eldon.—They were, I must confess, nearly allied to my daily apprehensions, which sometimes fill me with remorse in having retired from a public life at a period fraught with so much peril to my country. I imagined that Canning's liberal opinions, as they are called, had far overstepped those bounds which even the Whigs had prescribed to themselves; the Church was beset with dangers on every side: first, the Test and Corporation Acts were repealed; the Irish Catholics were next emancipated; the stipends of the poor curates were enlarged; the people, not content with Sunday and Infant Schools, must needs have a University, and, lo! there arose, as

if by magic, a magnificent edifice in the metropolis. So general became the spread of knowledge, that no individual, however humble, escaped the contagion. On the blacksmith's anvil was opened the page of history; the cobbler forsook his stall for the professor's chair; and the tailor suspended his stitches, to gather up the threads of a metaphysical discourse. Even the Woolsack was infected with philosophy; for Brougham held the seals, and avowed a determination to revive the days of Lord Bacon, vainly attempting to amalgamate law and science, as if there were no more difficulty in unravelling the intricacies of a Chancery suit, than in analysing a chemical compound. The painful and elaborate researches of the profound theologian were contemned, and moral philosophy now sought an alliance with legislation; follies and crimes were to be exterminated, and the passions subdued and regulated upon scientific principles. I thought that even your Grace had changed your opinions,—that on the altar of peace was deposited the sword of Waterloo, and that violence was subdued solely by the force of reason.

Mr. Peel.—Why, my Lord, you beheld a revival of the French revolution.

Lord Eldon.—It was a revolution far more effectual and complete, but neither violent nor sanguinary. It seemed to be the result of a

mental conviction, operating simultaneously and silently, but powerfully, upon all classes, not sparing even the King himself. As old institutions died away, they were quietly replaced by others, so just in their proportions, so beautiful and harmonious, that, with all my apprehensions of a change, and my sorrow at the departure of old institutions, I could not but admire the rising fabric. I know not how it was, but I felt alarm at every step, notwithstanding. Heaven knows where all this rage for innovation will end!

Duke of Wellington.—It will be absolutely necessary, my dear Lord, that you banish from your mind the recollection of state affairs, before you can enjoy that sweet content which the green fields and verdant meadows are calculated to bestow. Zimmerman said, that in the midst of a crowded city he was in solitude; and here, amidst the silence of the groves, you will be subject to all the inconvenience and turmoil of a crowd, if you permit tumultuous thoughts to agitate your breast.

Mr. Peel.—Think no more of them, my Lord; let political affairs take their own course,—“the evil will cure itself.”

Lord Eldon.—I banish them for ever: though Brougham should repeal the Statutes at Large—though he should teach natural philosophy from the woosack, and ethics in the courts of law—

undisturbed will I keep on the even tenour of my way; and I propose to begin our rural occupations with gardening, for which purpose I have brought with me the Works of Evelyn. I have already turned over some of the leaves, and it is so long since I have read any other works than the weighty matters of the law, that a new world is opening upon me. In short, I have almost forgotten nature and her beautiful varieties. Evelyn, however, had displayed to me a paradise, and, in this delightful month of May, he tells his readers to “sow sweet marjoram, basil, thyme, hot and aromatic herbs, and plants which are the most tender.”

When the Monday arrived, I attended the appointment, and was informed by the Duke's private secretary, who offered to conduct me to the Duke, that the party were at the extremity of the park planning a botanic garden. The Duke honoured me with a courteous reception. He made many inquiries relative to the connexions of Colonel Betterton, whom he well remembered and regretted, and introduced me to Lord Eldon and Mr. Peel. I soon found from their conversation that the combinative principle of society had been the subject of inquiry; for we had not walked far from the spot where I found them, before we came in contact with a large ant-hill. “Here,” said Lord Eldon, “is a case

in point." And we all collected round the busy scene. I observed, that I could scarcely offer them a better illustration of the general principles.

Lord Eldon.—So far as industry may be considered a test, this does indeed appear to be a well-organized community;—carpenters, carriers, builders, purveyors, but no thieves and no lawyers*. It is very true that while each is supplied from a general store, and to the extent of his wants, the motive to theft is destroyed: where all is public property, there is no Court of Chancery; and happy indeed would it be for mankind if they could share alike the bounties of nature and the fruits of their own industry:—but it has been remarked, in refutation of this principle, that men are not bees.

Fitzosborne.—Pardon me, my Lord, but I do not perceive the force of that remark. If it be meant that man is not directed by instinct to this harmonious state of society, its truth must be admitted; yet how often has reason, by observing the operations of nature, conducted him, at a comparatively late period of the world, to a successful imitation! and when he has reaped the

* "The essence of right and wrong does not depend upon words and clauses inserted in a code or statute book; much less upon the conclusions and explications of lawyers; but upon reason and the nature of things, antecedent to all laws."
—GORDON, *Cato's Letters*.

advantages of the experiment, he wonders that it remained so long undiscovered*.

Lord Eldon.—The distinction in the remark I quoted refers rather to the passions of men, some of which are not found in the lower animals, at least in those species adopting the principle of combined exertions, such as the ants† and beavers, for man has ambition, and aspires to rule over his fellow-creatures: supply his animal wants, and you will still be unable to satisfy or to suppress his desire for authority and command.

Fitzosborne.—I am inclined to think that some of the desires which we deem inherent are acquired; and certainly, if ambition be natural, instead of being repressed or wisely directed, it is stimulated by the training and education of children, and fostered, inflamed, and misdirected

* “. . . for truth is justly called the daughter of time, not of authority. Whence it is no wonder, if these joint fascinations, viz. of authors, of antiquity, and consent, should so far bind the faculties of men as to keep them, like persons possessed, from conversing with things themselves.”—*LORD BACON.*

† “The ants are acquainted with labours, combats,—I was about to say, pleasures; they possess signs which are of use to them as a language, give proof of their affection for each other, and of devotedness for their colony, and take care of their females and their little ones. These are well-known traits of civilization; and, if ants were only the size of beavers, we should think we could not sufficiently admire them.”—*HUBER.*

by the institutions of society. In education it is insinuated under the milder character of emulation; in society encouraged by the indiscriminate admiration of rank and power, whether lawfully obtained and beneficently exercised, or usurped by fraud and violence. Such are the *motives*;—then as to the *means* of gratification. These lie in the dissatisfaction and distresses of the people*, who, either destitute or possessing an inadequate share of the productions of the earth, become attentive hearers to, and willing instruments in the hands of, those who, under pretence of redressing their wrongs, usurp authority which is employed in riveting their chains more firmly. Hooker has said, that whoever shall go about to persuade the people they can be better governed, will not want attentive hearers. Under a better system, where all are equally well provided and well instructed, none would listen to the projects of an individual who could obtain unlawful power only at their own expense.

Lord Eldon.—Now for the motives and means of your new system.

* “There are miseries which wring the very heart: some want even food; they dread the winter: others eat forced fruits; artificial heats change the earth and seasons to please their palates. I have known citizens, because grown rich, so execrably dainty, as to swallow at a morsel the nourishment of a hundred families;—great are they who can behave well in these extremities.”—BRUYERE.

Fitzosborne.—Emulation, reward, and punishment will be banished. In our plans of education, good qualities are not excited by invidious contrast, or from a desire to excel others, but from the pleasures imparted by their exercise and improvement. Power and distinction* will be estimated only as they are rendered tributary to the general good, and no other pretensions will secure to their possessor either their continuance, or the esteem and support of his fellow-citizens; for where there is no ignorant multitude to delude, as well might a designing demagogue attempt to persuade mankind to embrace acknowledged evils, as to induce an intelligent people to change institutions of the advantages of which they are in the full enjoyment, while there exist upon record the endless miseries of an inferior and degrading constitution of society.

Duke of Wellington.—In this busy community I see none of my own profession: do you intend to dispense with the army altogether?

Fitzosborne.—Your Grace will perceive that wherever we attempt to disturb this hill, the

* “Behold the original and primitive nobility of all those great persons who are too proud now, not only to till the ground, but almost to tread upon it. We may talk what we please of lilies, and lions rampant, and spread eagles, in fields *d’or* or *d’argent*, but if heraldry were guided by reason, a plough in a field arable would be the most noble and ancient of arms.”—COWLEY.

ants assume an attitude of defiance; all are soldiers, or, in other words, defenders of the community, and all equally interested in the general welfare; the apprehension of danger is speedily communicated, and their movements, when necessary, become uniform and almost simultaneous. And thus will it be with men under a right system; there will be no body of men set apart exclusively for war, either offensive or defensive, for they will all be trained to arms, until the inhabitants of neighbouring countries are equally enlightend; and, as gymnastic exercises will form a part of education, they will far surpass any army in discipline, celerity of movement, and in strength; for their number will be co-extensive with that of the population itself, actuated by one general impulse. In case of attack, they will feel that not only life itself, but all that can render life valuable, is put to hazard:—but there can be no chance of future wars; for the knowledge of these principles, when once attained by the intelligent, will be speedily diffused, and reduced to practice by the whole civilized world.

Duke of Wellington.—Can you, then, seriously believe that the time will ever arrive when the triumphs of heroism and all that is splendid in bravery shall be forgotten?—when the trumpet's clangour shall no longer rouse the warrior to

deeds of arms? Scarcely can we read the animated descriptions of ancient valour but a feeling of admiration and delight thrills through our frame, as if to remind us of the noble enthusiasm and glory of which our nature is susceptible*.

Fitzosborne.—Permit me to ask your Grace if similar sensations are not experienced when the mind is vividly impressed with the description of events equally striking, but of a more peaceful character†;—such, for instance, as that of the whole audience spontaneously rising when Virgil entered the theatre in Rome, and the glorious spectacle of the Roman people going forth to meet Cicero on his return from banishment? Here the mind sympathizes with the finest traits of our congenial nature,—the unsophisticated and general expression of a virtuous feeling added to its strength; and while it gave a higher tone to

* “Vous serez certainement, Monseigneur, un grand prince, si plein d’admiration pour le génie de Philippe, inépuisable en ressources, et le courage audacieux d’Alexandre, une raison prématurée vous a cependant porté à blâmer leur ambition, et désirer qu’ils eussent fait un meilleur emploi de leurs grands qualités.”—MABLY.

† “The St. Kildans celebrate in their rude songs the man who has mounted steep before inaccessible, or has pursued the tenants of the rock to their secret recesses; and lament the fall of those who perished in the daring attempt. Superior skill in striking the seal is the highest glory to which a Greenlander can aspire. Strangers to war, and its guilty trophies, their ambition is all centered in peaceful arts and useful labour.”—*Murray on the Character of Nations.*

the character of the people, it excites the sympathies, and thereby impresses the character of all succeeding ages. And it has this advantage over military achievements, inasmuch as it is an unmixed good, and extends its unalloyed beneficial influence over all mankind, testifying the delight which the poetry of the Mantuan had inspired, and the deep commiseration for the wrongs the patriot had endured. Nor can the recollection of heroic deeds, in any reflecting mind, be unaccompanied by the dreadful consequences of the sanguinary conflict, the vanquished warrior, his sorrowing widow, or neglected orphans. The sound of music and the glare of fantastic habiliments may overpower the imagination of a rude and semibarbarous people, but it is not in an enlightened age that even the elegance and chastened splendour of dress, or the most animating and sublime harmony, can disguise injustice or reconcile mankind to a course which truth and virtue must condemn. And what, after all, is gained by war* ?

* “. . . . a doctrine which only inculcates warlike virtues and warlike manners ; as if virtue, whose essence is to preserve, could connect itself with the idea of war, whose essence is to destroy,—a doctrine which calls a savage hatred to every other nation *patriotism* ; as if the exclusive love of our own tribe were not the special virtue of wolves and tigers ; as if, in the great society of human kind, there were a different justice and a different virtue for nations and for individuals ; as if a war-

Duke of Wellington.—The security of property and the preservation of our liberties.

Fitzosborne.—Oh! let the wrongs of Ireland attest the recompence of her wounded and disbanded soldiers. Dupes to the possessors of property, in shedding their blood for its protection, how ill have they been requited for all their sufferings! Not for the preservation of their own property and their own liberties were they summoned to the field, behold them in a state of utter destitution* and worse than slaves, for with the willingness to labour, they are without the protection of a master. When there exists no private interest opposed to the general wel-

like and a conquering people differed from a turbulent and wicked individual, who takes possession of his neighbour's property because he is the stronger; finally, a doctrine which only tends to lead back Europe to the ferocious manners of the Cimbri and the Teutones."—*Volney's Lectures on History.*

* "Consider the City of London last year. Dreadful accounts of starving manufacturers were commonly confronted in the opposite columns of the same newspaper by grand entertainments, splendid fêtes, and routs: nor were the east and west ends of the town so distant in that sad year as north and south. The Lord Mayor proposed to the *City* that the sum of one thousand pounds, usually expended in a dinner on Easter Monday, should be applied to charitable purposes; on which the Court *resolved* unanimously in favour of the ancient custom and dignity of the City of London! *Sic inde huc omnes tanquam ad vivaria currunt!* And thus a sum that would have dined 20,000 persons, who wanted both dinner and supper, was wasted on a few plethoric citizens."—*Ensor on Population*, 1818.

fare, there will be no peculiar profession for the use of arms. Our coasts will be protected by millions, far more willing, however, to conciliate than to destroy their enemies.

Mr. Peel.—And so, my Lord Duke, “Othello’s occupation’s gone:” and even mine appears upon the wane; for the amendments of the penal code will hardly be necessary to the diminution of crime when the causes are removed*. But do you think that the industrious, under the new arrangements, will consent to share the products of labour in equal portions with the idle†?

* “Instead of cutting away wretches as useless, before we have tried their utility, and thus converting correction into vengeance, it were to be wished that we tried the restrictive arts of government, and made the law the protector and not the tyrant of the public. We should then find that creatures, whose souls are held as dross, only wanted the hand of the refiner; we should then find that wretches, now stuck up for long tortures, lest luxury should feel a momentary pang, might, if properly treated, serve to sinew the state in times of danger; that, as their faces are like ours, their hearts are so too; that few minds are so base as that perseverance cannot amend; that a man may see his last crime without dying for it.”—**GOLDSMITH.**

† “The present state of society in Europe may nearly be divided into two classes, one of which wants the necessaries of life, and the other abounds in its superfluities. The first, which is the most numerous, cannot provide for its wants without hard labour; and it has been already shown, that a life of this kind cannot be a happy life. The latter riots in plenty, but by the sacrifice of all its days to indolence, it suffers all the ‘pains and penalties of idleness,’ and is sometimes (generally) more unhappy than the former.”—**FELANGIERI.**

Fitzosborne.—If the industrious man discovers, that under well-concerted and united efforts he can realize more enjoyment than by his isolated exertions, he will persevere, notwithstanding the inequality of contribution,—being convinced, that unless he discards such trifling considerations he must forgo the incalculable benefits of the social order. But this objection will disappear, when we reflect that long since each individual could produce far more than was sufficient for his own consumption ; and now, so immense has been the increase in the powers of production, through the aid of machinery, chemistry, and other branches of science, that sufficient employment could not be found, unless the minds of men are more cultivated, to enable them to seek new sources of amusement and occupation. This difficulty obtains even in the existing state of confusion ; but with the extraordinary œconomy of a well-ordered community, the time necessary to accomplish all needful objects will be brief indeed.

Mr. Peel.—I have always maintained that the outcry against machinery was the result of ignorance.

Fitzosborne.—I think, Sir, the complaint on the part of the working classes was well-founded ; for, as society is at present constituted, whatever abridges human labour reduces its value.—In the society of insects before us, if we can imagine

that they could discover other and less laborious means of accumulating their stores, all would be benefited in a diminution of their toil ; but what would be the consequence if several thousands of them were employed in a separate department,—in carrying up straw for instance,—and their claims upon the store depended solely upon their exertions ? Means however are devised by which this straw can be conveyed by one sixth of the number before employed ;—the claims of the rest cease with their employment, and they must starve or become dependent upon others.

Mr. Peel.—But are you not aware that this machinery has been found to employ more hands than were before engaged in the same fabrications, in consequence of the article being reduced in value, and being in more extensive demand ?

Fitzosborne.—That may have been occasionally true, until we had become a nation of cotton-spinners for the whole world : but consider, Sir, the misery that was endured during the intervals of an overstocked market and a renewed demand—for then idleness and poverty engender crime and permanent loss of character. Machinery has now reached that point when large numbers must of necessity be idle, and those who are employed will obtain inadequate wages. The rapidity with which every manufactured article is now produced, soon overwhelms the markets

with superfluous quantities ;—the consequent depression in the prices not remunerating manufacturers for their expenses, many suspend their works until a diminished stock raises the market. The manufacturers are eager to avail themselves of the improved demand, and the supply soon becomes again superabundant, and wages are again reduced. To the distressing effects of this oscillation are our working classes exposed : alternately cheered by the prospect of better days, or borne down by disappointment, their liability to crime would be less, and their chance of amelioration more certain, under an unvarying depression ; for, if they were unacquainted with occasional comforts, they could better endure want and resist temptation ; and the efforts of the benevolent to improve their condition would not then be slackened by the delusive hope of reviving prosperity.

Mr. Peel.—Do you now consider the value of their labour permanently depressed*?

* The following questions and answers occur in the examination of witnesses by the Select Committee on Emigration, and prove the futility of that scheme for escaping the consequences of the use of machinery. It has been calculated that the annual improvements in machinery are equivalent to the influx of more than one million of labourers :—what then must be the annual number of emigrants, to stay reduction in the value of manual labour ?

“ *Major Thomas Moody examined.*

“ Q. Have you had any communication upon the subject with

Fitzosborne.—I do, Sir; and any slight improvement in the demand will serve to employ a few more of those who are upon their parishes or in precarious occupations. But a still more serious consequence has flowed from machinery, in depreciating the value of that labour for which it is not immediately substituted.

Mr. Peel.—How is that possible?

Fitzosborne.—Because it compels those whose labour can be dispensed with, to seek employment where it is not introduced, thereby occasioning an increased supply of labour in other channels. To such an extent is this evil spreading throughout society, that every species of labour, not excepting literary, is reduced in value.

any persons who are manufacturers of machinery?—Yes.
Q. What was their opinion upon that point?—Their opinion was, that machinery would be increased, to the substitution of human labour.

“*Mr. W. S. Northhouse examined.*

“Q. Have you reason to suppose that there is any chance of such an improvement in the trade, as to employ, at adequate wages, the individuals who belong to that (cotton-spinning) trade?—It is utterly impossible under any circumstances; machinery has already superseded, to a very great extent, the hand-loom weavers, and it continues to improve and to be appropriated to other fabrics than those to which it has been hitherto appropriated; and I can mention as a fact, that even with the excessive demand occasioned by the peculiar circumstances of last year, when there was more than double the quantity made than could be sold, and every market in the world was glutted, still the whole of the weavers were not employed, and their wages continued to decrease.”

Mr. Peel.—Had you not given me some clue by which to unravel the seeming paradox, I should have thought you had been reviving Swift's idea of a machine for facilitating the progress of speculative knowledge in the island of Laputa. I do not, however, perceive the universality of its operation.

Fitzosborne.—I will endeavour to explain.—Every individual in society, who is not living exclusively upon independent property, may be denominated a labourer, that is to say, he is rendering some service to society for which he receives remuneration.

Mr. Peel.—But how can mechanics supply that which can be obtained from those only of mental acquirements?

Fitzosborne.—In consequence of the general diffusion of knowledge, such qualifications have become much more common; and if they are still rare among the working classes, many of the latter are enabled to rise some grades higher in the scale of society, and to become clerks in counting-houses and offices: the most intelligent among these,—who may have had the advantages of a better education than the working classes, and preferring, or qualified for, intellectual pursuits,—are compelled, by this increase in their numbers, to seek that employment.

Lord Eldon.—I must certainly admit that so-

licitors and barristers have greatly increased in number.

Duke of Wellington.—Applications for rank in the army were never so numerous as they have been lately.

Fitzosborne.—Those in the army or in public situations, with fixed incomes, are the only parties benefited by the annual decline in the value of productions.

Mr. Peel.—That is an advantage which you appear to have overlooked,—the cheapness of productions.

Fitzosborne.—It is an advantage, unaccompanied by loss, to those only of whom we have been speaking; for the decline in the value of commodities is a consequence of the previous reduction in the value of their labour. Although prices are diminished, the means of purchase are diminished in a still greater degree.

Mr. Peel.—Then according to your theory the capitalist is not exempt from inconvenience; for his income is not fixed, but liable to fluctuation.

Fitzosborne.—And from the same cause: for if his capital is invested in land, increased competition reduces the rent and also renders it insecure. Is it invested in machinery,—here is he in greater danger; for rival and powerful establishments may ruin him; a discovery in science may destroy the value of his machinery by superseding

it altogether. Profits in every direction are now so small, that none can succeed but those who, uniting great skill, œconomy, and industry with a large capital, are enabled to make immense returns.

Duke of Wellington.—How do you account for the distresses in agriculture?

Fitzosborne.—By competition: for capital as well as labour is driven from one employment to another more profitable, until all are alike overwhelmed with superfluity of both, and the markets saturated with productions.

Duke of Wellington.—Still, when you look at the Custom House returns, there is every indication of increasing prosperity.

Fitzosborne.—Those returns, my Lord, may prove that a certain number of rich capitalists are sending out their manufactures, produced by machinery, worked by a population in a manner that destroys their health and demoralizes their character; or they may be exported by some who are not so opulent, but who are struggling for priority in the supply of markets which may probably yield them an unprofitable return;—at all events they are no evidence of internal prosperity.

Duke of Wellington.—Look, then, to the Excise.

Fitzosborne.—These, my Lord, are too frequently swelled by the consumption of ardent

spirits, or of such articles as are no evidence of an improved condition of the people; nay, it may be owing to their very demoralization that these returns are larger.

Mr. Peel.—You would not advise the abolition of machinery?

Fitzosborne.—By no means, Sir; for, rightly directed, it is of the greatest benefit to mankind; and although it is true, that in the history of its progress, from the substitution of the plough for the spade, down to the termination of the late war, the temporary evils of innovation were counterbalanced by some permanent good, yet it has now attained a power which will for ever weigh down the working classes, and produce in its extension more confusion and disorder, until a constitution of society is formed in which the wants of mankind will be no longer supplied through the uncertain medium of a demand for their labour and the struggle of contending interests, but by regular industry under intelligent arrangement, in which kindness and generosity will be found to be more profitable to all, than the most successful schemes of individual competition.

Mr. Peel.—But admitting machinery to be productive of the consequences you describe, it is beyond the controul of Parliament.

Fitzosborne.—Is Parliament to carry its respect

for vested interests so far as not to disturb them when they militate against the general welfare? There is, however, no necessity to violate or abrogate the established laws of property, in order to effect the most beneficial change. Train and educate the pauper population upon allotments of land, and illustrate these principles by the success of your experiments: should they succeed, all will be eager to educate their children accordingly: should they fail in producing the good that has been predicted, they cannot, from their very nature, be entirely barren of profitable experience.

Duke of Wellington.—I should like to see an experiment made with some of the parochial poor; their condition could not, at all events, be made worse.

Fitzosborne.—If the parochial children could be collected, there would be less difficulty with them; for all adults have acquired, under the existing system, habits that are difficult to conquer: children are the most plastic materials for a new state of society, and this seems to be the time destined for its commencement; for about the period when science has brought to light such improvements in mechanism as offer in a great degree a substitute for human labour, greater facilities have been discovered for improving more generally and more rapidly the intellectual faculties and moral qualities of man, by the suc-

cessful efforts of Bell, Lancaster, Fellenberg, and Pestalozzi.

Duke of Wellington.—Notwithstanding the force of many of your arguments, there appears to be something so extravagant in your prediction,—so contrary to all experience, to all that we have ever read and heard, that I am really as sceptical as ever.

Fitzosborne.—But are not the means proposed to be employed adequate to the end? If history supplies no example of the result, neither does it record the application of the same means*.

Duke of Wellington.—Consulting my own feelings, I should not like the public to be admitted indiscriminately into this park.

* “Neither need we any way repine, that many excellently conceived theories, morals not excepted, have remained so long without being carried into practice among mankind. The child learns much which the man alone can apply; but he has not therefore learned in vain. The youth heedlessly forgets what at some future period he must take pains to recollect, or learn a second time. So no truth that is treasured up, nay, no truth that is discovered, among a race continually renovating, is wholly in vain: future circumstances will render necessary what is now despised; and in the infinity of things every case must occur, that can in any degree exercise the human species. As in the Creation we first conceive the *power* that formed chaos, and then disposing *wisdom*, and harmonious *goodness*; so the natural order of mankind first develops rude powers: disorder itself must guide them into the path of understanding; and the further the understanding pursues its work, the more it perceives, that goodness alone can bestow on it durability, perfection, and beauty.”—*Herder's Philosophy of Man.*

Fitzosborne.—Your Grace would not like your privacy to be invaded by those whose habits and opinions were dissimilar to your own : but I hope you will always bear in mind that I advocate no sudden changes ; for such, I believe, we are quite unprepared, and they are totally impracticable ;—all must be the result of education.

Duke of Wellington.—There must always be a variety in talent and inclination*.

Fitzosborne.—An agreeable variety. Imagine, my Lord, the whole island in as high a state of cultivation as your own grounds and gardens,—no locality without its shaded walks and delightful retreats. Imagine also another generation rising under an improvement of intellect and feeling, that shall give them minds richly stored, benevolent affections, and a noble mien and aspect, possessing withal a variety, but only in knowledge and goodness ;—would not each highly gifted individual rejoice in finding everywhere a congenial mind to share and heighten his enjoyments by mutual communication ? Solitude would no

* “ Tous les hommes desirent d'être heureux, cela est sans exception. Quelques differens moyens qu'ils y employent, ils tendent tous à ce but. Ce qui fait que l'un va à la guerre, et que l'autre n'y va pas, c'est ce même désir qui est dans tous les deux, accompagné de différentes vues. La volonté ne fait jamais la moindre démarche que vers cet objet. C'est le motif de toutes les actions de tous les hommes, jusqu'à ceux qui se tuent et qui se pendent.”—*Pensées de Pascal.*

longer be valued; on the contrary, it would resemble a magnificent temple deserted by its presiding deity*.

Duke of Wellington.—More extravagant than ever!

Fitzosborne.—Will Your Grace call to mind how much the Greeks accomplished without a hundredth part of the means, and with little of the experience that we possess: Have we not the same human nature to work upon as they had†?

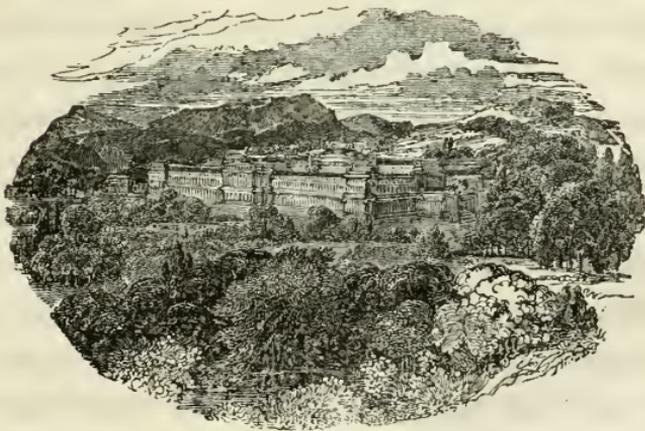
* “By the help of such vast numbers, living without anxiety, and in a goodly correspondence, they would be able to cultivate every spot that was habitable in the manner most suitable to its nature. By their united labours they would raise the most magnificent works, and add innumerable beauties to the face of the earth. Knowledge would increase wonderfully by experiments made at leisure, and with exactness, in all places of the earth, which would be freely communicated everywhere, and be regularly transmitted to posterity. An inconceivable progress would be made in discovering the laws of nature. There would be proportionable advances in all sorts of useful, ingenious, and agreeable arts. Every one might have the means of being a philosopher, if he pleased. A happy emulation, or love of glory, an unsatiable curiosity, the love of truth, and an ardent thirst after knowledge, would render men more ingenious and more successful in making useful discoveries, than either their present wants and necessities, or their love of gain. Scarce can anything be supposed so difficult to be discovered or effected, that it would not yield to the united efforts of mankind in such a favourable situation. In short, the whole earth would become a paradise, and mankind be universally wise and happy.”—*Wallace on the Prospects of Mankind.*

† “Who can affirm that, in our time, among civilized or

Duke of Wellington.—Their institutions were formed for a limited population, and were not adapted for an extensive empire.

Fitzosborne.—But if the union of a small number is best calculated for the attainment of some objects, this would not prevent the co-operation of many such unions in the attainment of others: regiments are drilled and disciplined separately, but they can act together when their combined movements are necessary.

barbarous nations, we might not find other Homers or Lycurguses employed in the discharge of the vilest functions? Nature, ever free and ever rich in her productions, scatters minds endowed with genius over the earth; but circumstances alone can expand and perfect their powers.”—*Anacharsis.*



CHAPTER VII.

. . . . "Turn we to private life
And social neighbourhood; look we to ourselves;
A light of duty shines on every day
For all; and yet how few are warm'd or cheer'd!
How few who mingle with their fellow-men
And still remain self-governed and apart,
Like this our honoured friend; and thence acquire
Right to expect his vigorous decline,
That promises to the end a blest old age!"

WORDSWORTH.

I CONTINUED my occasional visits at the Duke's mansion for several weeks, and detailed the discussions to Hampden in our rambles over the fields; but he often condemned my tame refutations, as he denominated them, of the objections urged. Nor could I congratulate myself upon much success; for although the reasons brought forward in support of my theory appeared to be acquiesced in by the distinguished party,—for such seemed the conclusion of the most lengthened investigations,—yet on the following day the old arguments were renewed with as much pertinacity as if the triumph had been on their side.

During my absence, Hampden would sometimes walk to the nearest market town, about three

miles distant, to read the newspapers and reviews in a subscription-room at a bookseller's. Among those who frequented the room was an elderly clergyman, Dr. Bathurst, with whom Hampden soon formed an acquaintance; and as his residence was about a mile from the town, and a short distance from the high road leading to our village, they often walked together. Dr. Bathurst was attracted by the ingenuous manners of Hampden, who, recognising the profession of his new acquaintance, was cautious in the expression of his opinions. Several times the Doctor felt inclined to invite him to his house; but, as he knew nothing of his connexions, he restrained himself. One morning, as they were returning to their respective homes, Dr. Bathurst, who had been for several days indisposed, complained of giddiness, and was in the act of falling, when Hampden caught him in his arms and laid him gently on his back under the hedge. He was pale as death; and Hampden, alarmed, knew not what to do. Looking round, he saw at a short distance a cottage, to which he hastened and procured some cold water and vinegar. Upon rubbing his temples, the Doctor revived, looked up, and grasped the hand of Hampden: he attempted to walk, but his knees trembled under him. After sitting a few minutes, he made a second attempt, which was more successful; and

when Hampden offered to accompany him to his door, he leaned upon his arm, and they passed slowly down the green lane: the way lay round a hill which excluded the village church from the high road, and as they approached it, the most delightful and picturesque scenery opened upon them. The church stood at the foot of the hill; it was an ancient edifice with a spire, which, although more modern, had been sufficiently discoloured by time and weather to harmonize with the body of the church. The steeple was almost covered with ivy on the side next the vicarage, from which it was divided by a small paddock: the house was old, but it had been modernized and tastefully ornamented by its present possessor. The French drawing-room windows opened upon a lawn bordered by flower-pots:—on the side of the house fronting the church was the study: at the bottom of the lawn a deep but narrow brook flowed rapidly; it was crossed by an elegant iron bridge.

When they arrived within sight of the house, two young ladies came forth hastily to meet their father; but they slackened their pace on observing a stranger with him. As the Doctor had not walked so far since his indisposition, they had been anxiously watching his return. Hampden would have taken his leave at the door, but the Doctor insisted upon his taking some refresh-



The Vicarage.

ment. Cake and wine were brought out ; and when the Doctor had drank a glass of Madeira, he felt himself much revived. After briefly informing his daughters of the obligations he was under to Mr. Hampden, he recruited his strength by becoming a listener only to the conversation of the young people. The attention which Hampden had been compelled to devote to the father while leading him to the house, had scarcely allowed him to notice the daughters, with whom he was now in animated discourse. His spirits seldom failed him in society, and the gratitude the young ladies expressed for his kindness to their father, who had often made favourable mention of his name,—together with the frank politeness of his manners, soon banished the timidity they had at first evinced. The eldest, Elizabeth, was about nineteen, with a countenance not beautiful but highly intelligent, and rendered still more interesting by a lively expression of benevolence. The youngest, Mary, was only fifteen, less animated than her sister, but of an observing mind. Whether it was owing to the adventure of the Doctor's indisposition, the effect of the surrounding scenery, the unaffected simplicity of the amiable Elizabeth, or the united force of all these circumstances,—but Hampden began to feel himself as much domesticated as if he had long been an inmate

of the house ; and it was with little hesitation in departing, that he promised, on the pressing invitation of the family, to renew his visit. Poor Hampden's heart was certainly in danger ; and unfortunately for him, when he quitted the vicarage, the moon was up, and, as if conspiring to complete the conquest, her mild splendour encouraged his musings, and served to strengthen the impression Elizabeth had made. On his return he related to me the affair, not forgetting the praises of his fair friend, who, I perceived, already possessed no small share of his thoughts.

Hampden had much time on his hands, and his visits at the vicarage became frequent. As he repeated some of their conversations, it was obvious that his interest in Miss Bathurst was increasing. One evening, after dilating in the warmest terms upon the pleasure he had experienced during the afternoon spent with the Doctor and his family in the garden bower, he suddenly paused, commenced a sentence, and, leaving it unfinished, paused again. At last he said, "Fitzosborne, I must tell you all ;—I am deeply in love." "I am well assured of that," I replied ; "and I know with whom—Elizabeth Bathurst." "I must confess," he rejoined, "her intelligence and sweetness of disposition, together with the cheerfulness and perseverance with which she discharges her filial duties, have so won upon

me, that I scarcely feel happy but in her society." This communication, which was not altogether unexpected, was at the same time far from gratifying to me; for, although I had long wished him to form some attachment that might tend to soften his character, I had not sufficiently reflected upon the difficulties and distresses he might bring upon himself, should he engage his affections where disappointment might ensue. His disposition, liable to be strongly excited, had been, as already mentioned, inflamed by opposition; and if he should encourage sanguine hopes to be again frustrated, I trembled for the consequences. I felt assured that he would not relinquish his conscientious opinions; and to suppose that an alliance could be formed with the daughter of a clergyman, without such renunciation, was not very probable. These thoughts now crowded upon me, but still I refrained from giving them utterance in his present state. I observed, that "nothing would afford me greater pleasure than to witness his union with an agreeable companion, as I was persuaded that his happiness would be greatly promoted, provided her sentiments were congenial with his own;—that it sometimes happened, in too sudden attachments, unforeseen difficulties arose, and it would be well for him to reflect upon all the circumstances of the respective parties before his affections were

unalterably fixed." Hampden scarcely appeared to attend to this advice. Having made an effort to disclose himself to his friend, he was again absorbed in the recollection of the object so dear to him, and in whose praises he could now indulge without further restraint. His visits at the vicarage became still more frequent; and notwithstanding all my suggestions, which, from oblique hints, were now become urgent remonstrances, he prosecuted his attentions until the Doctor noticed an attachment which was evidently reciprocal. Such was the regard that Hampden had felt towards all the family, that Dr. Bathurst and himself were on the footing of father and son; and it was from this cause that the Doctor was the last to discover his strong attachment to his daughter. No sooner had he perceived it, than he reproached himself for having given so much apparent encouragement; and he was seriously deliberating upon an interference, when an event took place which rendered an explanation absolutely necessary.

Although Dr. Bathurst was distinguished for benevolence, and, as a clergyman, for great liberality towards those who differed in opinion from himself, and, more particularly, Christian dissenters from the Church of England,—so much so that he had given offence thereby to some of his clerical brethren,—yet there was one set of opi-

nions which he regarded with more marked disapprobation,—those entertained by Deists and Atheists. Early in life he had been destined to the clerical profession, and had scarcely left College before he was appointed preceptor to a young nobleman, whom he accompanied two or three years in his travels over the Continent. This nobleman, many years after he had taken his seat in the House of Lords, was high in office; and, as he retained a great regard for the Doctor, would have promoted him, had he thought the advancement desirable to his reverend friend:—but the Doctor loved his retirement, and was careless of being known to men in power, except when he wished to serve a deserving object: *neque eo magis potenti adulatus est Antonio, neque desperatos reliquit*; and, accordingly, his occasional applications were instantly attended to. He had been taught to avoid the perusal of every work tending in the remotest degree to affect the truth of Christianity. He was therefore unacquainted with some of the most able works on metaphysics. His exclusive studies would have rendered his mind less liberal, had it not been enlarged by his former intercourse with the world, and by an extensive correspondence. The native goodness of his heart, also, had no small share in checking the encroachments of prejudice. I have already mentioned, that cau-

tion in the expression of his opinions was not one of Hampden's characteristics; but in the house of a clergyman, every object was calculated to remind him of the profession of his friend. The books, and prints of celebrated divines hung round the room,—the representation of the village church, sketched by Elizabeth, and suspended over the fire-place, all served to admonish the impetuous disciple of the "New Views." He had, however, often canvassed Plato's "Republic," Gaudentia di Lucca, and Sir Thomas More's "Utopia," with the Doctor, who was acquainted with his predilection for a state of society founded upon a more just basis than the present.

One morning upon Hampden's entering the room he found a gentleman there,—a Dr. Elliot, of King's College Cambridge, who had gained high honours, and created and entertained great expectations of future eminence. He appeared to be ten years the senior of Hampden, and carried in his aspect the imperious consciousness of the power with which success had imbued him. He came to spend a few days with the Vicar, whom he had not met for many years.

After remaining a short time, Hampden rose to depart, but was compelled to yield to the earnest entreaties of Dr. Bathurst to spend the remainder of the day, and contribute to the so-

ciety of his friend. After having dispatched a messenger with a letter of apology to a family at a short distance, with whom he had engaged to dine, he resumed his seat. As the hour was early, and the rain came on heavily, they were confined to the house the whole day. A variety of subjects were discussed; in the course of which the visitor manifested ultra-tory principles, and of course a strong repugnance to every kind of change. After dinner, when the ladies had retired, the conversation turned upon the causes which led to the French Revolution. Dr. Elliot inveighed with vehemence against the French and English philosophical writers, to whom he attributed not only all the atrocities of that fatal period, but identified the evils themselves with the character of those authors. Upon several occasions throughout the day had Hampden suppressed his rising spirit when at the point of bursting out upon the expression of these illiberal sentiments, but as often checked himself by endeavouring to introduce some other subject: but now, when he heard the names of Helvetius, Mirabeau, Condorcet, Gibbon, Hume, Rousseau, Volney, and others, connected not only with immorality but with the grossest vices, he could no longer restrain himself, and at once declared that he considered the great names that had been mentioned were most unjustly associated with

the crimes of a revolution, the chief causes of which were to be found in the oppression, luxuries, and extravagancies of the great, and in their total disregard of the wants of the people. "Among others," continued Hampden, "you have mentioned Helvetius; I presume you remember his chapter upon 'The Means of securing Virtue?'"

Dr. Elliot.—Indeed I do not, Sir, for I have not read his works; and I should be sorry to waste my time in the perusal of such blasphemies.

Hampden.—Blasphemies! there is not a single sentence in the whole of *L'Esprit* that can be with fairness so denominated, nor one that does not breathe an ardent love of mankind:—but, Sir, as you are ignorant of his works, you cannot be esteemed a competent judge of their merits.

Dr. Elliot.—The principles of Helvetius are too notorious to admit a doubt of their tendency; his name has always been repeated along with others hostile to the interests of Christianity*.

Hampden.—And by whom has it been so repeated? By those who have sounded a war-cry against every discovery affecting in the slightest degree their articles of faith.

Dr. Bathurst.—I must remind you, Mr. Hamp-

* "As ten millions of circles can never make a square, so the united voice of myriads cannot lend the smallest foundation to falsehood."—GOLDSMITH.

den, that a calm inquiry is absolutely necessary to the discovery of truth: I must confess that I have never before witnessed in you this strong excitement. I have no objection to hear any subject discussed in a proper spirit, and I trust you will not lay aside that equanimity for which you have always been distinguished under this roof.

Hampden.—I beg most sincerely to apologize for any forgetfulness in the presence of one for whom I entertain the warmest regard and respect; but having noticed in the authors alluded to, the most benign sentiments, expressed in the mildest terms, I certainly felt surprise and annoyance in hearing their unqualified condemnation, and that without previous investigation.

Dr. Bathurst.—Such have been my professional pursuits and studies, that I also have omitted to examine the works of most of the authors,—at least that portion of their writings relating to metaphysics; and I fear that I have been guilty of the injustice of repudiating them as unfit for general perusal, in consequence of the character which others have attributed to them. I have occasionally dissuaded others, and more particularly the young, from reading all the French philosophical writings. You speak of Helvetius; what are the principles of his *L'Esprit*?

Hampden.—The object of the celebrated production of Helvetius is, to prove that man is

dependent for his character upon the circumstances under which he has been trained and educated, to the institutions of his country, his rank in society, the conversation of his associates, and to all those external influences by which he has been surrounded.

Dr. Bathurst.—But does he attribute nothing to organization, and to the differences in the natural dispositions of individuals?

Hampden.—He does not, Sir; and herein lies the important defect of his work; for he maintains that all men may by perseverance, and under a fortunate concurrence of circumstances, become great geniuses: nevertheless, his writings exhibit extensive research, and abound in striking illustrations of the force of circumstances in moulding the character. Notwithstanding some extravagancies, many new and important truths are to be gleaned from the work in question.

Dr. Elliot.—You acknowledge, then, the extravagancies:—others, less indulgent, have denounced Helvetius for infidelity; while the greatest philosophers of England, Bacon, Newton, and Locke, have supported Christianity.

Hampden.—Helvetius has neither attacked nor ridiculed religion. If he has discovered facts which others are unable to reconcile with some portions of sacred history, let them disprove those facts, and not accuse him of designs which

he never contemplated. Lord Bacon and Sir Isaac Newton laboured in branches of philosophy less likely to elicit truths at variance with superstition, or that would interfere with those religious opinions in which they had themselves been educated: but it was Locke's destiny to lead the way in the new path of metaphysical inquiry; and, although his early opinions were not materially changed, yet was he deemed sufficiently heterodox to draw down the censures of the Bishop of Worcester. The studies that Locke commenced have been prosecuted with great acuteness by many French authors; and if there was any science more calculated to dissipate the traditionary errors of superstition, and to substantiate true religion, it was that which had man for its object.

Dr. Elliot.—How often has the pretext of attacking superstition served to mask the design of infidel writers, some of whom have professed a reverence for religion while plotting its destruction!

Dr. Bathurst.—Unless an author is of an immoral character, of libertine habits, feeling the restraints of religion irksome, or dreading its threatened punishments, it is difficult to conceive their motives for rejecting Christianity*.

* Anthony Collins, in his Letter to Dr. Rogers, observes, "Some of them who reject the Gospel, lead as good lives as

Hampden.—Indeed it is, Sir, unless we admit that of an honest conviction: and when we learn that Helvetius was not only respectable in private life, but remarkable for his great benevolence, and for patient inquiries into the causes of human suffering, the grounds upon which he advances new opinions are deserving some attention. Whenever men of extensive erudition and of high moral character renounce opinions held in general esteem, there is a *prima facie* evidence of the existence of error in those opinions, and of some utility in their public renunciation. Sacrificing the emoluments and advantages awarded to those who support established institutions,—incurring the obloquy that is always cast upon reformers, and more especially upon those who attempt a reformation of the popular belief,—if they do not convince us that they are right, they at least afford some proof of their sincerity. But, as Helvetius observes, there are many who “judge virtuous not what is done, but what is believed; and the credulity of men is, according to them, the only standard of their probity.”

Dr. Bathurst.—Helvetius may be mistaken regarding the motives of those who would check

those who receive it. And I suppose there is no difference, to the advantage of Christians, in point of morality, between them and the Jews, Mahometans, heathens, or others who reject Christianity.”

the progress of erroneous opinion: we are not to infer that, because they are more prompt in their endeavours to vindicate the cause of religious truth, they are indifferent to the preservation of morals. The consequences of immoral conduct frequently terminate in the individual, and are often so strikingly odious as to deter others from the same lamentable course; but the dissemination of false principles may lead to widespread and irreparable mischief.

Hampden.—Here, Sir, lies the difficulty: those very principles which are by one party deemed false, are by the other maintained as true*; and how can the question be better determined than by an open and fair discussion? Those, however, who adopt sentiments differing from the multitude, too frequently refrain from avowing them,

* “Every one thinks his own wisdom perfect, and his own child beautiful. A Jew and a Mahomedan were disputing in a manner that made me laugh. The Mahomedan said in wrath, ‘If this deed of conveyance is not authentic, may God cause me to die a Jew!’ The Jew said, ‘I make an oath on the Pentateuch; and if I swear falsely, I am a Mahomedan like you.’ If wisdom were to cease throughout the world, no one would suspect himself of ignorance.”—*Gladwin’s Persian Classics.*

It is somewhere related that an Indian girl, astonished at the humanity of a British officer towards her father, declared her surprise that any one could display so much kindness who did not believe in the god Vishnu.

because they know that they will either pass unheeded, or be heard with reprobation*.

Dr. Bathurst.—It must be allowed that there

* “Although the advanced civilization of the age rejects the palpably absurd application of torture and death, it is not to be concealed, that, amongst a numerous class, there is an analogous, though less barbarous, persecution of all who depart from received doctrines,—the persecution of private antipathy and public odium. They are looked upon as a species of criminals; and their deviations from established opinions, or, if any one prefers the phrase, their speculative errors, are regarded by many with as much horror as flagrant violations of morality. In the ordinary ranks of men, where exploded prejudices often linger for ages, this is scarcely to be wondered at; but it is painful, and on a first view unaccountable, to witness the prevalence of the same spirit in the republic of letters; to see mistakes in speculation pursued with all the warmth of moral indignation and reproach. He who believes an opinion on the authority of others, who has taken no pains to investigate its claims to credibility, nor weighed the objections to the evidence on which it rests, is lauded for his acquiescence; while obloquy from every side is too often heaped on the man who has minutely searched into the subject, and been led to an opposite conclusion.” And again: “Few speculative errors appear to have produced evil consequences so many and so extensive, as the notion that belief, doubt, and disbelief, are voluntary acts involving moral merit and demerit. One of its most obvious effects has been to draw mankind from an attention to moral conduct, and lead them to regard the belief of certain tenets as far more deserving of approbation than a course of the most consistent virtue. Where such a doctrine prevails, where opinions are considered of paramount importance to actions, it is no wonder if the ties of morality are loosened.”—*Essay on the Formation and Publication of Opinions.*

is too much truth in those statements; but “it appears to me, that the end of intolerance and persecution is fast approaching*.”

Dr. Elliot.—And I fear, Dr. Bathurst, that the end of the Church Establishment is fast approaching, if this latitude is to be allowed to the propagation of every wild opinion.

Dr. Bathurst.—Persecution, so far from destroying, prolongs the existence of error; and there is no other effectual way of checking its progress than by enlightening the minds of the people. The Church of England, having truth for its basis, increases its numbers by free and unrestrained discussion †. Your objection has been forcibly expressed by Dr. Beattie in his “*Essay on Truth*,” which is among the few controversial works of modern date in my library:—I will refer to the passage.

Dr. Elliot.—You could not possess a more valuable and irrefutable treatise; and it is much to be regretted that the present age is barren of such champions. I should like to see the passage.

* See the speech of the Bishop of Norwich, on the abolition of the Test Act.

† Tacitus congratulated himself upon the liberality of the age in which he lived. “If life permit,” said he, “I have reserved the reigns of the deified Nerva and Trajan, as a more copious and secure subject for my old age; our times affording that rare felicity, when a man may think what he pleases, and speak what he thinks.”

Dr. Bathurst.—The passage I allude to is in the chapter on the "Consequences of Metaphysical Scepticism."—Here it is: perhaps Mr. Hampden will do me the favour to read it.

Hampden.—With the greatest pleasure, Sir.

"Caressed by those who call themselves the
 "great, engrossed by the formalities and fopperies
 "of life, intoxicated with vanity, pampered with
 "adulation, dissipated in the tumult of business,
 "or amidst the vicissitudes of folly, they perhaps
 "have little need and little relish for the conso-
 "lations of religion. But let them know, that
 "in the solitary scenes of life there is many an
 "honest and tender heart pining with incurable
 "anguish, pierced with the sharpest sting of dis-
 "appointment, bereft of friends, chilled with
 "poverty*, racked with disease, scourged by
 "the oppressor; whom nothing but trust in Pro-
 "vidence, and the hope of a future retribution,
 "could preserve from the agonies of despair.
 "And do they, with sacrilegious hands, attempt
 "to violate this last refuge of the miserable, and
 "to rob them of the only comfort that had sur-

* "While the slightest inconveniences of the great are magnified into calamities; while tragedy mouths out their sufferings in all the strains of eloquence,—the miseries of the poor are entirely disregarded; and yet some of the lower ranks of people undergo more real hardships in one day, than those of a more exalted station suffer in their whole lives."—GOLDSMITH.

"vived the ravages of misfortune, malice, and
 "tyranny! Did it ever happen, that the in-
 "fluence of their *execrable* tenets disturbed the
 "tranquillity of virtuous retirement, deepened
 "the gloom of human distress, or aggravated
 "the horrors of the grave? Is it possible that
 "this may have happened in many instances?
 "Is it probable that this hath happened, or may
 "happen, in one single instance?—Ye traitors
 "to human kind, how can ye answer for it to
 "your own hearts? Surely every spark of your
 "generosity is extinguished for ever, if this
 "consideration do not awaken in you the keenest
 "remorse, and make you wish in bitterness of
 "soul——But I remonstrate in vain. Could I
 "enforce the present topic by an appeal to your
 "vanity, I might perhaps make some impression:
 "but to plead with you on the principles of
 "benevolence or generosity, is to address you in
 "language ye do not, or will not, understand.

Hampden.—To whom is this passage addressed?
 Doubtless to the Robespierres, Marats, and Ro-
 chesters,—libertines, who feeling the restraints
 imposed upon their passions by religion irksome,
 were desirous of invalidating its testimony.

Dr. Bathurst.—I should rather suppose that
 the appeal was intended for Hume; as the chief
 part of the "Essay on Truth" is devoted to an
 examination of his *Essays*.

Hampden.—Then I do not hesitate to aver, that the passage is far more applicable to Dr. Beattie himself.

Dr. Elliot.—Monstrous !

Hampden.—Yes, Sir, I repeat—to the character of Dr. Beattie ; to him who opposed the endeavours of those who anxiously sought the causes of human suffering, and the means of their removal ; who strove to banish those evils, for the endurance of which the consolations of religion were necessary ; —it was Dr. Beattie who strenuously supported a system in which necessarily “ there is many an honest and tender heart, pining with incurable anguish, pierced with the sharpest sting of disappointment, bereft of friends, chilled with poverty, racked with disease, scourged with the oppressor,”—a system which gives to a wealthy few almost the whole products of labour, and leaves to the producing classes a scanty pittance, and “ one only comfort.” Thus it is that the defenders of the faith affect to pity the wants of those they hold in bondage, and make a merit of applying a remedy to wounds which but for their sanction might never have been inflicted ! Christianity informs us that the first Apostles had all things in common ; modern Christians maintain, that the present state of society,—the unequal division of property,—is ordained by Providence ; and because others have incontestably proved that

riches and poverty are the sources of vices, follies, and crimes, and advocated a more equitable constitution of society*, they are stigmatized as levellers, revolutionists, and enemies of the human race.

Dr. Elliot.—It is an error to suppose that the early Christians had all things in common: for Mosheim has observed, the rich supplied the wants of their indigent brethren with such liberality and readiness, that, as St. Luke tells us, among the primitive Disciples of Christ, all things were *in common*. This expression has, however, been greatly abused, and has been made to signify a *community of rights, goods, or possessions*,—than which interpretation nothing is more groundless, nothing more false. For, from a multitude of reasons, as well as from the express words of St. Peter, it is abundantly manifest that the community, which is implied in mutual use and mutual liberality, is the only thing intended in this passage †.

Hampden.—Surely, Sir, this is a very refined distinction; for where *mutual use and liberality* prevail, there is not likely to be much disputing about *rights, goods, and possessions*.

* "The civil law hath been improved and softened by the mildness of religion. Devoutly is it to be wished that our legislators had wholly drawn their laws from its sacred principles."—FILANGIERI.

† Mosheim, chap. i. p. 1.

Dr. Bathurst.—There is another passage which may be still less in accordance with your sentiments; but I should wish to hear what you can possibly advance in opposition to it.—Speaking of the Bible, he says;

“There is not a book on earth so favourable to all the kind and all the sublime affections, or so unfriendly to *hatred* and persecution, to tyranny, injustice, and every sort of malevolence, as that very Gospel against which our sceptics entertain such a rancorous antipathy. Of this they cannot be ignorant, if they have read it; for it breathes nothing throughout but mercy, benevolence, and peace. If they have not read it, they and their prejudices are as contemptible as anything so *hateful* can be: if they have, their pretended concern for the rights of mankind is all hypocrisy and a lie.”

Hampden.—I think, Dr. Bathurst, without presumption I may conclude that you have not selected this passage as congenial with the spirit of Christianity, or with your own feelings.

Dr. Bathurst.—I fully concur in all that is there said of the sublime morality of the Gospel.

Hampden.—And almost the whole of the sceptics of eminence advocate the same morality; and it is because they perceive that the belief of certain dogmas generates a feeling towards others hostile to the practice of Christian morals, that

they are solicitous to separate articles of faith from ethical instruction*. In the passage you have just read, there is a striking proof of this, as well as a glaring inconsistency; for Dr. Beattie declares that Christianity is "unfriendly to hatred:" and in the next sentence he observes of those who have not read the Bible, "they and their prejudices are as contemptible as anything so *hateful* can be." But the whole work is so much at variance with the meekness of the great Exemplar of Christianity, and with an accurate knowledge of human nature, that his fame is sustained only by that inimitable production, "The Minstrel." Had his philosophy equalled his poetry, he would have been great indeed. Nothing can be weaker than his attempt to overthrow the doctrine of necessity†.

* "Reason cannot show itself more reasonable than to leave reasoning on things above reason."—SIR PHILIP SYDNEY.

"Seize upon truth wherever found,

Among your friends, among your foes;

On Christian or on Heathen ground—

The flower's divine, where'er it grows."

DR. WATTS.

† I have seldom met with a more clear and satisfactory solution of this long-debated question, than in the following extract from the Newcastle Magazine for May 1821.

"From a just and complete view of all the circumstances in which an intelligent being is placed, could he, in any moment of his existence, have acted otherwise than he has acted?—*Ans.* No.

"To justify this answer, it will be proper to attend to the

Dr. Elliot.—There again, Sir, I must differ from you. Dr. Beattie has proved himself a most successful opponent of a dangerous doctrine; for in his *Essay* I think, Dr. Bathurst, I can show you an unanswerable refutation of that most pernicious error.

“Supposing a man to act upon the belief of his being a necessary agent, let us see how he would behave in some of the common affairs of life. He does me an injury. I go to him and remonstrate. ‘You will excuse me,’ says he; ‘I was put upon it by one on whom I am de-
evidence of our experience on the subject, as, in fact, no physical or moral problem can be accurately and philosophically solved in any other manner.

“The different actions of men may be comprised under four: 1. Perception; 2. Judging; 3. Volition; and 4. Acting.

“1. *Perception.*—That we must perceive what we do perceive, is indisputable;—the ideas of reflection arising spontaneously in the mind, according to their order in the chain of association, we cannot reject them. Nor can we avoid using our senses when awake, whereby we as necessarily receive the ideas of sensation; and as we necessarily receive ideas, so each idea is necessarily what it is in our mind,—it being impossible to make anything different from itself.

“2. *Judging.*—The various appearances of proportions being founded in our capacity, and the degree of light in which they stand to us, we can no more change those appearances in us, than we can change the idea of red raised in us; nor can we judge contrary to those appearances, without misbelieving what is demonstrated to our understanding,—which is absolutely impossible.

“3. *Volition.*—This is not a vague and independent faculty operating arbitrarily, but an act consequent on the under-

“ pendent, and who threatened me with beggary
 “ and perdition if I refused to comply.’ I ac-
 “ knowledge this to be a considerable alleviation
 “ of the poor man’s guilt. Next day he repeats
 “ the injury : and, on my renewing my remon-
 “ strance, ‘Truly,’ says he, ‘I was offered sixpence
 “ to do it;’ or ‘I did it to please my humour.
 “ But I know you will pardon me, when I tell
 “ you, that as all motives are the necessary
 “ causes of the actions that proceed from them,
 “ it follows, that all motives productive of the
 “ same action are irresistible, and therefore, in

standing, representing one thing as being more advantageous to our interest than another. Wherefore, as we judge of the truth and falsehood according to appearances, so we must will or prefer as things seem to us, unless we can be indifferent to our own happiness.

“ 4. *Acting*.—Here we experience perfect necessity, finding we always do those actions we will, unless hindered by some intervening cause; and however frequently we may change our will, we still continue necessitated to obey the dictates of our last will or choice.

“ Hence it evidently follows, that all our actions are the inevitable effects of our wills; and that all our wills, or judgments, are either the immediate results, or necessary consequences, of impressions unavoidably received.

“ It is objected by the partisans of liberty, that the mind, in adopting a volition, is self determined;—but this only proves, that every choice we make has been chosen by us, and that every act of the mind has been preceded and produced by another act of the mind. Nor can the plea of indifference be admitted; for motives must either have a necessary and irresistible force, or they can have none.”

“respect of the agent, equally strong: I am
 “therefore as innocent now, as I was formerly;
 “for the event has proved, that the motive
 “arising from the offer of sixpence, or from the
 “impulse of whim, was as effectual in producing
 “the action which you call an injury, as the
 “motive arising from the fear of ruin.’”

Dr. Bathurst.—Now, Mr. Hampden, what reply can you make to that argument?

Hampden.—I can scarcely admit that it deserves the denomination of argument. To attempt the refutation of a truth by appealing to its possible perversion, or to its practical consequences, among men partially instructed and badly trained, is to argue against the utility of a knife because it may fall into the hands of children.

Dr. Bathurst.—But tell me, Mr. Hampden, what beneficial application could you make of this opinion, even if it were proved to be true?

Hampden.—I think, Sir, you will agree with me, that we should endeavour to discover every truth of the existence of which we have any reasonable conjecture, although its practical application may not be apparent*. Every fact in nature

* “The detection of an error, the establishment of a fact, the determination of a doubtful principle, may spread its benefits over large portions of the human race, and be the means of lessening the misery or increasing the happiness of myriads

has its value: some remain unapplied until the discovery of other facts, to which they have an affinity, or with which a union may be essential to their practical utility; but the truth in question has a direct beneficial importance, and is fraught with the greatest blessings to mankind.

First.—It teaches that the conduct of men is governed by antecedent causes, and thus affords the most powerful reasons for charity and forbearance.

Secondly.—It leads us to analyse the causes of good and evil, to remove those which produce the latter, and to foster such only as are conducive to individual and general happiness.

Thirdly.—It assures us, that when once we have combined those favourable causes which are under our controul, we may with confidence rely on a satisfactory and undeviating result.

of unborn generations. The great interests of mankind then demand, that the way of discovery should be open, that there should be no obstructions to inquiry, that every facility and encouragement should be given to efforts which are directed to the detection of their errors;—and yet one of the greatest discouragements which at present exists, is the state of their own moral sentiments. Although he who has achieved the discovery of truth in a matter of importance, has the satisfaction of reflecting that he has conferred a benefit on his fellow-men, to which time itself can prescribe no limits, the probability is, that instead of attracting sympathy and gratitude, he will meet with a considerable share of odium and persecution, as the consequence of his perspicacity."—*Essays on Truth, Knowledge, Evidence, and Expectation.*

Dr. Elliot.—The very essence of Calvinism [*rising and pacing the room*] destructive of free will, and of the morals of the people!

Tea was announced; and Dr. Bathurst, not wishing to prolong the conversation, proposed to retire to the drawing-room.—A very awkward silence here prevailed. Dr. Elliot was evidently ill-pleased at the freedom of many of the opinions expressed, and Dr. Bathurst was also disconcerted. As for Hampden, the moment he saw Elizabeth he was struck with the apprehension of the impediment his latitudinarian sentiments might offer to the accomplishment of his wishes. He departed rather early; and in pursuing his melancholy way home, remembered for the first time the hints I had often dropped of the uncongeniality of his sentiments with those of the family he visited.

CHAPTER VIII.

“For now he journeys to his grave in pain ;
The rich disdain him ; nay, the poor disdain :
Alternate masters now their slave command,
Urge the weak efforts of his feeble hand,
And, when his age attempts its task in vain,
With ruthless taunts, of lazy poor complain.”

CRABBE.

By desire of the Duke, I attended him and Mr. Peel one morning at a meeting of magistrates at ———, about twelve miles distant, where they were not likely to be generally known. Hampden rode over to the town with me, but we separated on our arrival. There was a full attendance of magistrates ; and the court was crowded chiefly in consequence of the expectation of the case of an Irish pauper, which had excited much interest from the animosities to which it had given rise between two neighbouring parishes, in contesting the law of settlement. The parochial officers attended, accompanied by their attorneys, who brought with them so many law-books, that one of the magistrates inquired if they had got the Statutes at Large. Several minor cases being first disposed of, the pauper himself, (who was dreadfully emaciated, and had but one leg,) with

all the parties interested, were ranged before the Bench. The two attorneys appeared to consult with each other in the most familiar manner; while great bitterness of feeling was manifested between the overseers of the two parishes, North and South Bolton. One of the overseers was eager to address the Bench, but was soon silenced by the attorney, who begged to be informed why his attendance was required if he was not permitted to state the case. He then stepped forward, with a book under his arm and a large nosegay in his coat, and addressed the magistrates as follows:—

“The case to which I have the honour of directing your Worships’ attention is that of a pauper, Peter MacDuffy”—“That’s not my name,” exclaimed the pauper; “my dear name is Paddy.” “Silence!” exclaimed a magistrate. “This pauper,” continued the attorney, “presented a pass and applied for relief to the overseers of our parish; but I have credible witnesses to prove that he has obtained a settlement in the parish of South Bolton, by the occupation of a house on the Heath, and is liable to pay scot and lot; and although he may come under the denomination of *mediæ et infimæ manus homines*, yet I am convinced that he is not extra-parochial.—I know not what defence is intended to be set up by my learned brother, but I cannot conceive

that there can be any valid plea for rejecting the claim of settlement; or in short, that the opposing party can by any possibility have a leg to stand upon.”

MacDuffy.—My left leg is left on the plains of Talavera, but my right leg is left.

Magistrate.—Peace, fellow! he is not speaking of your leg, but the lameness of the cause.

MacDuffy.—The cause of the lameness, your Honour, was a six-and-thirty pounder.

Magistrate.—Will you be silent!

MacDuffy.—I'll not spake another word, your Honour.

The magistrate now desired the overseer of the parish where the pauper resided, to state why he had refused to grant him relief, and had attempted to pass him to another parish.—The overseer replied, that the shed which the pauper had occupied did not entitle him to be considered as a householder; but as their lawyer was present, he would lay down the law.

A young man about thirty years of age, dressed in shabby black and in substance the very reverse of his corpulent competitor, stood forward. He held in his hand a white pocket-handkerchief, which, notwithstanding his endeavours at concealment, betrayed the ravages of time. This tattered article of dress would probably have reposed unmolested in his pocket, had not the pretence

of using it afforded an opportunity for the display of a brilliant ring. His face shone with a polish that indicated a recent ablution, to which it was but rarely accustomed. After two loud hems, he thus began:—

“ Bred in the shades of Academus, mine has been the ‘ delightful task to teach the young idea how to shoot;’ to watch with trembling solicitude the development of mind; to conduct the young aspirant along the thorny paths and up the steep ascents of science; to soothe the fainting spirits of the intensely studious, encourage rising talent, and crown with never-fading chaplets the triumphant genius. But, alas! those halcyon days are fled. I, who anon have culled the choicest flowers in the verdant fields of literature, must now plod the rugged roads of jurisprudence, and search for precedents among dusty and ponderous folios. I, who have been fanned by cooling zephyrs, and courted the Muses on the summit of Parnassus, am now doomed to sojourn with Coke and Littleton in Nisi Prius. Farewell, ye sylvan joys,—delicious meads, and winding streams, farewell! For, behold, I enter upon a dreary course, so interminable as to have confounded the learning of Selden; so desolate as to have chilled the philosophy of Blackstone; and abounding in postulates so involved and perplexing, that even an Eldon doubts. Not more

intricate than the painful labyrinths of the law was the far-famed web of the fair Penelope, dear to classic reminiscence ;—not more—

Magistrate.—Will you have the goodness to inform us, Sir, what connexion there is between Penelope's web, cooling zephyrs, and sylvan joys, and this case of Patrick MacDuffy?

Lawyer.—This being the first cause entrusted to my care since the ferula was laid aside, in the hope of one day wielding the rod of justice, I deemed a preliminary explanation necessary, to account for those technical errors incident to young and incipient practitioners. But, to proceed,—if in the faithful discharge of my professional duties I should drop one word repugnant to your delicate sensibilities, or obtrude objects repulsive to nerves finely attenuated, I trust you will not attribute it to any deficiency in profound respect on my part, but to that complexity in society through which, notwithstanding the most strenuous efforts to separate the rich from the poor, plebeian misery will sometimes interfere with patrician pleasure, and elicit in the collision a striking antithesis.

Magistrate.—Really, Sir, unless you come to the point, we shall not finish this cause today.

Lawyer.—The pauper whose case is before your Worships, was engaged, employed, directed, instigated, or impelled by an inhabitant of, or

dweller in, this part of the country or island, commonly called England, formerly Britain, which inhabitant or dweller was deeply interested in the cultivation or tilling of the soil, and in superintending the processes of vegetation:—I say, MacDuffy was engaged by this tiller, to sever, cut, or crop certain grasses growing together in a meadow, field, or paddock. Of what kind the grasses consisted,—whether *Poa pratensis*, *Festuca duriuscula*, *Festuca pratensis*, *Lolium perenne*, or *Alopecurus pratensis*,—may not be an inquiry material to our purpose, and too tedious to enter upon. Suffice it to say, that there were many kinds of grasses, accurately described by Linnæus under the head of—Really I forget the class.

Magistrate.—Never mind the class, Sir; but proceed, and that with less circumlocution.

Lawyer.—During the time of his engagement, the shattered Hibernian took up his abode in a cart-shed on the Heath, and which, not being claimed, belongs of right to the lord of the manor,—*terræ dominicales*. Now I will defy the most profound and erudite lawyer to prove that this shed can come under any of the denominations expressed in the Acts of Parliament on the law of settlement, it being neither messuage, tenement, homestall, hut, or hovel. It is true that part of an old window-frame has been inserted in the

roof to form a skylight; but still the shed is open on all sides, and “pervious to every wind that blows.” Time was when the vassal who followed his lord to the field was rewarded for his service by grants of land;—that was in the darker ages; but in this enlightened period, the old and worn-out soldier has got no stake in the country.

MacDuffy.—Only this little shillaly, your Honour; I ha’rn’t space enough for the smallest potatoe to sprout*.

Magistrate.—A skylight to a cart-shed! Did Patrick MacDuffy place it there?

MacDuffy.—He did;—and I’ll give your Honour a small historical account. You see before your Honour a bit of an astronomer. Father O’Rourke, our priest, had a taste that way: I was no higher than your Honour’s knee when I carried milk to his house. “Paddy,” said he, “look to the stars:” and then, your Honour, he showed me all the consternations, the great big Bear, the small Bear, and Mister Orion. My father had no larning, and he told me to look to the potatoes; but, your Honour, I always loved to gaze upon those sparkling and beautiful jewels when I could get a sly peep, for my father watched me and shook

* “If there be a nation that exports its beef and linen to pay for the importation of claret and porter, while a greater part of its people live upon potatoes and wear no shirts,—wherein does it differ from the sot, who lets his family starve, and sells his clothes to buy drink?”—FRANKLIN.

his shillaly. We had two beds in our mud cabin,—which was small to be sure, for there were twelve in family, father and mother, six children, and four pigs;—the pigs reclined, your Honour, between the two beds. In dry weather I contrived to remove a bundle of straw from the roof, so that while the rest were snoring I could look up with delight. One night, when all was still, I was just closing my peepers, when I thought I saw Mr. Orion's head: “By the powers,” said I, “there he is sure enough!” I was so happy to see his Honour, that I forgot it was night, and called out, “Look at his sword and his pike,—for all the world like Captain Rock!” The whole family, pigs and all, instantly jumped up and run out. I ran too, your Honour, to see what was the row. “Where are the sword, and the pike, and Captain Rock?” said my brother.—“My dear,” said I, “it is Mr. Orion, that beautiful and calm consternation!”—“No more of your consternations for me,” said my father; “for to-morrow you shall leave my domains.” So they all went growling and grunting to bed.—When the morning came, your Honour, myself, Patrick Mac-Duffy, departed. My father gave me three thirteeners, and my pockets full of potatoes, for a separate maintenance; so I worked my way over land and water to London. When I got there, your Honour, I had only one thirteener

left ; and this wreck of my fortune was lifted out of my pocket while I was looking through a long pole after the man in the moon. “ Never fear,” said a gentleman in a scarlet jacket and with a feather in his cap, “ money you shall have, if you will fight for King George.”—“ Sir,” said I, “ fighting is only a love-matter in sweet Ireland ; so I ’m the man for your money.” Then we marched over to Spain, and my leg was blown off in the battle of Talavera. They told me I was covered with glory ; but, your Honour, it was all blood and dust ; and I suppose my leg and the glory went somewhere together, for I have seen nothing of either since.

Lawyer of North Bolton.—Should your Worships decide that no settlement was made in the neighbouring parish, sufficient has transpired, in the course of this investigation, to relieve my clients from the claim of MacDuffy. The acts of parliament on the law of settlement, however contradictory and perplexing in some respects, refer exclusively to the claims of paupers. Sir Thomas Smith, in his “ Commonwealth of England,” book i. chap. 20. says, “ As for gentlemen, they be made good cheap in this kingdom: for whoever studieth in the universities, who professeth the liberal sciences, and (to be short) who can live idly, and without manual labour, and will bear the port, charge, and countenance of a gentle-

man, he shall be called Master, and shall be taken for a gentleman*." Now, unless it is maintained (which, saving your Worships' presence, I think impossible,) that a gentleman and a pauper are synonymous, I think it is clear that the description given by MacDuffy of some of his pursuits, accords with the characteristics of a gentleman, as herein set forth; for, although he may not "bear the port, charge, and countenance of a gentleman," yet he "can live idly:" and, inasmuch as he studies astronomy, he professes the liberal sciences.

MacDuffy.—Plase your Worship, I am sartinly a jontleman; but I makes no professions.

Among the magistrates there sat one at the end of the bench, who appeared to be a clergy-

* "No condition passes for servitude that is accompanied with great riches, with honours, and with the service of many inferiors. This is but a deception of the sight through a false medium; for if a groom serve a gentleman in his chamber, that gentleman a lord, and that lord a prince,—the groom, the gentleman, and the lord, are as much servants as the other: the circumstantial difference of the one's getting only his bread and wages, the second a plentiful, and the third a superfluous estate, is no more intrinsical to this matter, than the difference between a plain, a rich, and a gaudy livery. I do not say that he who sells his whole time and his own will for one hundred thousand, is not a wiser merchant than he who does it for one hundred pounds; but I will swear they are both merchants, and that he is happier than both, who can live contentedly without selling that estate to which he is born."—COWLEY.

man, and known to the Duke, with whom he was in occasional conversation.—So far from showing any signs of impatience with the other magistrates, both himself and the Duke seemed deeply to commiserate the condition of the pauper.—Early in the day his venerable, mild, and intelligent countenance arrested my attention, and formed a remarkable contrast to the convivial complexions of his brother magistrates. He saw that the case might be dismissed without a final decision, and that the sufferings of the pauper might be prolonged; he therefore evinced a disposition to speak,—upon which the whole Court observed the most profound silence.

“The case you have brought before us appears to be one of some legal difficulty, and I have no doubt that you respectively have been induced to try the question from a desire to administer with fidelity the funds entrusted to your care. But whatever may be the defects in the law, I should hope, in the present instance at least, that they will be repaired by humanity. Rather than incur the expense or be disturbed by the hostility of litigation, share between you the charge, and the honour of succouring the wounded soldier. While you were enjoying at your fire-side domestic comforts, he may have been deprived of food and rest, harassed by forced marches, and exposed to continual danger:—you cannot evince

your gratitude more strongly than by sustaining, in their declining years, those to whose sufferings and bravery you are indebted for the preservation of your liberties*.—It is probably owing to some eccentricity or thoughtlessness, that this poor man has neglected to avail himself of those comfortable and magnificent asylums which the Government has provided for the defenders of our country, and which reflect so much honour upon our character as a nation. For his indis-

* The following passages are from the “Letters of Don Manuel Alvarez Espriella,” a Spaniard travelling in England in 1807.

“We talk of the liberty of the English, and they talk of their own liberty; but *there is no liberty in England for the poor!* They are no longer sold with the soil, it is true; but they cannot quit the soil, if there be any probability, or suspicion, that age or infirmity may disable them. If in such a case they endeavour to remove to some situation where they hope more easily to maintain themselves, where work is more plentiful, or provisions cheaper, the overseers are alarmed, the intruder is apprehended, as if he were a criminal, and sent back to his parish.”

Speaking of Manchester;—“To talk of *English happiness*, is like talking of Spartan freedom,—the *Helots are overlooked*.

“In no other country can such riches be acquired by commerce, but it is the one who grows rich by the *labour of the hundred*. The hundred human beings like himself, as wonderfully fashioned by nature, gifted with the like capacities, and equally made for immortality, *are sacrificed body and soul!*”

The above Letters are said to have been written by an Englishman. Those who may be desirous of discovering the name of the author will find a curious conjecture in the 31st volume of the *British Critic*, for the year 1808.

cretion and heedlessness you will make due allowance by reflecting, that if you had been exposed to the influence of similar untoward circumstances, your own conduct might have been equally indiscreet. That which the law has left undefined, let the principles of justice and equity supply; and by consulting the dictates of that best of all monitors, your own heart, the path of duty will be easily discovered. By following this rule, you will distribute justice, and secure the approbation of all good citizens and of all good Christians; but, what is still more to be desired, you will enjoy the greatest of all pleasures, that of an approving conscience."

Scarcely was this address concluded, when a tumult was heard in the avenue of the court, and a shrill voice exclaiming, "How dare you impede the course of justice? Stand aside, Sir, and let the prisoner pass." The door, which was before partly shut, was now thrown wide open, and a number of people rushed in, some of whom were struggling to keep the others back; and among them, to my surprise, appeared Hampden. His face was flushed, and his eyes sparkled with indignation;—but the moment he observed the clergyman, his impetuosity was checked. The principal character in the group was a constable, short in stature, but stout, and swelling with the importance of his office, the insignia of which were a broad gold

band to his hat, and a huge staff, painted and gilded, and emblazoned at the top. His left hand grasped the collar of a youth about eighteen years of age, but who had not much the character of a criminal in his face; on the contrary, he seemed deeply to feel the ignominy of his situation.—“What,” said the clergyman, “is the cause of this disorder?”—“This culprit” replied the constable.—“I will hear,” interrupted the clergyman, “the charge against the prisoner presently; but I first wish to know the cause of the uproar in the passage, as it appeared, from the words you uttered, that a rescue was attempted.”—“I cannot say,” rejoined the constable, “that a rescue was intended,—but I was so much interrupted by that gentleman,” (pointing to Hampden,) “by his earnestness in urging me not to exceed the bounds of my duty in bringing up the prisoner, that the people, who increased in numbers as we passed along, called out, ‘Rescue him! rescue him!’ and I was compelled to hasten to the Court, fearing the consequences.”—Hampden, who did not before stand in front, was now, by the falling back of the crowd, exposed to the view of the Court.—The clergyman appeared considerably surprised on seeing him,—so much so, that a pause of some minutes ensued. “I am sorry,” said he, “to observe a gentleman obstructing an officer in the discharge of his duties.”—“Permit me, Sir,” said Hampden,

“to explain:—I am conscious that I may have been too urgent in my importunities for the release of the youth at the bar ; but the narrative he has given me of his past life, confirmed by the testimony of others, goes so far to extenuate his conduct, together with the contrition he manifested, that I wished the officer to consider, if, without any violation of his duty, he could liberate him. I was the more anxious for his release, because I feared that the loss of character arising from public exposure might consign him to irretrievable ruin.”—“I have no reason to doubt the rectitude of your motives,” replied the magistrate; “but the officers are best able to decide upon the bounds of their duties, which are at all times sufficiently painful and troublesome, without the interference of parties not immediately concerned.—What have you to allege against the youth?” (appealing to the officer).—“I have arrested him, Sir, upon a strong suspicion of poaching: I found him with a large hare in his hand, coming out of the green lane at the end of the town.”—“Constable,” said the magistrate, “you do right to take up all who are even suspected: Squire Collins spoke to me on the subject a few days since, and we resolved to punish with the utmost rigour of the law all offenders who are brought up for poaching: it is the most heinous of all crimes, and always leads to an untimely end. My own preserves have been much disturbed of late.”

“What is your name, young man?” said the clergyman.—“Henry Western.”—“Henry Western!” repeated the clergyman; “surely I have heard that name: were you not in the school superintended by my curate? and the first in the class?”—“I was, Sir.”—“How comes it that you have thus forgotten the good lessons he taught you?”—The youth wept, and was unable to utter a word.—Hampden came forward, and said, “May I be permitted, Sir, to repeat the brief account which I heard from his distressed mother?” The clergyman bowed assent. “We cannot listen to any hearsay evidence,” said the magistrate.—The clerk observed, that as this was merely an inquiry to determine upon a committal, it was perfectly admissible. The clergyman observed that the statement would, if correct, carry with it internal evidence of its truth; and at all events, as it was brief, but little time would be consumed in its repetition. Hampden was directed to proceed. “I was at the upper end of the town about two hours since, near the lock-up house, as it is termed, when some boys came running down the street, calling out, ‘Here is Henry Western taken up for poaching!’ The constable followed with his prisoner, and his mother weeping bitterly, and entreating the constable to release him. The constable refused; and as soon as he was locked in the prison the poor woman fainted. She was carried to her house, which was near at hand:—

I went soon after, and found her recovering, and in tears. When she was quite restored, I requested her to tell me if she really believed her son was innocent; for if he was, that I would endeavour to prevent his being brought before the Justice. She said that she did not believe that he had ever been addicted to poaching; and it might be true that he had bought the hare, as he told the constable. She said that Henry was the youngest of five children, all of whom they had brought up in honesty, and they were settled;—that Henry was the most promising of all, for he was not only industrious, but he took delight in their domestic pursuits, would often read to his parents, and was the chief comfort of their declining years. But sickness overtook them; her husband was confined for many months by fever to his bed: they were compelled to quit the cottage in which Henry was born;—it had a large garden, for so humble a dwelling, and the cultivation of it was a source of constant pleasure to them, but more particularly to Henry, who, when the labour of the day was done, would sit under the hedge at the corner, and read. He felt the loss severely at the time; but by the aid of religious consolation he became reconciled to their present lodgings, for he said he could still have his books. He had the offer of situations; but he was unwilling to leave his parents in their old

age. When her husband recovered, he was still feeble; and, times being hard, they were, both father and son, compelled to break stones upon the road: this was a grievous change to Henry, and evidently affected his disposition. At last her husband fell ill again, and is still on a bed of sickness. They have been compelled to part with many articles of furniture, and their domestic comforts are greatly reduced. But one event affected her son more than all their other misfortunes;—they had been under the necessity of applying to the parish for relief. Since that occurrence his spirit appeared to be broken; he had grown sullen, and was continually brooding over their misfortunes. She feared that he would get among bad advisers, for he had brought home pamphlets, some of which, he said, led him to doubt the right of the landed proprietors to their estates, or to deprive them of their little garden. The poor woman added, that she bid him remember what the gentlefolks had told them,—that they should read their Bible*, and look forward to another and a better world.—As this

* “ But if to such sublime ascent the hopes
Of man may rise, as to a welcome close
And termination of his mortal course,—
Them only can such hope inspire whose minds
Have not been starved by absolute neglect,
Nor bodies crush'd by unremitting toil.”

WORDSWORTH.

appears to have been his first offence, I hope, for the sake of his aged and afflicted parents, he may be discharged, and some regular employment found for him."

The constable, full of the importance of his office, neglected no opportunity of making a display of his diligence; and without any apparent harshness of disposition, he frequently sacrificed the hopes of his prisoners to the support of his official character. He now begged to call the attention of the Court to the contents of a pocket-book which he had taken from the prisoner, and which he thought would throw some light upon his general character.—“Hand them to the Clerk of the Court, and request him to read some of them,” said a magistrate.—The clerk drew forth a written paper, and read as follows:

“Why goes the peasant from that little cot,
Where Peace and Love have blest his humble life?
In vain his agonizing wife
With tears bedews her husband’s face,
And clasps him in a long and last embrace;
In vain his children round his bosom creep,
And weep to see their mother weep,
Fettering their father with their little arms!
What are to him the war’s alarms?
What are to him the distant foes?
He at the earliest dawn of day
To daily labour went his way;
And when he saw the sun decline,
He sate in peace beneath his vine

The King commands, the peasant goes,
 From all he loved on earth he flies,
 And for his monarch toils, and fights, and bleeds, and dies."

The Triumph of Woman.

MacDuffy.—By St. Patrick, and that's myself,
 though I'm not dead yet!—that's capital.

Magistrate.—'Turn him out of the court,
 officer, we cannot have this interruption:—
 Have you any more of these Radical papers? I
 am resolved upon a conviction;—but let us hear."
 ——The Clerk read again.

“ We are indeed
 Clay in the potter's hand! one favour'd mind,
 Scarce lower than the angels, shall explore
 The ways of Nature, whilst his fellow-man,
 Framed with like miracle, the work of God,
 Must as th' unreasonable beast drag on
 A life of labour;—like this soldier here,
 His wondrous faculties bestow'd in vain,
 Be moulded by his fate till he becomes
 A mere machine of murder.

And there are
 Who say that this is well! as God has made
 All things for man's good pleasure, so of men
 The many for the few: Court moralists,
 Reverend lip-comforters, that once a week
 Proclaim how blessed are the poor, for they
 Shall have their wealth hereafter, and though now
 Toiling and troubled, though they pick the crumbs
 That from the rich man's table fall, at length
 In Abraham's bosom rest with Lazarus.
 Themselves meantime secure their good things here,
 And feast with Dives. These are they, O Lord!
 Who in thy plain and simple Gospel see

All mysteries, but find no peace enjoin'd,
 No brotherhood, no wrath denounced on them
 Who shed their brethren's blood,—blind at noon-day
 As owls, lynx-eyed in darkness!

Oh my God!

I thank thee, with no Pharisaic pride
 I thank thee, that I am not such as these;
 I thank thee for the eye that sees, the heart
 That feels, the voice that in these evil days,
 Amid these evil tongues, exalts itself
 And cries aloud against iniquity."

The Soldier's Funeral.

Magistrate.—Worse and worse! We shall have the French Revolution acted in England, unless these inflammatory scribblers are gagged. What will become of our Church and King*, and the glorious Constitution handed down to us by the wisdom of our ancestors, if ploughmen are to turn poets and politicians? This is the consequence of your Sunday schools: the "march of mind" has carried off all our servants, and the landowners will be left to themselves;—I am deter-

* "When men set up their private humour, fancy, or opinion, in opposition to established laws; when they become peevish, pragmatical, and ungovernable: nay, when men's consciences prove so generally tender and scrupulous as to doubt of and suspect the rights of the Crown . . . such wayward skittish consciences ought to be well bridled and restrained, or else they will be not only intolerably troublesome, but extremely mischievous both to church and state."—See Benjamin Calamy's "Discourse about a Scrupulous Conscience," published 1683, only five years prior to the Revolution,—a prophet not far anterior to the fulfilment of his predictions.

mined to prosecute. We have heard enough to satisfy us of his guilt, but you may read one more to make it quite secure.—Here is one written on a Sunday morning, said the clerk, and is, I presume, of a different character.

Written on Sunday Morning.

“Go thou and seek the House of Prayer!
 I to the Woodlands wend, and there
 In lovely Nature see the God of Love.
 The swelling organ’s peal
 Wakes not my soul to zeal,
 Like the wild music of the wind-swept grove.
 The gorgeous altar and the mystic vest
 Rouse not such ardour in my breast,
 As where the noontide beam,
 Flash’d from the broken stream,
 Quick vibrates on the dazzled sight;
 Or where the cloud-suspended rain
 Sweeps in shadows o’er the plain;
 Or when, reclining on the clift’s huge height,
 I mark the billows burst in silver light.
 Go thou and seek the House of Prayer!
 I to the Woodlands shall repair,
 Feed with all Nature’s charms mine eyes,
 And hear all Nature’s melodies.
 The primrose bank shall there dispense
 Faint fragrance to the awaken’d sense;
 The morning beams that light and joy impart,
 Shall with their influence warm my heart,
 And the full tear that down my cheek will steal,
 Shall speak the prayer of praise I feel!”

Magistrate.—“I told you the Church was in danger.—What,” continued he, “would become of Mr. Nash’s new churches and all the tithes,

if the people worshiped in the fields under the canopy of heaven? This is abominable, and past all endurance;—we will commit him.

Clergyman.—Commit him, for what? (in a low tone.) We must first prove him guilty of poaching.—(Then addressing himself to the youth,) Tell me, where did you get the hare?

“I bought it, Sir.”—“Bought it, of whom?”—“Of two men in the lane.”

Constable.—I saw two men half-way down the lane when I stopt Henry Western. I know them well: they are suspected to be poachers, but I have never found them with any game:—I have heard that one of them has an air-gun secreted.

Magistrate.—An air-gun! This comes of “The Schoolmaster abroad,” and Mechanics’ Institutions*.

Clergyman.—Constable, have you reason to

* In a sermon, preached at the Annual Meeting for the Sons of the Clergy, 1828, by Dr. Shuttleworth, he objected to Mechanics’ Institutions, because they rendered the road to science too easy.

“At a triennial visitation in 1828, a sermon was preached by the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, an extract from which appeared in the Staffordshire Advertiser. His Lordship was reported to have said, in speaking of immorality, that one of its causes was the diffusion of education divested of religious principles, and that he thought it behoved the clergy to keep a jealous eye upon what are called Mechanics’ Institutions.”

believe that the hare was purchased? or do you think it was taken by the young man?

Constable.—I really think, Sir, that it may have been bought; for the poachers are known to dispose of the game as soon as they possibly can.

Magistrate.—Then I will commit him as a receiver of stolen goods.

Clerk.—I must suggest a doubt;—the Act specifies stolen goods, but says nothing about poached goods. I have been looking into Blackstone, Burn's Justice, and Williams's Law Dictionary, pending the recital of the poetry, but could not find the word "Poach".

Magistrate.—Not find the word "Poach"! Have you a Johnson's Dictionary?

Clerk.—There is one in the adjoining room, Sir, and I will send for it.—Here, Sir, are "poached eggs," but no "poached hare."

Magistrate.—Read some of the examples.

Clerk.—"The yolks of eggs are so well prepared for nourishment, that so they be poached or rare boiled, they need no further preparation.—*Bacon's Natural History.*"

Magistrate.—Pshaw! Hand me over the Dictionary. "To poach: to steal game, to carry off game privately:"—Now I think there can no longer be a question of his guilt in the eye of the law.

Clerk.—I must still object. I beg pardon for obtruding myself so often upon your Worships, but as the responsibility of the correctness of your proceedings rests upon my shoulders, I must still submit that the absence of the word “poach” is fatal to a commitment of the prisoner.

Magistrate.—I am determined to have him remanded. It is useless for Squire Collins and myself to resolve upon making examples of depredators if they are allowed to escape through the quirks and the quibbles of the law.

During this speech Hampden had been round to the Clergyman, who conferred with his brother magistrates, and then addressed the youth.

Clergyman.—Henry Western, The gentleman who interceded in your behalf this morning has humanely offered to receive you into his employment, some distance from the neighbourhood, if the charge is dismissed ; and we have in consequence determined to forgo any further investigation. It rarely occurs that those who have made one false step, and have been arraigned before a public tribunal, can find, should they escape conviction, any individual disposed to incur the risk of employing them, and you must consider yourself peculiarly fortunate in experiencing so much consideration and kindness. I trust this mark of generosity in the gentleman who has befriended you, will awaken in your

mind a deep sense of gratitude, and that you will serve him with diligence and fidelity. Forsake not the ordinances of your religion; and I exhort you to cultivate with care its heavenly spirit; for we are told, that which experience confirms, "that her ways are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace." Had you studied your Bible with half the earnestness you have bestowed upon the wretched scribblings of revolutionary and designing men, you might have continued a useful member of society, and a blessing to your aged parents. You are still but a boy, and this day's disgrace will be forgotten, if you sincerely endeavour to retrieve your character.

The overseers of North and South Bolton complied with the recommendation to bear the burden of supporting Patrick MacDuffy between them, rather than incur any further litigation.

"Before the Court breaks up," said the magistrate, "there is one question I wish to put to Henry Western, relative to the author of those infamous revolutionary tracts to which allusion has just been made. The country has been so deluged with impiety, that the principles of our youth are loosened, and the foundations of society sapped, by blasphemers lurking in holes and corners; and unless they are hunted out, and visited by instant punishment, these delinquents will soon



Aug 1848

Henry Western before the Magistrate

H. Fisher del.

put an end to all order and good government. The pillars of our glorious Constitution will be shaken ;—all that has been consecrated by time, —stars, garters, titles, the hereditary honours handed down by the wisdom of our ancestors, —all will be hurled from their foundation, and buried in one general and undistinguished ruin. I must therefore insist upon being informed who was the author of the blasphemous verses ; for of him should be made a signal and terrible example.

Henry Western.—I copied them, your Worship, from some poems written by Mr. Southey.

“What! Southey the poet laureat !” exclaimed a dozen voices.

The magistrates were confounded.—“There must be some mistake,” said one. “Let me see, —hand me over the pocket-book and papers :—Aye, here are some others, perhaps they are different.—What is the next question for the Court? I will read these papers again ; perhaps they may appear less objectionable upon a second perusal : —let the next question be brought forward immediately :—Bless me, it is four o’clock.”

The clerk announced that there was no further business, and the Court was precipitately dissolved.

CHAPTER IX.

“ Childhood is never false, never deceitful
Till it has been deceived : even then to doubt
Is a revolting effort, necessary—
But still revolting, foreign to man's nature,
That would believe his fellows what they seem.”

ANONYMOUS.

THE Duke and Mr. Peel retired with the clergyman. I went in search of Hampden, whom I joined just as he had reached the door, round which a considerable crowd was assembled. No sooner had he got out, than the people waved their hats and loudly huzzaed. As we passed up the street, the old women curtsied, the men doffed their hats; and many exclaimed, “There goes the good gentleman! God bless him!” Henry Western, it appears, was a great favourite in the town; and although the old people deplored the alteration in his conduct, they attributed it chiefly to his abandoned associates, and looked upon Hampden as his deliverer. We proceeded at once to Mrs. Western's house, where the scene was truly affecting:—the news of Hampden's conduct had reached the poor woman before the Court broke up. Upon

our entering the room, she fell upon her knees and implored the blessing of Heaven upon her kind benefactor. Hampden's nature gave way ; and, amidst the mingled sensations which the scene inspired, I was not ill pleased at seeing his emotions. We inquired for Henry, but he was nowhere to be found. Hampden promised to return in two hours, as he wished to see the mother and son together, and the former was too weak to go out. I had engaged to dine at Strathfieldsay, and Hampden returned with me, for an hour, to the inn. We walked on in silence, neither being disposed to dissipate the feelings which the joy of the mother had excited within us. On arriving at the inn, Hampden flung himself, as if exhausted, into an arm-chair.

Hampden.—Well, Fitzosborne, you had a good specimen of my outrageous conduct to-day. What a lecture Bertrand would have read me, had he been there ! I must confess my boldness was not a little checked when I discovered Dr. Bathurst on the bench.

Fitzosborne.—Was the clergyman Dr. Bathurst ? Before your arrival I was struck with the mild expression of his countenance, rendered still more interesting by his silver locks and venerable age ;—he seemed the very prototype of goodness. But you have undertaken an arduous task. To reclaim offenders in the present state

of society,—to eradicate bad and long-continued habits, and to discharge the mind of error, is something more difficult than to train up a child in the way he should go.

Hampden.—I am sensible of the difficulties; nevertheless I am now bound to proceed, nor will I be deterred even should I unexpectedly find in the boy any stubbornness of disposition.

Fitzosborne.—I am persuaded that, whether you succeed to the extent of your wishes, or not, the attempt will be beneficial to both. I am glad to hear you say that you will not be turned aside from your purpose by any adverse feeling in your pupil, because I apprehend that he will not prove an easy conquest; for while all, in the Court, appeared to sympathize in his fate, he seemed indifferent to what was passing; and when your proposal was announced, he alone regarded your generous offer with coldness and apathy.

Hampden.—I can easily imagine that he was so overcome by the ignominy of the public accusation, that he was for a time reckless of the consequences. When I attempted with earnestness to persuade the officer to release him, his looks convinced me that I excited in him a sentiment of regard; and I could perceive that he contemplated such a disgrace with the utmost alarm.

Fitzosborne.—Well, I wish you sincerely every success; and I shall be anxious to hear the result of your first appeal to him.

Hampden returned to Mrs. Western's house at the appointed time, but Henry was not there; he had been home about an hour before,—and the mother was going to add something more, but she burst into tears. Hampden begged of her to be calm, that he had resolved not only to employ her son as his servant, but to reclaim him. “Sir,” said she, “it is impossible; he now refuses to go with you.”—“Where is he?” replied Hampden.—“I believe,” said the mother, “he is gone to the public-house, for I observed some of his companions beckon him out; but I will send for him.” Mrs. Western called in a little boy from an opposite neighbour, and desired him to go for Henry, and say that the gentleman wanted him. The boy soon returned, and said he was not there. In the boy's manner was something which led the good woman to suspect that he had not told the truth, although the boy was by no means addicted to falsehood:—it was owing to this circumstance, probably, that he betrayed his guilt. Hampden questioned him seriously, until he cried, and confessed that Henry had given him an apple to say he was not there. Hampden inquired of the mother what passed while he was with her. She said that he seemed

pleased at seeing her in better spirits ; but as soon as she mentioned the occurrences of the morning he became silent, and sat for a quarter of an hour occasionally uttering words in anger, as if meditating some rash deed. I begged of him, for my sake and his poor father's, as well as his own, to recollect the happiness of all when he was attentive to his duties, and enjoyed his home, and daily read his Bible. 'Aye,' said he, getting up and walking hastily backwards and forwards, 'then I had reason to be happy ; I trimmed your garden and watched the blossoms of the early violet ; your dinner-table was furnished with vegetables of my own growth ; we were supported by our own industry ; we had not become parish paupers, or been driven like slaves to beat stones upon the highway ; nor had I,—oh ! detested thought !—been dragged like a felon before the seat of justice. Never can I be again happy ; death will be preferable to life with this stigma on my character.' I told him that he had not been committed, and therefore no disgrace would attach to his family. I reminded him that at least one gentleman thought well of him,—and this was the only remark that seemed to appease him." And she added, that whenever she mentioned Mr. Hampden's kindness, it produced some good effect. Hampden requested her to send an elderly man living next door, and for whom Mrs.

Western had said Henry entertained some respect, to request that he would come up immediately ; and this summons was instantly obeyed. He came walking up the street with an air of greater confidence than distinguished him in the morning ; but still there was the same downcast look ; and although as he made his obeisance to Hampden he seemed to feel the ignominy to which he had been exposed, it was accompanied with an apparent conviction that he had discovered some grounds of vindication for himself, and of argument against his accusers. “ I have sent for you,” said Hampden, “ to appoint a time for your coming over to my lodgings, and to inform you what kind of employment I design for you.” “ I thank you, Sir,” replied Henry, “ but I should prefer remaining at home.” “ That cannot be,” said Hampden, “ without the permission of the magistrates : it was upon the express condition of your removal from the parish that I obtained your release.” “ I am sure, Sir,” replied Henry, “ they had no right to take me up.” “ The constable,” replied Hampden, “ would not have performed his duty had he suffered you to pass, carrying game for the possession of which you could give no satisfactory account.” “ But yet, Sir, you blamed him yourself for taking me before the magistrate.” “ I may have been wrong in so doing, but I was prompted by a desire to

serve you, observing your youth and the distress of your mother." "But may I ask," rejoined Henry, "if the laws ought not to be made for the good of the people, and not to deprive them of their natural rights? What right has Justice Woodcock to the wild animals more than other men? Are we not all equal in the sight of God? and is it not contrary to religion to oppress the poor? I have been once dragged to prison, but the next time I will surrender only with my life." "And is this the way, Henry," replied Hampden, "you would conform to the precepts of religion,—by depriving of his life an innocent fellow-creature in the act of discharging the duties of his office? Is this the way to redress the wrongs of your country—by resisting its laws? I fear you have some bad advisers, and the sooner you leave this place the better in every respect." "Unless you will go with the gentleman, Henry," said his mother, "you will break my heart."—"I suppose, then, I must go," replied Henry; "but I hope I am not to wear a livery?" "You may quiet your mind on that score, for my servants do not wear liveries;—but tell me, what is your objection?" "I have somewhere read that a livery is a badge of slavery, and more degrading for a man to wear than the vilest rags." "I must have some further conversation with you on these subjects," rejoined Hampden, "when you come

over to me on this day week : until that time I will delay informing you as to the nature of your employment : in the mean time you may be assured that I shall exact from you no unreasonable service ; and if you conduct yourself with propriety, you will find in me a friend interested in your welfare. Before I go, I have one request to make.”

“ I shall most readily attend, Sir,” said Henry, to your instructions.”—“ You cannot think, my dear Henry,” observed his mother, taking him by the hand, “ how happy you have made me.”

“ The request I am about to make,” said Hampden, “ concerns yourself only. You felt yourself degraded by past occurrences and by the events of this day. Now, to be candid with you, there has been one act of yours since your liberation which, unless you endeavour to repair the mischief it may have occasioned, lowers you more in my estimation than all the imaginary degradations to which you have been subjected.”

Henry looked very serious, and begged Hampden to say what he referred to. “ You caused an innocent child,” said Hampden, “ to utter a falsehood, and by that single act you may have laid the foundation of considerable evil ; I therefore hope that you will bring the child here, and in the presence of your mother use your utmost endeavours to counteract the injury you have inflicted.” “ He is but a child,” said Henry,

“and has perhaps forgotten it.” “His being only a child,” answered Hampden, “renders it the more necessary that the impressions his mind receives should be such as are virtuous and improving; for at that age they sink deeper and are more lasting. I hope there will be no hesitation: if you value my good opinion and your own peace, you will not be satisfied with yourself until you have followed the advice I am giving you. I do not blame you for having exercised your mind in discussing the laws of your country, but in permitting them to supersede other subjects of primary importance. Is this the use you would make of what you term natural rights? You set yourself up as a reformer of society, and then begin by polluting the source of the best qualities, and teaching even little children to practise deception. The laws of self-government should first be studied, and then (as we were told by the clergyman to-day,) the line of duty will be obvious; and neither in speech nor in action shall we injure any cause we may espouse. You exclaim against despotic power,—and yet what oppression of the weak by the strong can be worse than the advantage you have taken of the weakness of that child? I am not desirous of humiliating you, but of protecting the morals of the boy; and if you will promise me that, before the day is past, you will strive to efface the

bad impression, I shall leave the town with greater satisfaction."

With Henry's promise to obey, Hampden departed.

On arriving at Strathfieldsay, I found the Duke, Mr. Peel, and Dr. Bathurst assembled in the drawing-room, talking over the events of the morning.—"There must have been some egregious error in the appointment of the present laureat," said the Duke; "poetry is not much in my way, but the most confirmed Radical could not have produced stanzas more hostile to the Constitution of the country than those we heard read this morning."—"I was equally surprised," said Mr. Peel; "for I had considered Dr. Southey particularly loyal and religious."—"He wrote the History of the Peninsular War," said the Duke, "and the Life of Wesley."—"The Book of the Church," added Dr. Bathurst.—"It occurs to me, however," said Mr. Peel, "that Pye used to sing an ode every new year's day; but so rarely does Dr. Southey give us a hexameter, that the place is become almost a sinecure:—I perceive Lord Eldon crossing the lawn; perhaps he can throw some light on the subject."—"Well, my Lord Eldon," said the Duke, as the former entered the room, "do you know what mischief you effected while in office, and what aid you afforded to what is called the Liberal party?"—

“What means your Grace?”—“Why, the poet laureat has been writing verses that would have suited the fiercest and most sanguinary days of the French Revolution.”—“Gracious heaven!” exclaimed Lord Eldon, “I hope not; there must be some error; it is utterly impossible that anything but loyalty and religion should flow from Southey’s pen.”

Mr. Peel.—We can say nothing in favour of the sentiments; but the composition was certainly distinguished by uncommon vigour and beauty, and could scarcely be surpassed by any of our first poets.

Dr. Bathurst.—I believe they were Dr. Southey’s, but written in his youthful days, ere time and experience had corrected the freedom of his speculations.

Lord Eldon.—Oh! I now remember that he was, about the period of the French Revolution, accustomed to dip his pen in the ink of the Corresponding Societies; but he has since grown wiser, and is now sitting at the foot of Skiddaw, piously depicting the lives of saints, and enlisting the Muses in the service of religion. I also remember that in the early part of his career he was attacked by Canning in “The Anti-Jacobin” for his visionary theories: but now they have changed places in the political dance; and while Southey is improving in grace and piety,

Canning has gone off with the “march of mind.”—Did Your Grace hear any interesting cases this morning?

Duke of Wellington.—We had two that excited some attention:—the first, a lame soldier reduced to pauperism, and a subject of bitter contention between two parishes, each resisting his claim for support. The pauper was an eccentric character, and, poor fellow! notwithstanding his pale and emaciated appearance, he still kept up a buoyancy of spirit. We will see what can be done for him:—as the people at one of my lodges are going into a farm, he shall supply their place.

Lord Eldon.—What was the other case?—another pauper?

Duke of Wellington.—No, my Lord. A young man was brought up on suspicion of poaching, having been found with a hare in his hand. He was, however, liberated upon the offer of a gentleman, who commiserated his situation, to take him into his service.

Lord Eldon.—That was a noble act: Who was the gentleman?

Duke of Wellington.—I know not.

Dr. Bathurst.—I have some knowledge of him: he has been an occasional visitor at my house for the last six weeks: our acquaintance commenced in a reading-room at a neighbouring town. I have observed him to possess strong feelings of

benevolence: he has devoted some attention to the condition of the working classes, and to the state of society in general.

Duke of Wellington.—This is something in your way, Mr. Fitzosborne.

I bowed, but made no reply, not wishing to make known our intimacy.

Dr. Bathurst.—The circumstances of the labouring classes have become truly deplorable, and I sincerely hope that ere long some remedy for the evil of pauperism may be found. The difficulties which the parishes are contending with in relieving the unemployed, either by giving them money or finding them work, is beyond all precedent: the character of the peasantry is destroyed: struggling to escape the degradation of receiving alms, they endure every privation, until dire necessity compels an application to the workhouse: then the spirit of independence is destroyed, and they too often become regardless of consequences;—destitute of employment, they contract idle habits, and these engender crime.

Lord Eldon.—I have my doubts whether we have not carried our education among the working classes too far, for crime continues to increase.

Dr. Bathurst.—I cannot agree with you, my Lord, in thinking it possible to promote educa-

tion too much. That education *alone* will prove ineffectual in the suppression of immorality, we may conclude from the slender influence it maintains over many in the middling and higher orders of society, in proportion as they are exposed to the temptations incident to their respective stations. If we educate the poor, and yet suffer their circumstances to deteriorate, it seems to be a consequence that more vice will prevail than at a period when their minds were less informed, but the comforts of life were more within their reach. Can it be supposed that the peasant, with his family about him, would less enjoy his cottage and little garden, after he had been taught the blessings of religion? On the contrary, would not all his domestic pleasures be heightened by the most interesting associations, and new sources of enjoyment be opened to his mind, in the rural scenery of his native hamlet? But if we teach him to estimate more highly these advantages, and then deprive him of the means of rendering his cottage habitable, or of obtaining for himself and his children a scanty and miserable subsistence,—perhaps compelling him at last to depend upon parochial relief,—better had he remained in ignorance, than that his feelings should be refined only to endure his degradation with more acute sensibility;—in ignorance, I mean, of all but religious knowledge.

Fitzosborne.—I am happy to hear, Mr. Peel; that you intend to renew your attention to the criminal code, and I hope some efforts will be made to subdue the motives to crime.

Mr. Peel.—I have in contemplation a new police.—I suppose you have been moralizing upon the scene this morning;—something not quite in harmony with the community of ants.

Fitzosborne.—I regarded the whole Court as an epitome of society, which may be divided into two classes:—those who originally have hereditary property, and those who have none; the magistrates representing the former, and the remainder of the assembly, the latter. Property was of no use to its possessors without the aid of those who were destitute: they gave them the smallest portion possible for their services. Hence discontent arose; and the wealthy, being in numbers inferior, would be soon overpowered, if they had not seduced some of the destitute with larger portions, and identified their interests with their own: but still the numerical force was with the people; and this they counterbalanced by delegating civil power to some of their retainers, and putting fire-arms into the hands of others:—hence constables, jailers, and soldiers.

Mr. Peel.—Why this is pure radicalism!

Duke of Wellington.—Unless we are allowed

freedom of inquiry, we cannot expect to arrive at first principles.

Lord Eldon.—First principles with a vengeance!

Duke of Wellington.—Proceed without any hesitation, Mr. Fitzosborne; but recollect you have not assigned a station for the churchwardens, overseers, farmers, and tenants.

Fitzosborne.—These were all without property originally, and were seduced from the ranks of the people by the prospect of larger portions, in order to controul, and extract as much of labour as possible from, the rest, and to enable the landed proprietor to pursue his pleasures less interrupted by the care of managing his estate.

Mr. Peel.—But you often see the tenants vying with their landlords in the splendour of their equipages, and in the magnificence of their establishments; sometimes, indeed, supplanting them altogether, when the former proprietor falls into the ranks of the destitute:—and is not my own family an example of the facility with which the commoner can amass wealth, and rise to the highest offices in the state?

Fitzosborne.—The fact of some of the many occasionally changing places with some of the few, neither diminishes the difficulties, nor alleviates the sufferings of the great body of the people; and it is to be feared that the almost forlorn hope

of success in the lottery of life renders them unmindful of the circumstances that affect them as a class ; while the struggles of competition, and the jealousies to which they give rise, prevent them from attaining that power and protection which their combined efforts could secure to them. If a stranger, unacquainted with our institutions, and from a remote country where the laws of private property in land were unknown, had been present at the meeting of magistrates this morning, and informed that our powers of production were tenfold more than our wants required, he would have said, “ Why not make arrangements to apply those powers in producing sufficient for all, rather than expose yourselves to so much bad feeling, folly, irritation, and violence ? ” Those who are the only producers of wealth are deprived of their productions by the possessors of wealth.

Lord Eldon.—Do you really think the aristocracy are willing oppressors of the people?

Fitzosborne.—By no means ; but they are so far removed from them by the intervention of a more numerous middle class, who extract as much as they can from the upper and lower classes, that the former seldom hear of the miseries endured by the latter until they become so intense as to attract public notice : previous to this, however, are endured great privations and

loss of character ; then hospitals, prisons, &c., become necessary.

Mr. Peel.—You speak of the middle class as being the most rapacious ; now we have always considered them as possessing more good qualities than the other.

Fitzosborne.—I do not say that they have worse qualities, or that they are more selfish than the other classes ; but having more real knowledge, united with sagacity and habits of industry, their success is greater. All are trained to get as much as they can for themselves ; but the rich are indolent, and the poor, although industrious, are but partially enlightened ; fortunately, however, for them, they are beginning to estimate the value of Lord Bacon's maxim, that “knowledge is power.”

Mr. Peel.—Adverting again to what you called the evils of competition, do you not overlook that spirit of enterprise which it promotes by the rewards awaiting the successful efforts of industry and ingenuity ?

Fitzosborne.—Industry and ingenuity stand in need of no adventitious aids nor of any stimulants that are not in all respects conducive to the welfare of human beings, individually or collectively. Education is so far perfected, that any habits may be given to children ; and the love of scientific pursuits, among men properly trained,

is amply sufficient to stimulate discoveries in a far greater degree than the hope of pecuniary recompence*.

Mr. Peel.—After all, we know of no principle of action so powerful as self-interest.

Fitzosborne.—Self-interest, or a desire for that which produces in us the most agreeable sensations, or, in other words, a desire for happiness, must be always the mainspring of our actions; and it is solely because the Social System will rest upon this foundation that I am confident of its permanence. It depends, however, entirely upon our education, in the most enlarged acceptance of the term, including the influences of our institutions, national and domestic, and the character of our associates, what things will yield us the greatest pleasure. Whatever an individual desires beyond the best food, raiment, habitation, and agreeable society, he in general desires in deference to public opinion. In Holland, some fifty years since, ten thousand pounds were given for the choicest tulip; and however ridiculous this desire appears, it was general in that coun-

* “Since Arbuthnot’s age the desire of gain has produced greater improvements in mechanics than were ever called forth by the desire of conquest. And yet the great inventions of the world have arisen from a worthier origin than either; they have generally been the work of quiet, unambitious, unworldly men, pursuing some favourite branch of science, patiently, for its own sake.”—*Southey’s Sir Thomas More*, vol. i. p. 200.

try, and the possessors of the rarest tulips were looked up to by society. But is it not equally ridiculous to desire a superfluous retinue of servants dressed in tawdry liveries, and painted equipages,—to adopt inconvenient, absurd, and ever-changing fashions, and to be the slave of unmeaning forms and ceremonies? And yet, though opposed to our inclinations, we conform to them; so that, in the present state of society, self-interest prompts a compliance with many things in themselves disagreeable, for the sake of an imaginary preponderating advantage—the sympathy of public opinion. But, under the New System, the institutions of society and the education of youth will so far tend to the improvement of public opinion, that the individual will have to seek it through his moral qualities, and in a felicitous course alone.

Dr. Bathurst.—Are not these sentiments maintained by many authors of established reputation, and inculcated in religious discourses?

Fitzosborne.—Moral and religious instruction lose half their effect when, instead of receiving the support of, they are opposed by, the institutions of society. While the great majority of the people are not permitted to cultivate the soil upon which they are born, except at the caprice of a comparatively very small number, vice, mi-

sery, and folly, the evils of poverty and riches, must continue.

Mr. Peel.—But suppose you were to adopt an agrarian division,—do you not imagine that the idle would soon part with their shares to the more industrious?

Fitzosborne.—I am no advocate for the Spencian scheme, unaccompanied by the most highly improved education, and under social arrangements of mutual aid and joint property.

Duke of Wellington.—In the army the soldier on his march is accustomed to wash and cook for himself; but in your domestic œconomy will not these operations be a subject of dispute?

Fitzosborne.—The young, from the age of ten to seventeen, will attend to the domestic offices, which, however, will not be disagreeable, in consequence of the scientific mode of cooking, cleaning, and draining that will be adopted.

Duke of Wellington.—The breaking up of the mass of mankind into such small divisions will put an end to all the colossal works of mighty empires, magnificent even in their ruins.

Fitzosborne.—Far otherwise, my Lord. The sublimest relics of antiquity—the exquisite grace and beauty of ancient sculpture—will all be eclipsed by a more perfect combination of higher qualities, and by the simultaneous movements of

larger numbers. The discipline and order of a single regiment enables it more effectually to cooperate with other regiments in a common cause; and thus half a million of men have been directed to bear at once upon the same object. Now what a single regiment is to an army, or the member of society is to the community, each community will be to all others in each nation, and each nation will be to the whole family of mankind,—with this additional advantage, that, besides the influence arising from discipline, they will be directed by one common feeling.

Duke of Wellington.—Who will descend the coal-mines, or work the iron-mines, &c.?

Fitzosborne.—With regard to the working of mines, the increase of mechanic power within the last fifty years has been equal to the additional manual power of six hundred millions of labourers: it could be increased twentyfold, even without any further discoveries, if there was a demand for it; and discoveries are still in progress. This mechanic power is at present employed in making useless fabrics, because those who possess wealth will purchase them: it is only partially applied to mining, because manual labour is cheaper. When, however, under an equitable constitution of society, justice would demand that all should in their turn participate in any essential but disagreeable employments,

all would be interested in diminishing the difficulties and offensiveness of such employment, and pecuniary considerations would no longer exist; provinces the most distant would deem it incumbent upon them to send their quota of hands and machinery; and twenty men would be devoted to that which a single individual could accomplish, provided the work that would be irksome and unpleasant to one man could be accomplished in an agreeable manner by a number. Aided by this stupendous power, there is no employment that could not be rendered light and agreeable.

Mr. Peel.—How will you man your vessels? There will not be many willing to imprison themselves in ships, and be exposed to the storms of the ocean.

Fitzosborne.—The first object of travellers will be to improve the condition of, and impart knowledge to, the inhabitants of all parts of the globe, and to extend, by researches in the various branches of natural philosophy, the boundaries of science;—the botanist, the entomologist, and the geologist, and all who are most ardent in exploring the works of nature, will be the most experienced navigators. Young men, from the age of twelve to twenty, will climb the masts, and do all that their agility best qualifies them for; and as their number will be four times what

would be absolutely necessary, they would relieve each other, and there would be no solitary or tedious night-watching. The ships would also be fitted up in the most convenient manner,—furnished with books, instruments of science, music, &c. Indeed, there are so many mathematical studies and interesting pursuits connected with travelling, that there would be no deficiency of nautical aid. With regard to the dangers of the sea, there would be no necessity for any vessel to approach the shores of Britain in the months of November, December, or at any period when the storms prevailed.

Duke of Wellington.—But ships returning from the East Indies and other distant parts could not arrive at any particular period.

Fitzosborne.—They could go into port on the coast of Africa, Madeira, or Spain; for we are now contemplating a period when the System shall have become general, and when a friendly reception would be found in every port.

CHAPTER X.

“Truths would you teach to save a sinking land,
All fear, none aid you, and few understand.
Painful pre-eminence ! yourself to view
Above life’s weakness and its comforts too.”

POPE.

THE party at Strathfieldsay began to grow weary of their retirement. Whatever interest they had taken in our speculations on the improvement of society, was now subsiding ; and the arrival of the newspapers, and other communications from the metropolis, was anxiously expected. Political excitement was resuming its wonted empire ; and even the Duke himself,—although he had projected the tranquil retreat, and was fast declining in years,—sighed for a field of more stimulating and active energy. To urge the further consideration of my favourite subject upon an unwilling audience, was injuring rather than benefiting the cause ; and, as I had no other object to detain me in the neighbourhood, I returned to town, leaving Hampden to prosecute his assiduities at the vicarage.

The winter was approaching ; and, as my disinclination to associate with any but those of

congenial views remained undiminished, I was frequently solitary.

It was towards the close of one of the dullest days of that dullest of all months, November, when, shut up in my chambers alone, I experienced a fit of that oppressive despondency to which I was occasionally and constitutionally subject. The rain had fallen incessantly during the day; and, as the evening came on, its gloom was deepened by a dense fog; while nought was heard but the languid and melancholy tones of a solemn psalm tune falling from the monotonous bells of St. Clements. As if to add to my distresses, I came in cold and wet; the fire, yielding to the dampness of the chimney, was nearly expired, and it was long ere it could be revived. To seek relief in books while shivering with cold, was impossible; and in moody sadness I sat brooding over my fate, until I had so completely surrendered myself to dejection, that I felt the tears standing in my eyes. At this moment I was suddenly roused by a knocking at the door.—“In tears, my friend!” said Bertrand as he entered; “why, what has befallen you?”

Fitzosborne.—Nothing whatever; I was not in a favourable mood for solitude, and your arrival will dissipate a melancholy which I must confess was pressing heavily upon me.

Bertrand.—Then why will you renounce the

solace of religion, which you have often acknowledged to have been in times past a never-failing source of comfort :—but I presume you have met with some aggravating occurrences today.

Fitzosborne.—I was solely affected by the gloom of the weather and the loneliness of my chambers.

Bertrand.—Then discard your ineffectual philosophy, and embrace religion. If the recollection of the real misery abroad could not abate the anguish of imaginary griefs, seek, I beseech you, the fountain of living waters. Conscious of the omnipresence of a heavenly Father, and deeply sensible of his love, your spirit will be sustained under every vicissitude of life, and you will rise superior to these petty annoyances.

Fitzosborne.—This subject we have frequently discussed. I have for years past maturely considered it ; but you know I am ever open to conviction ; and, if any additional arguments can be adduced, that I shall listen to them without prejudice and with unwearied attention : for it was never my plan to attack any system, but to offer, with deference to the opinions of others, those reasons which formed the ground of my own. I am the less willing to recur to them now, seeing that you derive so much happiness from the profession and exercises of religion, and which, forming the foundation of, and being identified with, the present order of society, may prove more

consolatory in the absence of that general sympathy which will unite mankind under the social system.

Bertrand.—Fear not to diminish my confidence: if I were not ever ready to give a reason for the hope that is in me, it would be time to abandon myself to scepticism. You acknowledge that, in the present state of the world, religion has its consolation;—then why not avail yourself of its support?

Fitzosborne.—It is not in my power to command belief. How many years have I anxiously studied this subject! and yet the result is at variance with your conclusion.

Bertrand.—Is it not probable, as the Bishop hinted, that you may have studied without sufficient humility of mind?

Fitzosborne.—Who better than yourself can tell with what devotion and sincerity I have sought truth? What sacrifices would I not have made for its attainment! To me it has ever appeared to be above all price, and the only secure foundation for real happiness. But what an age of sophistry is this! Creeds, catechisms, and formularies are repeated with parrot-like propriety; and he who dares to reflect, or to utter the result of his reflections, is immediately denounced as a dangerous character.

Bertrand.—You are becoming as vehement as Hampden ; and I shall be under the necessity of repeating, *parrot-like*, the lecture you sometimes read to him.

Fitzosborne.—Perhaps it may be useful, for I require friendly admonition to suppress the indignation and disgust with which I sometimes hear professing Christians rail at the man of principle. Who can listen with patience, when such men as Gibbon, Hume, Brown, and Dugald Stewart are reprobated as superficial inquirers by every flippant declaimer sheltered under popular prejudice ?

Bertrand.—He who knows how the character is formed.

Fitzosborne.—True, Bertrand ; you must pardon my weakness.

Bertrand.—But to return to the subject of religion,—what is there you deny ?

Fitzosborne.—Nothing, absolutely nothing ; how could I be so presumptuous ? But I will indulge in my own speculations, and not be dictated to by those whose means of information are no better than my own, and whose diligence in investigation has been much less. When I repeat the word “God”, it represents the idea, in my mind, of the concentration of all that is lovely, wise, and excellent, and presents a standard, the attributes

of which should be the object of our continual aspirations*.

Bertrand.—Then why, with those opinions, can you not attend your church ?

Fitzosborne.—Because it would be a tacit avowal of belief in all the doctrines; which, as I cannot subscribe to them, would be hypocritical.

Bertrand.—Surely you believe in a future state of existence ?

Fitzosborne.—I perceive that our bodies, in common with the animal creation, are composed

* In one of the most unprejudiced and independent periodicals of the day, are to be found occasional compositions of great power and beauty. The following passage, from a series of the “ Sketches of cotemporary Authors,” evinces a mind of no ordinary discrimination :—

“ God is, in truth, the concentration and essence of good; and it is because he is such, that the constant feeling of his existence is beneficial to the human mind. But of two persons, neither of whom is conscious of the love of this impersonated excellence, which is in the healthier moral condition? he who delights in all the manifestations of the Divine goodness, and attempts to make them the models and principles of his own being, though without referring them to their true original and centre? or he who, with all his word-religion, knowing just as little of a pervading and ruling spirit of beauty, truth, and beneficence, at the same time does not discover, in the universe, any of that power and harmony which the former sees and loves, only without attributing them to an adequate cause? The latter has left the road, and either stands still, or wanders further and further from the path which leads us to the sanctuary. The one is guided by ‘the pillar of fire’, though still perhaps far from the ‘land of promise’; the other is either chasing a meteor, or in hopeless inactivity lamenting

of elements which, although perpetually varying their forms and combinations, appear to be indestructible; but I do not believe that precisely the same particles of which our bodies are now compounded will be re-united.

Bertrand.—You know that it has long been proved that the same compound of particles is not essential to personal identity, seeing that our bodies are hourly changing;—but it is the soul, my dear friend, that is to survive and flourish in eternal glory.

Fitzosborne.—We have no evidence of the existence of a soul or mind unconnected with the body; the idea is altogether conjectural and con- for ‘the flesh-pots of Egypt.’ Wherefore, then, should it be said that an atheist is necessarily a bad man? He is one in whom the faculty or part of our nature, whereby we see and embrace the Divine idea, is still lying undeveloped; but it may be that, as well as he yet sees, he struggles to conform himself to the truth, and to open out into the fulness of wisdom the gleams of knowledge which he already possesses: and above all, why do we, instead of imitating the holy gentleness of Christ, overwhelm with obloquy and persecution those whom our unchristian intolerance may irritate and harden, but never can convert?

“The very first grounds and conditions necessary towards conceiving the personality of a universal spirit of love are, that we ourselves should be imbued with benevolence and truth. And those who are selfish and frivolous, though acknowledging God with their lips, or even with their intellects, are infinitely further from him in their hearts than the atheist himself, who is really earnest in struggling upwards, and zealous for the promotion of human welfare.”—*The Athenæum.*

trary to nature. Bishop Butler justly observes, that it is probable “the vegetable world is carried on for the animal, and the animal world for minds.”

Bertrand.—

“Ay, but to die, and go we know not where;
 To lie in cold obstruction and to rot:
 This sensible warm motion to become
 A kneaded clod: and the delighted spirit
 To bathe in fiery floods, or to reside
 In thrilling regions of thick-ribbed ice;
 To be imprison'd in the viewless winds,
 And blown with restless violence round about
 The pendent world”—

such would be the expression of my feelings were I so destitute of faith. For how, unless in the belief of a future state, can moral justice be satisfied for the misery endured by the good, and the triumphs obtained by the bad? It has been said that the good are never really miserable, nor the bad really happy: perhaps neither are so wretched or so blessed as they appear to the imagination of others;—but there is, nevertheless, too great a portion of good and ill misapplied in this world. Turn to the dungeon of the solitary captive, where he lingers shut from light and air and friends; sum the amount of mental and physical tortures inflicted by public tyrants and private despots, and say,—are the injured and the injurer to lie alike in unconscious decomposition?

Fitzosborne.—These unequal conditions are the

result of ignorance, and are conducive to the happiness neither of the oppressors nor the oppressed. The conscience of the good man is a greater source of happiness to him, even under privations and persecutions, than the possession of power to a bad man. Besides, we see throughout the animal creation, that those species most endeared to mankind by mild, gentle, and domesticated habits, fall a prey to the ferocious. We perceive that to man is delegated a certain controul over the works of the creation, and which controul he is enabled to exercise with greater judgement as he advances from generation to generation in knowledge.

Bertrand.—Have you no desire to live hereafter, and to associate with the good and great in a state of blessedness and purity?

Fitzosborne.—I should like to wander through infinite space, to visit the various planets, and curiously examine those works and wonders hidden from mortal ken. But the existence of this desire does not render its realization the more probable: on the contrary, as I know it to be impossible, my attention is not diverted from duties and enjoyments here on earth by vain and unprofitable speculations.

Bertrand.—Is not the expectation of future happiness an incentive to good actions?

Fitzosborne.—Important duties are neglected,

the benevolent affections sacrificed, and real happiness destroyed, in bitter contention about that futurity of which all are ignorant. There is an ample present reward, which is always the most powerful inducement to a virtuous course,—mankind are chiefly influenced by the immediate consequences of their actions; and as they improve in intelligence, they will have scarcely less regard to the more remote consequences.

Bertrand.—By “remote consequences” I fear you still confine your views to those more distant in our present state of existence.

Fitzosborne.—I esteem them all-sufficient; and whatever is superadded, serves only to weaken their efficacy. The desire for an individual separate state of future existence is the result of the present anti-social system, and of all its erroneous modes of education, which tend not only to foster the love of superiority, but to render the individual dissatisfied, without indulging his longings for it even beyond the grave. This desire, so far from promoting union, severs man from his species, and destroys the idea of that amalgamation of mind and feeling which is so conformable to the highest attainments of moral truth: it teaches man to look for happiness, not in the motive that impels to action, not in the hope and endeavour to improve, and which can alone secure it and bind him to his fellow-creatures;

but in a reward which, if real, he is no more entitled to than the less fortunate of his race.

Bertrand.—I must dissent from your position, when you assume that the benevolent affections are sacrificed by religionists in contemplating a future state of existence. What greater cement of friendship, what bond so indissoluble, as that congeniality of mind which unites mankind in social prayer and in adoration of the Supreme Being?

Fitzosborne.—I freely admit that similarity of views, particularly on religious subjects, unites men cordially together; and that, such is their mutual attachment, they will be far more indulgent to the immoralities, and even strive to screen the delinquencies of those of their own sect. But in proportion to the strength of their regard for each other, and to the importance attached to their doctrines, is the harshness of their censures upon the failings of all who are not within the pale of their own church.

Bertrand.—Although warmly attached to the Church of England, I entertain no feeling of hostility towards any other; and wherever I met with a sincere character, whatever might be his religious belief, I should respect and be ready to assist him.

Fitzosborne.—Doubtless there are in every sect distinguished exceptions like yourself; notwith-

standing which, the general feeling is such as I have described. How different the sympathy between men in the various walks of science, and who regard each other as fellow-labourers in different parts of the same field! convinced that discoveries in one branch may facilitate discoveries in others, and knowing their opinions, if true, to be susceptible of demonstration, they are freely and amicably canvassed.

Bertrand.—After all, Fitzosborne, yours is a cold philosophy,—burying in the grave all the intellectual and matured talent of a long life of laborious study, and repressing the efforts of genius by extinguishing the hope of immortality.

Fitzosborne.—Ere the flame of genius expires, its light is communicated to other minds, and transmitted from one generation to another*.

* “If, in what seems to me the most limited and inconsistent, I find not only traces of the great creative power, but an evident connexion of the minutest things with the plan of the Creator in immensity; the best quality of my reason, striving to imitate God, will be to pursue this plan and adapt itself to the Divine mind. On the earth, therefore, would I not seek an angel of heaven, a creature mine eye has never seen; but I would find on it inhabitants of the earth, human beings, and would with all satisfaction receive what our great mother produces, supports, nourishes, endures, and finally receives into her bosom with affection. Other earths, her sisters, may probably boast and enjoy superior creatures: suffice it, there lives on them, what on them can live. My eye is framed to support the beams of the sun at this distance, and no other; my ear, for this atmosphere; my body, for a globe of

Men hope to survive by that alone which can render them estimable ; and the "Principia" of Newton now forms a part, and the ground-work, of the minds of those who have studied him, and are enabled to comprehend his theories at a very early period of life. Boys are therefore qualified by his labours to commence the career of inquiry at that point where Newton's terminated. The sublime and beautiful imagery of Shakspeare and Milton was never more highly appreciated than

this density ; all my senses, from and for the organization of this earth ; to which also the actions of my mental faculties are adapted. Thus the whole space and sphere of action of my species is as precisely determined and prescribed, as the mass and course of the earth, on which my life is to be spent ; and thence, too, in many languages, man derives his name from his parent earth.

"The greater the sphere of harmony, goodness, and wisdom, to which my parent belongs, the more sublime and fixed the laws on which her being and that of all other worlds depend ; the more I perceive that in them all proceeds from one, and one subserves all ; the more firmly, too, find I my fate enchained, not to the dust of this earth, but to the invisible laws by which the earth is governed. The power which thinks and acts in me, is, from its nature, as eternal as that which holds together the sun and the stars ; its organs may wear out, and the sphere of its action may change, as earths wear away, and stars change their places ; but the laws, through which it is where it is, and will again come in other forms, never alter. Its nature is as eternal as the mind of God ; and the foundations of my being (not of my corporeal frame,) are as fixed as the pillars of the universe. For all being is alike an indivisible idea ; in the greatest, as well as in the least, founded on the same laws."—HERDER.

at this day ; they still live, our companions and instructors, and inspire a kindred feeling. Nor are the axioms of the sages of antiquity less remembered : the recorded sayings and deeds of a Socrates, an Antoninus, and the great Exemplar of Christianity, have contributed to form the minds of those who have aspired to moral excellence. Those who pant for immortality must seek an alliance with truth and virtue*.

Bertrand.—But such perpetuity can only be attained by men of distinguished talent †.

Fitzosborne.—Let not those of humbler abilities repine ; for diligence, application, and virtuous conduct, though less conspicuous, may be equally instrumental if not in extending the boundaries of knowledge, yet in imparting the benefit of the

* “The form of the soul,” says Tacitus, in lamenting the death of Agricola, “is eternal, such as you cannot represent and preserve by the craft of hands, or by materials foreign to its nature, nor otherwise than by a similitude and conformity of manners. Whatever we loved in Agricola, whatever we admired, remains, and will for ever remain implanted in the hearts of men through an eternity of ages.”

† “What is the arch of the conqueror,—what the laurel of the poet ! I think of the infinity of space, I feel my nothingness. Yet if I am to be remembered as one who, in a sad night of gloomy ignorance and savage bigotry, was prescient of the flaming morning break of bright philosophy,—as one who deeply sympathized with his fellow-men, and felt a proud and profound conviction of their perfectibility,—as one who devoted himself to the amelioration of his kind, by the destruction of error and the propagation of truth”

—CONTARINI FLEMING.

discoveries of others, and in fostering the germs of talent in the rising generation. Although history bestows its praises upon the names of certain characters, the world may be still more indebted to those unrecorded individuals who trained the youthful mind. Let those who admire the deeds of Hannibal recollect, that if Hanno, his father, had not urged him to swear upon the altar eternal enmity to the Romans, his name* might have perished with the fall of Carthage.

Bertrand.—This is confounding the individual of great and unrivalled talent with the general mass, and contemplating human nature solely in its collective character.

Fitzosborne.—And in what other way can man expect his memory to live, but by the transmission and diffusion of his ideas, and by the present and the recorded influence of his good example?

* “*Philotimus.*—Well! when you have said all, I would not have my name thrown into my coffin, if I could help it. Oblivion, methinks, looks like annihilation: and not to be talked of, is almost not to *be*.”

“*Philalethes.*—Your name! a chimerical advantage! I’m sorry you are so solicitous to immortalize a *sound*. What is Cæsar the better for our knowing he was called so? Was it worth his while to charge in fifty battles, only to leave a few letters of the alphabet behind him?”

———Si decora novimus vocabula,
Num scire consumptos datur?”

Collier's Essays.

What can yield him more consolation in the hour of his dissolution than their remembrance? and what better assurance that they will live in the memory and animate the hearts of his survivors, than their increasing anxieties as the period of his departure approaches? It is only by considering human nature in its collective character, or man as a *member* only of society, that we can form a correct view of his duties and of his means of securing happiness. There is scarcely any object to be accomplished for the convenience and gratification of human nature, that does not require the united efforts of numbers, whether in the articles of food, clothing, and habitation, or in the most important of all—his moral and intellectual acquirements. Nature evidently directs him to this principle of action,—man lives more for himself when he lives for others; and by merging the individual in the general mass, so admirably are the means adapted to the end, his own nature becomes improved*.

Bertrand.—This is the old idea of the *Anima Mundi* taught by Plotinus†.

* “Vincentio Viviani, the great Florentine mathematician, and pupil of Galileo, believed in ‘the necessity of all things, the nullity of evil, and the participation of the universal. But it is remarkable, that such sort of faith as this has prevailed among the better sort of the modern Italians since the revival of Platonism there in the fifth century.’”—*Life of Viviani*.

† Plotinus applied to the Emperor Galienus to confer on

Fitzosborne.—I do not expect that you, Charles, will receive or reject a proposition because it is either new or old: “Is it true?” is the only inquiry worth considering. I think it will be found that those among the most highly gifted appear to have been the least solicitous about personal distinction and fame. Newton, Locke, and Shakspeare have surpassed other men of genius, who had less singleness and freedom of mind, and who sought for individual fame. The future state of existence which your theory contemplates for the myriads who have sojourned upon earth, I will not presume to deny; but it is vague and undefined, and beyond my comprehension; whereas the existence I have described is palpable, and proclaimed by the high estimation in which a Howard and a Socrates are held at this day, and a sure pledge of immortality to every benefactor of mankind:—truly and beautifully has it been somewhere remarked, that the death of a good man is only a circumstance in his life.

him a small city in Campania and the adjacent territory, promising to retire to it with his friends, and realize the republic of Plato; and, but for the opposition of some jealous courtiers, the request would have been granted. “He died,” says his biographer, “in the noblest manner that a heathen philosopher could do, these being his words as he breathed his last: ‘I am labouring to return the divine part of me to that divine whole, which fills the universe.’”

Bertrand.—But you can still retain this opinion as to the transmission of truth, and yet console yourself with the belief of a future state:—why will you disavow an opinion that cannot do harm if untrue, and may prove a comfort under existing circumstances?

Fitzosborne.—Alas! I must confess that frequently, as you witnessed this evening, my spirits require some other aid than solitary philosophy can yield; but it will not be my destiny to receive it. Among the first who have recognised the truths of a better system, which future generations only will appreciate and enjoy, I live an isolated being in the midst of society. Would it not be a gross dereliction of duty, in witnessing so much misery, and knowing the means by which it could be removed, to preserve silence and not endeavour to make known the remedy? And yet it is this avowal that estranges me from friends.

Bertrand.—But why not comply with customs until they are altered, and fall in, where you can, with the general stream?

Fitzosborne.—Because I cannot and will not play the hypocrite*.—I will relate to you a re-

* Although the following remarks appear to be addressed to men of superior talents, they may be read with advantage by all.

“To conform outwardly to what we inwardly despise, is a species of inconsistency of all others the least pardonable, be-

cent instance of painful feeling, arising from the conflict of duty with early association. About three weeks since, I visited a relative far advanced in years, and who has been exemplary in the discharge of her religious duties, generous and kind to all her connexions, and charitable to the poor. The parochial schools, and, in short, whatever was conducive to the religious and moral improvement of the lower classes and her domestics,—nay, of all who came within the sphere of her influence,—received her willing patronage. My parents were scarcely better remembered as the guardians of my childhood than herself: her residence, the village church, and all the neighbourhood, belonged to my earliest associations. The day after my arrival was Sunday; and when the party set out for church, I sauntered up a hill behind the house, and which is crowned by

cause it shakes the very foundations of morality. It is imagination alone that exalts one man above another, and makes the man of genius tower over the rest of his species by the purity of his morals and the grandeur of his thoughts. Filled with ideas of virtue, beauty, and happiness, he scorns the petty contentions of the world for wealth and power. He knows no superior but in virtue and talents, and considers the trifling forms and distinctions of society as the sports and amusements of children. Such a man is born to reform and improve his species; and though he may be sneered at by the vulgar great, or laughed at by the thoughtless mob, it is impossible, if he takes the trouble to instruct his fellow-creatures, that he should not amend and purify the degraded state of society.”—*Burdon's Materials for Thinking.*

a wood with a kind of terrace in front. From this terrace there is a delightful view of the vale, in which a river winds its way through meadows of great luxuriance. On the left lie the village church, the bridge, and a water-mill: in front is the mansion of an ancient family, in the centre of an extensive park ornamented with noble trees. The landscape, altogether, is remarkably beautiful. The morning was fine, and the birds were singing melodiously in the wood: the village bells were summoning to church, and the inhabitants, in their clean Sunday dresses, were passing from various directions along the meadows, and down the paths of the surrounding hills. Presently the bells ceased; all had entered the church, and scarcely an individual was seen. I reflected upon the happy period when I was one of the number going with grateful feelings to offer up my prayers; and I remembered too, ere I could understand much that was repeated in the Service, with what affectionate solicitude my friends impressed me with the necessity of attending to my religious duties. All these pleasing early associations sprung up in my mind; and feeling myself cut off as it were from society,—such was my sense of loneliness, that, notwithstanding the beauty of the scene, and the harmony of the grove, I was overcome by melancholy.

Bertrand.—Then let me again and again entreat you to acquiesce in opinions, the correctness of which you cannot disprove.

Fitzosborne.—No, my dear friend, truth is too sacred ; and, though an individual whose opinions can have but little influence, never can I consent to sacrifice its interests to my own private feelings. It may be that I have more to encounter ; but the period of this painful conflict I begin to think may be shortened by a moral courage that shall enable us to endure with fortitude the unmerited obloquy of mankind, and by an unhesitating avowal of what we believe to be true. Grateful as is the sympathy of mankind, it must not be purchased at the expense of truth ; and I will console myself in solitude with the recollection of the dying words of Theophrastus : “ Nothing is more unprofitable than the love of fame, which promiseth great things at a distance, but deceiveth in the possession ; therefore, my disciples, be content. If you can contemn the esteem of men, which, considering how it is usually bestowed, is not worth having, you will save a great deal of trouble and wearisomeness ; and if it abate not your endeavours, honour may still happen to be your reward.”

Bertrand.—And do you really think it impossible to secure the sympathy of mankind in the avowal of truth ? It is only when we are not suf-

ficiently imbued with moral feeling that we fail to be attractive. St. Paul was all things to all men : he secured their sympathy, and then had no difficulty in finding an inlet for his holy doctrines.

Fitzosborne.—That, Charles, is the best argument you have employed to-night. I know that I have been too regardless of cultivating the sympathies of others by neglecting to converse with them on their pursuits, because it appeared to be a duty to economize my time, and to be continually pressing onward in the dissemination of knowledge.

Bertrand.—And you have, perhaps, sometimes brought up the subject inopportunately.

Fitzosborne.—Too frequently ; and thereby interrupted the prevailing topic of conversation, without succeeding in directing attention to my object.

Bertrand.—By which means you have created a prejudice against it, and inflamed opposition where it before existed.

Fitzosborne.—But tell me, who has been successful? Save and except the few individuals widely scattered throughout society, and who were the least prejudiced inquirers, I find none who have been brought over to correct views ; and even those few have worked out, by dint of earnest and patient study, their own emancipation.

Bertrand.—It cannot be expected that a science so new, and so much at variance with previous opinions, should be understood through a mere superficial examination; and unless we strive so far to interest parties as to induce them to enter upon a more profound investigation, we must not expect to succeed:—but, with regard to yourself, I trust you will not give way to the disconsolate mood in which I found you this evening; you must mix with your fellow-mortals: and, in bidding you good night, I leave with you the last words and the best advice of Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy: “Be not solitary, be not idle.”

CHAPTER XI.

“L’homme de bien a donc des passions et des motifs pour se dégager de préjugés, et même pour les combattre avec chaleur. Si le vice détermine quelques hommes à rompre avec la religion, il en est d’autres que la raison, l’amour de la vérité, l’intérêt de leur propre bonheur, la passion du bien public en ont pu detromper.”—DUMARSAIS.

THOSE who have had much intercourse with society cannot have failed to remark the coldness and distrust oft-times subsisting between individuals of different religious creeds, and frequently in a degree corresponding with the proximity of their opinions. The Jew and the Christian will conduct their mutual transactions with more confidence than two Christians of different sects, whose line of separation is scarcely perceptible to others: this, perhaps, arises from that very line involving a subject of contention, and bringing them in hostility together. It is somewhere observed, that we cannot forgive another stopping short within reach of us. Desires are strong in proportion as they are feasible. Where there is no hope, there is no wish. A Christian cares as little about a Jew, as we about our antipodes ;

but a brother sectary is a neighbour, and, if not with us, is in our way. It may also have been remarked, that when two opposing partizans have by accident become personally acquainted with each other, their mutual antipathy has either materially abated, or they have been agreeably surprised in discovering so much moral worth, that a friendly intercourse has been the consequence. Had Dr. Bathurst suspected Hampden to have been so great a latitudinarian, or so violent in his disputations, as was manifested in his controversy with Dr. Elliot, it is more than probable that his visits at the vicarage would have been earlier discouraged. Although it was evident to Dr. Elliot that his host was almost as much astonished as himself at the intemperate language of Hampden, yet Dr. Bathurst felt considerable chagrin that so much freedom had been exercised under his roof. Not that he could find in his heart to blame one so candid and open to conviction: and, probably, if there had not existed such a term as "atheist," or if it possessed not a spell to strike terror into the hearts of those who are too timid to think and to ascertain its real import, they would find it often applied to the individual who, with the most benevolent disposition, and the highest moral character, was still unable to acknowledge any defined idea of a

First Cause. With the Professor, infidelity and malignity were terms almost synonymous; and he was quite confounded on discovering in Hampden so much unequivocal zeal for the welfare of mankind*. As for Dr. Bathurst, although he could repose securely in the pure and conscientious dictates of his heart, he could not but regret that it should be related by the Professor, that a gentleman of sceptical opinions was a frequent visitor at the vicarage. When on the following morning they reflected on the nature of the discussion, both appeared to feel an inward reproach in having permitted it to proceed.

A difficult and delicate task remained for Dr. Bathurst to perform. It has already been mentioned that the attachment between Hampden and his daughter had attracted his notice; and, if before he felt it prudent to withhold his sanction, at least for a time, he was now resolved upon the necessity of a separation. The duty he imposed upon himself was doubly irksome. He entertained a warm regard for Hampden, and it had been recently heightened by the interest he had taken in the case of Henry Western. He could not, upon reflection, find any satisfactory reasons to assign for the discontinuance of their intimacy;

* "There is nothing wanting to make all rational people in the world of one religion, but they should talk together every day."—POPE.

for his ingenuous mind disdained a subterfuge, and was as transparent as the day. Hampden's affection for Elizabeth had now become mutual; for, during the last six weeks, scarcely a day had elapsed without an interview. About a year previous, Elizabeth and Mary had established an infant school a mile distant from the vicarage, and midway between their village and the next, the number of children in their own being too small. To this school he had almost constantly attended the ladies, and promoted by his suggestions many improvements, as well as assisted personally both in the studies and amusements of the children. The path to the school lay across the meadows; and about half way it was accompanied with the brook which passed by the vicarage, and ran at the foot of a hill. On the other side there was also a hill rising less abruptly, with a wood clothing its side. The country beyond was picturesque and beautiful. Their conversation generally turned upon botany, entomology, and other branches of natural history in reference to the schools, and they collected many specimens on their way. The reciprocal attachment was too visible to escape the observation of Mary, who would loiter to gather flowers, or return to fetch some book left behind, but in reality to permit the lovers to proceed alone. These walks, through such a country, upon an errand the

most useful and interesting in which human beings, however elevated their station, can be engaged, would scarcely fail to inspire two young persons with sentiments of regard; and between Hampden and Elizabeth there arose an exalted esteem, and the most pure and ardent affection.

Dr. Bathurst suffered a week to elapse before he could speak to his daughter relative to Hampden; and finding that the longer he delayed, the more difficulties presented themselves, he resolved to request her to attend him one morning in his study, soon after breakfast. He knew not what objection to make to Hampden, which his own mind did not satisfactorily remove; but there was that public opinion—the bane of virtue, when not rightly formed, which forbade silence. He resolved upon an expedient that he conceived would diminish their intimacy, without leading to a final separation. He determined to apprise his daughter of Hampden's sceptical opinions. It was not unusual for Elizabeth to attend her father in his study to arrange their domestic plans; and she, therefore, did not expect more than an ordinary communication. After some indifferent conversation upon domestic affairs, he asked her if she had at any time heard Mr. Hampden express opinions unfavourable to religion, because the Professor and himself were surprised to hear him

advocating the cause of those who had impugned Christianity.—Had there been no symptoms of attachment manifested on the part of Elizabeth before, they were now too evident to be mistaken. She turned pale, and was with difficulty prevented from fainting. She was soon restored, but it was only to evince still more palpably the state of her heart, by the blushes which the conviction of having so strongly betrayed her regard now called forth. She hesitatingly remarked, that the thought of any of their friends, and particularly one who had been upon such intimate terms with them, should entertain irreligious sentiments quite overcame her for the moment; but she imagined there must have been some misunderstanding, for she had witnessed the most striking proofs of Mr. Hampden's zeal for religion. His attention to the wants of the poorer classes, the great assistance he had rendered them in the school, and his recent kindness in taking Henry Western into his service, could leave no doubt of his religion.

Dr. Bathurst.—But do you not know that a benevolent and religious disposition are not always synonymous terms*.

* “ In faith and hope the world will disagree,
 But all mankind's concern is charity:
 All must be false that thwart this one great end;
 And all of God, that bless mankind or mend.”—POPE.

Elizabeth.—If I had thought much on the subject, I should perhaps have discriminated; but I never met with any person who expressed a doubt on the subject of religion; and as they have always been represented to me as bad characters who ought to be avoided, I had, without any reflection, considered infidelity and immorality as the same. I still think Mr. Hampden must be religious, for I never met with his equal in humanity. You know, my dear father, what difficulty we had in endeavouring to persuade the neighbouring gentry to aid in the formation of an Infant School, even those who had been most constant at church; but Mr. Hampden has not only made numerous presents to the little pupils, but has become individually acquainted with them.

Dr. Bathurst scarcely knew whether to proceed or not in his design; and he had some difficulty in suppressing his emotions while his daughter narrated the beneyolent assiduities of Hampden. “I do not doubt,” said he, after a pause, “the benevolence of Mr. Hampden;—but has he ever objected to the Catechism being taught?” “I cannot,” replied Elizabeth, (endeavouring to recollect,) “call to mind any particular instance, but I know that he objects generally to our attempting to force upon the minds of children any subjects which they cannot clearly comprehend:—for instance, the other day, when a little girl was

unable to answer the question, 'Who is the Holy Ghost?' he said, it was destroying their powers of reasoning and of judgement to teach them to repeat sounds to which they could annex no clear idea*. But this," continued Elizabeth, "is one of the principles by which the Infant Schools are chiefly distinguished from others, and the reason why sensible signs are adopted in preference to books."

Dr. Bathurst.—There are, however, some exceptions: that, with regard to religion, which, containing articles of faith not susceptible of demonstration to our finite capacities in the present state of existence, must be equally unintelligible to adults and to children. Such articles cannot be too early presented to the mind, and linked with its first associations:—but say, have you not thought it extraordinary that he has not once been at my church?

Elizabeth.—Perhaps, Sir, he attends his own parish church.

Dr. Bathurst.—I have reason to apprehend that that is not the case; and we must consider if we are not infringing the rules of propriety by en-

* "..... whilst specious names
Learnt in soft childhood's unsuspecting hour,
Serve as the sophisms with which manhood dims
Bright reason's ray, and sanctifies the sword
Uprais'd to shed a brother's innocent blood."

couraging the too frequent visits of a gentleman who is suspected of sceptical opinions.

Elizabeth.—You always told us, Sir, that we should respect the characters of men of all persuasions, whose conduct was regulated by the dictates of conscience, and whose moral character was unexceptionable; and there is no individual of whom you have spoken so highly as of Mr. Hampden.

Dr. Bathurst.—I still hold the same opinion; but after he has indicated doubts of some important doctrines of the Church, and that in the presence of the Professor, it would be outraging public opinion were I, a clergyman, to continue to receive him as a constant visitor.

Elizabeth.—He has certainly been of very great assistance at the school; and whenever we have mentioned any of the alterations and suggestions proposed by you, he has been particularly anxious in carrying them into execution.

Dr. Bathurst.—I do not by any means wish to relinquish his acquaintance altogether, but I think it more expedient to discourage too great an intimacy; and having explained my views, I leave it in confidence to your discretion to pursue the conduct you think right.

This interview terminated in a manner more favourable than Elizabeth had expected at its commencement; and while she could not but

admit the propriety of her father's suggestions, she was happy to find their intimacy was not to cease entirely. She therefore determined to give less encouragement to Hampden's attentions, by leaving the hour of visiting the school uncertain.

The first time he called, she was occupied in some work that would prevent her going to the school. There was an awkwardness in her apology, as well as in the unimportance of the work itself in which she was engaged; and Hampden, after sitting a short time, departed somewhat perplexed. The next time he called, the ladies accompanied him to the school; but there was an occasional reserve for which he could not altogether account. This reserve, in his subsequent visits, was still more apparent; and the invitations by the Doctor to dine with them were less frequent. For this, however, he accounted by referring to his discussion with the Professor, and not thinking that the vicar had mentioned the subject to his daughters. In this way a month passed, increasing poor Hampden's anxieties: but there was one peculiarity which tended in some degree to diminish them. Miss Bathurst, notwithstanding her general reserve, would frequently, unconsciously as it were, resume her former manner, and then as suddenly alter her tone. Indeed, so ill did she act her part, that

Hampden suspected there was something requiring explanation.

One morning as they were returning from the school, a coursing party crossed their path a short distance before them, and one of the horses, in leaping the brook, fell and threw his rider. Neither horse nor rider was hurt; but Elizabeth, alarmed at the scene, clung close to Hampden, and by an unguarded expression evinced an affectionate dependence upon him as her best protector. She immediately recollected herself, blushed, and apologized for her familiarity, imputing it to a momentary alarm. The unintentional appeal had touched a consenting chord in the breast of Hampden, who, so far from being disposed to accept an apology, lamented that any had been deemed necessary. "I had hoped," said he, "that Miss Bathurst would not have considered it expedient to apologize for an expression of kindness;—but since I find there are still some remains of that favourable opinion which I once flattered myself was entertained by her, I hope I may be permitted to ask in what way I have unintentionally forfeited any portion of her friendship." "I really," said Elizabeth, "know not to what you allude: I have never ceased to be grateful for the attentions you have paid to our family, and for the assistance you have so kindly

afforded." "Pardon me," replied Hampden, "but you know my love of sincerity and unreserved declaration of opinion. That I have from some unknown cause fallen in the esteem of my friends at the vicarage, is too evident; and I only wish to be apprised of that cause in order to remove it, for there is nothing upon earth that I would not do to retain their regard." "Are you quite sure of that?" replied Elizabeth, with an anxiously inquiring look. "Nothing," said Hampden, "consistently with my honour; and nothing more would their honourable minds require. But that question imports something; it implies some omission on my part, and I hope you will resolve me." Elizabeth faltered, for she knew not how to proceed without disclosing the injunctions of her father. She begged him to drop the subject, and she might perhaps be more explicit when they had the pleasure of seeing him again.

On the following morning, Elizabeth informed Dr. Bathurst that Mr. Hampden had expressed his apprehension that he had unfortunately incurred the disapprobation of the family, and was at a loss to divine the cause: she therefore requested her father's permission, if he again asked any question on the subject, at once to declare their motives. The Doctor offered no objection; indeed he was not sorry to be relieved of a painful task, the neglect of performing which he had

almost deemed a breach of duty. On the second day Hampden renewed his visit, and they walked to the school. They had not proceeded far when he reminded Elizabeth of her promise. "You wish me, I know," said Elizabeth, "to be candid; and, to tell you truly, we are apprehensive that you are not quite so friendly to Christianity as might be desired." What should he have expected otherwise? And yet this sentence smote him to the ground. No criminal before a seat of justice could have felt more alarm, than all the consequences of this impression, now rushing upon him, conveyed to the heart of Hampden. His agitation was palpable, and not slightly increased by the inquiring eyes of Elizabeth fixed steadily upon him. "Not friendly to Christianity!" said he, after a pause of some moments; "to what part of Christianity do you suppose I can be opposed? for there are scarcely two individuals who entertain precisely the same opinions on every doctrinal point. If each portion of the Scripture admitted but of one interpretation, we should not have so many sects*. No one esteems the general spirit of Christianity, and its rules of practice, more highly than myself."—The eyes

* "It has been," says Dr. Mather in his account of the Colony of Rhode Island, "a colluvies of Antinomians, Familists, Anabaptists, Antisabbatarians, Arminians, Socinians, Quakers, Ranters;—so that, if a man had lost his religion, he might have found it at that general muster of opinionists."

of Elizabeth sparkled with delight. "Then," said she, "it must be on some minor points that you dissent:—now, in my turn, I call upon you to be explicit." "Will you promise," replied Hampden, "that I shall not forfeit your esteem by my candour?" "How is it possible," rejoined Elizabeth, "that I can ever prefer insincerity to truth?" "Then," said Hampden, "I confess that since I have recognised the principle of the formation of character—that it is formed *for* and not *by* the individual,—I cannot consider him a proper subject for rewards and punishments." "Well," replied Elizabeth, "and have we not dispensed with rewards and punishments in our infant schools?" "Nor can I," continued Hampden, "understand the doctrine of original sin, or repeat creeds which my reason does not sanction." Elizabeth drew her hand from his arm, looked down, and said "These are, indeed, serious objections."

To Hampden, at all times liable to the alternations of elated and depressed spirits, the withdrawing of Elizabeth's hand was like the deprivation of sanguine hope; and his heart foreboded the worst. Elizabeth intended no other than her previous promise of unaltered sentiment; but who can at all times controul their feelings? Bred up the daughter of a clergyman exemplary in the discharge of his sacred duties, from her infancy repeating with reverence the formularies

of her Church,—how could she hear their credibility questioned without a shock to all her earliest and strongest prepossessions? Still, however, it was but a momentary impulse that induced her to release herself from Hampden; for, in truth, her affection for him would have induced her to submit, on his account, to any sacrifices not inconsistent with her duties. Had this not been the case, Hampden's agitation, and the bitter lamentations that followed, would have hastened the catastrophe he dreaded. Almost at the same instant that she relinquished his arm, she was about to resume it; but his hands were uplifted, and with an energy that somewhat alarmed her, he uttered the following apostrophe.

“O Superstition! thou baneful offspring of ignorance, and direst enemy of human happiness, setting father against son, mother against daughter, and nation against nation*!—far from foster-

* Acosta had been ill-treated by one of his relations. “This usage,” says Bayle, “may perhaps be accounted one of the reasons which confirmed Acosta in his impious way of thinking, being persuaded that such unjust proceedings might be authorized by some passages in the Old Testament, wherein the Law commands brothers, fathers, and husbands not to spare the lives of their brothers, children, and wives, in case they prove apostates. And it is to be observed, that he brought in this as an argument against the law of Moses, affirming that a law which overthrew the religion of nature, could not proceed from God, who was the author of that religion. Now,” says he, (*Exemplar Vitæ Humanæ*, p. 552,) “the religion of nature establishes a bond of friendship amongst relations.”

ing charity, thou hast polluted its source, paralyzed its efforts, and contracted its influence. Thou hast sown the seeds of discord in the midst of every people ; thou hast set bounds to the progress of truth, and prolonged the reign of error. But for thee, knowledge and love would long since have overspread the earth. There is no injustice, no oppression, which thou hast not sanctioned ; and in thy name have cruelty and death been consecrated, and the thrones of tyranny upheld. Under thy sable banners the people have been led to slaughter. Thou hast devastated the fairest fields with fire and sword, and deluged the earth with blood. By thee the happy wife has been reduced to disconsolate widowhood, and children been deprived of parents. Encouraging hypocrisy*, thou hast led thy sincere and conscientious victims to the stake. What horrid rites have not been performed at thy shrine ! Claiming to be the support, thou hast been the destroyer of morals. Deprived of reason by thy terrors, behold the unhappy maniac ; and, lost to the innocent enjoyments of life, the secluded ascetic, and the imprisoned monk. But it is only in the infancy of society that thy sway is undisputed :

* Pope Urban the Eighth threw Copernicus into prison, and would not suffer him to come out until he had recanted his opinion ; “ that is,” says his biographer, “ till he had renounced the evidence of his senses.”

Science shall contest thy sovereignty and alarm thy votaries*. Already true knowledge is dawning upon mankind, and thy reign of terror, of discord, and of blood, is fast expiring. Yet still thou remainest, to sever the warmest friends, and, oh ! bitter reflection, wouldst now deprive me of the dearest object of my heart."

Such was the vehemence of Hampden, that he might have continued the same strain much longer, if he had not, by reverting to the fair and trembling object by his side, subdued his feelings and his tone. This was the first time Elizabeth had witnessed one of his bursts of passion ; and perhaps, if the impetuosity of his character had been developed at an earlier period, her timid heart would have been repelled from him. But her regard had been of gradual growth. Their acquaintance had continued long enough to convince her of his goodness and inflexible honesty. Though not exactly formed for a heroine, her affections were too deeply rooted to be easily shaken. Hampden apologized for the strong terms in which he had spoken, and acknowledged that it was a subject on which he could not but feel deeply.

* "Father Paul entrusted his Treatise on the Valves of the Veins, to Aquapendente, to be presented after his death to the Republic of Venice : and as the slightest novelties were apt to create alarms among the people, the book was deposited privately in the library of St. Mark."—*Biog. Diet.*

Miss Bathurst.—Have I not heard you express the highest admiration of the great Exemplar of our religion,—of him who went about doing good?

Hampden.—That was, indeed, a godlike character! Do not those who profess to imitate him rather resemble his persecutors? Would he have sanctioned a particle of ill-will between brothers, because they could not interpret alike the Book of Revelation? Your own pure heart, Elizabeth, can respond to the heavenly solicitude he expressed for all the afflicted and oppressed, and for such little innocents as you are rescuing, for a time at least, from a cold and unfeeling world. How exquisitely does the motto with which you have adorned your school, express the most grateful of all our duties,—“Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not; for of such is the kingdom of heaven”!

If Hampden had lost ground before, by this he regained it; for the countenance of Elizabeth spoke too eloquently not to assure him that all was right. He had expressed the sincerity of his heart; and the pressure of her hand, as they parted, confirmed his hopes.

When I entered my room in the evening, I found Hampden ruminating on the occurrences of the day, which he detailed very circumstantially. “What a strange world we inhabit!”

said he : “ had I been accused of a serious offence, I could not have experienced more dreadful agitation than was excited by Elizabeth’s suspicions of my infidelity. A surer mode of creating hypocrisy never was devised, than that of attaching merit or demerit for opinions which cannot be received or rejected at the will of the individual. And if a knowledge of truth is the only road to happiness,—is it not a duty we owe to each other, to inquire, and to communicate the result of our inquiries*? I have seen Dissenters, clamorous for religious freedom,—themselves the most intolerant to all whose creed varied in the smallest degree from their own ; and who, had I declared myself possessed of no creed whatever, would have shunned me as the pestilence that walketh by day, or as the traveller in Java avoids the pestiferous influence of the Upas-tree.”

* “ Respecter les opinions reçues, c’est presque toujours respecter le mesonge ; dissimuler la vérité ou la cacher, c’est se rendre le complice de l’imposture ; refuser de parler vrai aux hommes quand on le peut, c’est trahir la cause du genre humain, c’est lui retenir une dette que lui doivent les talens.”—
DUMARSAIS.

CHAPTER XII.

“How does my glowing heart expand at the opening prospect which has this moment filled my imagination,—to behold a great and mighty nation, known of old to appreciate with equal skill the glory of powerful enterprise and the silent joys of domestic life, intent upon the welfare of the rising generation; establishing the honour and happiness of those who shall one day attend in their place; securing to their country her glory and her liberty, by a moral elevation of her children!”—Pestalozzi's *Letters to Greaves*.

HENRY Western arrived about a week after his engagement. Hampden observed that his countenance did not denote that contentment he had hoped and expected from their last interview; and in the conversation that passed between them immediately on his arrival, it was but too evident that his old companions had been at work in the interval, striving to divert him from his determination of abandoning their society. “I had proposed,” said Hampden, “to employ you as my servant; but as I have not any immediate occasion for your services in that capacity, I hope you will lend your assistance in a pursuit still more useful to yourself and to others. At a village about two miles distant some ladies have established an Infant School; and, as you are in some

measure acquainted with the value of instruction, I could wish you for the present to devote yourself to this object." Henry's eyes brightened at the proposal. His companions had instilled into his mind notions repugnant to servitude; and his mother had some difficulty, after Hampden's departure, notwithstanding her tears and entreaties, to prevail upon him to fulfil his promise of going to his new master. Hampden, perceiving the character he had to deal with, gratified him by leaving the determination to himself. Henry had been too long connected with his political associates not to have imbibed notions of independence. It was only by degrees that he could be weaned from them, and induced to enter cheerfully upon a different course. It is more than probable, that if the proposal had been made imperatively, it would have been resisted; but as there was now a faint prospect of his rising in the scale of society, he readily assented. Hampden directed him to go on the following day, about two hours before he himself intended to set off; and it was with great delight that he found him, upon his arrival, already engaged in examining, with apparent interest, some of the children. This change it was not difficult to account for.

I have before observed that Henry Western had greatly distinguished himself at the ele-

mentary school, and had acquired a taste for reading. But as the principle of emulation had been acted upon at that school, he had been taught to aspire; and it was in consequence of his mind having acquired a degree of refinement that he felt his subsequent degradation so much more acutely. Not only had he been prevented from advancing,—he had retrograded; and when he was beginning to dream of distinctions unknown to him before, was suddenly depressed, and doomed, as he said, to slavery. Notwithstanding his religious instruction inculcated an inward dependence on its consolations, and inspired hopes and exalted feelings beyond the reach of external circumstances; yet if the lives of his teachers exhibited the influence of externals only,—if he beheld happiness sought for in outward circumstances alone, by those to whom he was taught to look up with respect and reverence,—if the excitement of emulation, that infancy of pride, cherished the same feeling, was it surprising that he should be animated by a corresponding sympathy with the world at large?

He had not been many days at the school before the early associations of his mind began to revive; and he felt that he was entering upon a career of honourable distinction, congenial with his latent talents. Hampden proposed to find more pupils; and in two or three weeks the

number of children was increased at least one fourth.

When Hampden was summoned to London, Dr. Bathurst undertook to find some employment for Henry's leisure hours, in transcribing a manuscript he was preparing for the press. A lodging having been found for him in the village, the youngest daughter, Mary Bathurst, carried the papers when she visited the school. The work consisted of sermons, chiefly upon Charity and Practical Christianity, and were well calculated for the improvement of his mind. In the mean time the assiduity of Henry increased with the success of his efforts; and no child ever beheld with more delight the first breaking of the earth by the expanding seed its little hand had planted, than did the new preceptor the opening minds of his young pupils. The reflection that he had been instrumental in developing their powers, and that upon him devolved the grateful duty of giving those powers a beneficial direction, had a salutary influence upon his own mind*. When he recollected the bad passions excited by his late misdirected efforts, he was satisfied that he was now aiding to remodel so-

* "He that does good to another man, does also good to himself; not only in the consequence, but in the very act of doing it; for the consciousness of well doing is an ample reward."—SENECA.

ciety in the most effectual manner by improving its materials, and that no station in life could have more important or pleasing duties annexed to it than that of forming the infant mind.

I fear that I may be almost suspected of an inclination to romance, in disclosing a fact, to state which, however, is essential to our narrative. The intercommunion to which Mary Bathurst was led with Henry Western, by acting as her father's agent regarding the manuscript upon which the young man was employed, and yet more by the conversations which grew out of the common interest they felt in the school, presented him to her in the most favourable point of view. His countenance, naturally prepossessing, had now recovered its ingenuous expression. The scowl of discontent had passed away from his brow, and given place to a cheerful and a benevolent aspect. But when he dilated, in the warmth of his heart, upon the rising talents of his little tribe, there was an eloquent enthusiasm in his countenance somewhat allied to the expression of poetical inspiration. It was in these moments that he first became an object of peculiar attention to Mary; and it was not seldom that she would make such inquiries as were likely to give birth to an animated description of his success and future plans.

One morning, on reaching the school, the la-

dies were surprised to find Henry absent ; but their surprise yielded to concern when they learned that he had been attacked by fever the preceding evening, and was unable to leave his bed. The sensation this intelligence created in the heart of Mary Bathurst, revealed to her an unsuspected secret : she felt that the young tutor had awakened a deeper interest in her breast than was consistent with wisdom or prudence to indulge ; that she had been yielding herself to the fascination of forbidden though innocent sensibilities, and that, for the future, her demeanour towards him must be marked by more reserve. Henry's attack, though severe, was of short duration, and in less than a week he resumed his duties. The first time Mary saw him, she was struck with the alteration the fever had occasioned ; and it was evident that his zeal had prompted a premature attendance. But it is one thing to sketch a plan of conduct in the absence of an exciting cause, and another to put it in practice when the cause is present. With all her resolution of reserve, there was an unconscious tenderness in her manner when she met Henry on his recovery, and told him she feared that he had been premature in returning to duties to which his strength was yet inadequate. The words were scarcely uttered, than she recollected herself, and she

withdrew to another part of the school. For several months did Mary strive to conceal or to dismiss the interest she felt for the youthful preceptor. As for Henry, he was perfectly unconscious of the regard he had inspired; although, if there had not been so immeasurable a distance between their stations in society, it is probable that she would have been an object of equal interest to him. The hours which he could snatch from the schools were devoted to mental cultivation; and the frequent interviews with the ladies, as well as with many visitors at the schools, together with the acquaintance of several respectable inhabitants in the village who were induced to notice him from respect to the Vicar,—all contributed to improve his manners; so that he was daily advancing in intelligence and urbanity. Still the meanness of his origin, and the high respectability of the Bathursts, rendered it impossible for him to think of Mary with any other feelings than those of dutiful respect for her kindness and condescension. It is true that, upon the occasions I have referred to, after his indisposition, and a few other times, he had been inadvertently addressed in a tone of voice which he could not fail to notice; but he attributed it solely to an excess of benevolence, and it passed off without any other impression. The more Henry improved, the more difficult did Mary

find it to subdue or conceal an attachment which it appeared to her the very height of imprudence to encourage. Finding that she was too often off her guard in his presence, she resolved to absent herself occasionally from the schools; and, when present, to adopt a more distant manner, which would preclude the possibility of any familiar dialogue. The efforts Mary made to assume a demeanour foreign to her feelings were not always sufficiently well sustained. Nature will be predominant; and they who can preserve an un-deviating coldness of manner towards one whom they regard with interest, must have made a progress in dissimulation to which Mary had no pretensions. The conflict between prudence and preference, therefore, occasioned an inconsistency in her behaviour that perplexed Henry, who, in the conscious humility of a humble fortune, entertained not the most remote conception of the feelings he had inspired; and, in the natural apprehensiveness of a dependent and an inferior, he would sometimes fear he had offended. On these occasions he was often upon the point of speaking to Mary Bathurst; but again, upon reflection, he considered it presumptuous to anticipate or interpret thoughts which, did she deem it expedient, she would of course express. He revolved the circumstances in his mind, without coming to any satisfactory conclusion as to the

probable cause of offence ; and as he had now become seriously impressed with religion, he determined to continue the most scrupulous course of conduct, and if he should unintentionally meet with disapprobation, he would not have to reproach himself with any wilful neglect of duty. The very guarded and circumspect carriage now assumed by Henry, gave a coldness and a degree of formality to his address that chilled the heart of Mary, whose only consolation, in the painful conflict in her breast, was found in the respectful regards manifested in his former behaviour.

It was now her turn to ponder upon the cause of an alteration which she soon concluded could be no other than the natural consequence of her own reserve. If she had not so early endeavoured to suppress the expression of her feelings, she would have attracted more particular attention from her sister. As it was, Elizabeth observed she had become more thoughtful and, occasionally, absent in her manner. She would sometimes rally her upon the attentions paid to her by one or two gentlemen who were among the visitors at the vicarage. In general there was no want of confidence between the sisters ; but this attachment appeared to Mary herself so reprehensible, that she could not find courage to acknowledge or to permit it to be suspected. Yet what was there in this attachment that the sternest phi-

losophy, the purest morality, the most exemplary Christianity, could with justice condemn? She had at first been attracted by his mental endowments, and by a sympathy in his pursuits. The frequency of their meetings had ripened that sympathy into affection. If exalted rank and eminent fortune hide the deformities of vice, —meanness of extraction, although it sometimes obscures the beauties of virtue, occasionally displays them in stronger relief. To Mary, the reviving talents and virtues of Henry were the more interesting, because unexpected; and they rose to her admiring view with much the same surprise and delight as the weary traveller discovers one spot of fertility and verdure in the midst of a desolate region.

CHAPTER XIII.

“ Beside the bed where parting life was laid,
And sorrow, guilt, and pain, by turns dismay’d,
The rev’rend champion stood. At his controul
Despair and anguish fled the struggling soul ;
Comfort came down, the trembling wretch to raise,
And his last falt’ring accents whisper’d praise.”

GOLDSMITH.

WHEN Dr. Bathurst questioned Elizabeth regarding Hampden’s explanation, she was too much accustomed to adhere strictly to truth to suppress the opinions he had expressed relative to the doctrine of original sin ; at the same time she did not dwell lightly on his enthusiastic encomiums on the charities of religion. “ As I suspected,” said the Vicar, “ his mind is tinged with infidelity ; but he now knows the cause of our apparent coolness, and will no longer be surprised if we are less pressing in our invitations. When he again calls to attend you to the schools, I should wish to be of the party.”

On the following morning, Hampden reached the vicarage about the usual hour. Dr. Bathurst invited him to take an early dinner, which was no sooner finished, than he proposed to walk with

them. Having proceeded some distance, the Vicar requested his daughters to continue their route by themselves, as he wished Mr. Hampden to accompany him in calling upon one of his parishioners.—The Vicar and Hampden diverged from the path about a quarter of a mile, and turned up a green lane, upon one side of which were a few cottages, each having a small garden, all kept in good order. The cottages belonged to the Vicar. Many of the inmates came to their doors as he passed, and made respectful obeisance, which was kindly acknowledged. They entered a wicket gate, and tapped gently at the door of one of the cottages. It was opened by a little blooming girl, who looked up smilingly in the Vicar's face, and took his hand. An aged woman, the grandmother of the child, was sitting at a table with her Bible before her. She rose as they entered. "How is your son?" said Dr. Bathurst. "I fear," replied the poor woman, "there is no hope; the fever was on him severely last night. The doctor, who has been here this morning, thinks he cannot live many days; but he is calm and resigned, and he says, that with the assurance that his family will be taken care of, he feels that he shall die happy. His poor wife, I am afraid, will be inconsolable. At present her mind is wholly absorbed in attending to his wants; and the strength he occasionally de-

rives from his fever, deceives her with vain expectations of recovery. But, indeed, Sir, I never witnessed so striking an instance of the power of faith in sustaining the spirits of a dying Christian, and in cheering his last hours. He bears his sufferings with meekness, and without a murmur. We all should feel the affliction more heavily, if his mind was less at ease.”

The Vicar proposed going up stairs, after the little girl had announced their arrival. The eyes of the poor invalid were directed towards the door, and faintly brightened as he entered. The hectic sat upon his cheek, and told the sad tale of inward wasting. The Vicar held out his hand, as he seated himself by the bed-side. The poor man grasped it with the warmth of gratitude, while the wife hid her face overwhelmed with grief. “And how do you find yourself this morning?” said the good pastor. “I am rather easier,” replied the invalid, “and am better for the jelly the Miss Bathursts were so kind as to send me. Last night was rather tedious, for I had no sleep; but my pains and troubles are light, indeed, for a death-bed,” (then pausing to get breath,) “and I thank God who gives me strength to bear them. I always feel so much refreshed and better when you are kind enough to join me in prayer; and, as this may be your last visit, I hope you will excuse the request.” “Make no apology, my good

friend," replied the Vicar, "for it is one of the most important of my duties." He then knelt down by the bed-side, and uttered an appropriate prayer. As he proceeded, his fervency increased; the sick man seemed to revive, and the wife gathered strength and consolation as she joined in the heavenly appeal. Hampden, who had bent a reluctant knee, was absorbed in contemplating the scene. The white locks and venerable aspect of the Vicar, his unaffected piety, his tender regard for the family, were too much for his feelings; and, while others were becoming more collected, his nature was relaxing. It was not without an inward satisfaction that Dr. Bathurst, in a momentary glance at Hampden, as he rose, observed his eyes were suffused with tears.

Upon reaching the school-room, they found the children still assembled; and, although they had been detained by the ladies some time beyond the usual hour of dismissal, in expectation of the arrival of their father, they were all looking anxiously for his approach. The Doctor put a variety of questions to them, which were answered with promptitude; but Hampden begged him to remark the evident difference in their manner when they replied by rote to a doctrinal question, of which they could not comprehend the meaning, and those which they distinctly understood.

"You have seen," replied the Doctor, "the

good effects of a religious education in the scene at the cottage ; and, on our return, you will do me a favour if you stop and spend an hour at another cottage where there is a large family of children. I and my daughters will leave you there, because, if I remain, I must read the evening prayers, and I wish you to witness their usual mode of closing the day." This cottage was at the extremity of the lane. The whole party entered ; and, after staying a short time, departed, with the exception of Hampden. They left him sitting with a child on each knee ; for several of the children belonged to the infant school, and of course were familiar with him. He invited himself to tea ; and, by his more than usually frank and familiar manner, encouraged the cottagers to communicativeness. Habituated to his name by the children, who always mentioned him with the affection his kindness had awakened in their little hearts, he was soon addressed as a condescending friend.

The conversation at first chiefly turned on Dr. Bathurst and his daughters ; and the cottagers seemed no less delighted to lavish encomiums upon them, than was Hampden to listen. He availed himself of the opportunity of instructing them in the best method of following up the principles of education in the infant schools, and pointed out, that if they were not careful to adopt

the same rule of conduct in their house, the progress of the children would be retarded, and they would have confused notions of right and wrong. In allusion to the Bible, he recommended them to be careful in teaching the children to distinguish between the historical portion of the Old Testament, and the morally instructive precepts of the New. They continued their instructive conversation until a late hour for them, and the wife suggested that the children should go to bed. They asked Hampden's permission to read a chapter in the New Testament, and then repeat their prayers. Both were performed with simplicity and seriousness: the children all kneeling with their little hands pressed together*. It was a lovely scene of tranquillity and innocence, and appealed most eloquently to Hampden's feelings. Prayer being ended, the children kissed their parents and their friend, and went quietly to bed.—Soon after, Hampden took his leave, and journeyed homeward full of the affecting emotions

* Compared with this, how poor religion's pride,

In all the pomp of method, and of art,
When men display to congregations wide

Devotion's ev'ry grace, except the *heart*!
The *Power*, incens'd, the pageant will desert,

The pompous strain, the sacerdotal stole;
But haply, in some *cottage* far apart,

May hear, well pleas'd, the language of the soul;
And in his *book of life* the inmates poor enrol.

BURNS.

which the occurrences of the day were well calculated to inspire.

I could not but remind Hampden of the excellent lessons of moderation he had read to the villagers, and I asked him if he did not think it much better to guide the individual as safely as he could through the labyrinth in which he was involved by the existing mode and matter of instruction, than to deprive him altogether of that support which, in the present state of society, seemed absolutely essential. "You mistake me," said Hampden, "if you suppose that, when I recommended an uncompromising advocacy of truth, I intended to visit the poor man's cottage and disturb his opinions. I have strenuously urged upon the poorer classes the necessity of perseverance in the practice of those morals with which their faith has been connected; but to them I have not spoken either for or against their doctrines. I know there are many, and yourself among the number, who consider the sense of moral obligation so interwoven with the tenets of religion, that the latter cannot be removed without sometimes endangering the former."

Hampden visited the vicarage two days after the Doctor's attendance at the school, and was shown into the study. After some general conversation, "I have desired," said the Doctor, "some serious conference with you, Mr. Hamp-

den, upon a subject of the utmost importance. The regard which I entertain for you on account of the exemplary zeal you have manifested in the school, and your earnest desire to promote the improvement of your fellow-creatures generally, together with the indirect overtures which my daughter informs me you have made to her, render it highly necessary that I should communicate my sentiments without any further delay. Were it not on account of these circumstances, the station I fill in the Church renders it incumbent on me, particularly after your vindication of sceptical writers in the presence of the Professor, to require you to renounce your errors, if our intimacy is to continue. When our acquaintance first commenced, I had no suspicion of the laxity of your opinions. Widely separated from those who are sceptical, I had been accustomed to consider them either cold and selfish, or indifferent to the welfare of mankind, and destitute of charitable feelings. Finding you possessed these, I relied with confidence upon the rectitude of your mind in other respects. I do not now wish to enter upon the incontrovertible evidences of Christianity: my present object is to direct your attention to its utility and efficacy; and you must have observed that it was in furtherance of this object that I invited you to accompany me to the painful scene at the cottage. You there

beheld the sustaining comforts of religious confidence ; how affliction was lightened, and how tranquil the last moments of the dying man. Can you seriously think of destroying a religion which deprives death of its sting, and banishes despair by the promise of a glorious immortality?"

"I acknowledge, Sir," replied Hampden, "that I deeply sympathized with the balm imparted to the afflicted family from the religious exercises of yesterday ; and, whatever may have been the ebullition of the moment, it was never my deliberate intention to deprive poor and partially enlightened families of the comforts they derive from their earliest lessons, any more than I should think of advocating the abolition of prisons or of punishments, while the causes which render them necessary remain unremoved."

"But, Sir," interrupted Dr. Bathurst, "when once doubts are disseminated, it is impossible to tell whom they may reach : instead of diversifying the speculations of the philosopher in his closet, or awakening the theologian to new research, they perhaps find their way to the cottage, and disturb the poor man's best source of happiness." "But is it not, Sir," replied Hampden, "an imperious duty to declare honestly, upon all public occasions, and before individuals of influence in society, my concurrence in those principles which I believe can alone dispense

with factitious aids in the formation of superior characters? Conversant with a system consistent throughout, and living in another abounding in error and consequent evil, it must not excite surprise if I am sometimes betrayed, upon witnessing its striking calamities, into unseasonable deprecation. You ask me to renounce my errors. Most willingly will I relinquish any opinions that can be proved fallacious; and grateful do I feel to those who convince me of my errors. But while I am open to conviction, free from prejudice, and strive to obey the dictates of my conscience, I shall not despair of retaining the favourable consideration of my kind friend Dr. Bathurst.”

Dr. Bathurst.—Recollect that I also have important duties to perform. While you are known to retain opinions irreconcilable with the truths of Revelation, does it comport with my character as a minister of the Gospel, to continue upon intimate terms with those who avow their determination of making a public declaration of their scepticism?

Hampden.—I am perfectly convinced of the stigma that is affixed to those who are deemed sceptics, however strenuous may be their exertions to acquit themselves as useful members of society. But I am sure, Sir, you will not sanction the injustice of imputing to the conscientious

individual, who is unable to subscribe to certain articles of belief, any deficiency of charitable feeling. Notwithstanding all the virulent misrepresentation that has been made to blacken the character of Voltaire, his defence of the family of Calas has secured for him immortal honour, no less than his active benevolence in the village of Vernet, which, under his fostering protection, rose from a wretched hamlet, tenanted by about fifty miserable peasants depressed by poverty and disease, into an agreeable retreat, inhabited by twelve hundred persons, all comfortably situated, and usefully occupied.

Dr. Bathurst.—It is, however, notorious that he was exceedingly vain; and I have understood that there was much ill-natured sarcasm in his invectives, which religion might have corrected.

Hampden.—Faults no doubt there are in every character; but because of a difference of opinion upon supernatural subjects, are we thence to infer superior or inferior morals and affections?

Dr. Bathurst.—Where the belief of certain doctrines appears to have had a salutary influence upon the character, we should do all in our power to promote it; but I must caution you again not to indulge in any dangerous speculations, or to question obligations that are imperative and sacred.

Hampden.—I am only solicitous for a charitable judgement of others.

Dr. Bathurst.—So far you are right.

Hampden.—Our two most distinguished historians, Hume and Gibbon, were not without the average share of benevolent feeling, and yet they were known to be opposed to the popular belief. The same may be said of Hobbes, Adam Smith, Tindal, Lords Shaftesbury, Littleton, Bolingbroke, and many others. Jeremy Bentham, whose whole life has been devoted to the cause of human improvement, does not concur in the general opinions. Buffon, Condorcet, D'Alembert, Diderot, Patru, Bayle, nay, almost every writer who appears to have changed the opinions of his youth, have not been inferior, but in most instances superior, to the generality of mankind in their moral feelings; and I remember it was said, that, notwithstanding the calumnies circulated regarding Spinoza, it was well authenticated by the peasants of the villages where he lived retired for some time, that he was affable, honest, and friendly, and that he never spoke disrespectfully of the Deity.

Dr. Bathurst.—Whence this zeal, my dear Sir, in defence of such writers? in which you will find a harder task to perform than you expect. Be as tolerant as possible; but desist from becoming their champion, if you wish to enjoy a peaceful life.

Hampden.—But the gross injustice and inhuman persecution of fixing a stigma upon a man for his honesty, when that honesty can be exercised only for the good of his species, and at his own cost, is scarcely less cruel to the sensitive mind, at this period, than the barbarous infliction of bodily torture in an age of less refinement.

Dr. Bathurst.—Can you not leave the vindication to those who are most tenacious of such opinions?

Hampden.—I feel it to be an imperative duty to stand by those who, amid the hollow pretension and sophistry of the day, have the courage to be candid. What improvement can be hoped, but that which results from truth? and how can truth be discovered without freedom of inquiry? The man, therefore, who would shackle the mind is the worst enemy to his species; and in venturing to throw the first stone, defies the rebuke of Jesus, under circumstances far more aggravating than the occasion upon which that rebuke was uttered. If, instead of the woman who had committed adultery, they had brought before him one who had sought truth diligently and sincerely, but without being numbered among the household of faith, what may we suppose would have been his reply?

Dr. Bathurst.—“Love thy neighbour as thyself” was one of his most important commands.

Hampden.—And St. Paul says, “Hast thou faith, have it to thyself before God.” And after all, Sir, what is there in your infant school of any practical utility, but that principle of love which is so successfully called into action, and is never so much impeded as when attempts are made to connect it with any incomprehensible mysteries? In these infant schools, when properly conducted, may be found the embryo of a better state of society; and, if the same principle were continued throughout the subsequent periods of life, man would perpetually advance in wisdom and in virtue, and be happy. After your departure from the cottage the other evening, I had a long conversation with the parents, who I found very imperfectly acquainted with the methods adopted at the schools; and I have no doubt there is much counteraction of the good effects of the school discipline, though, perhaps, less with them than with some other parents. They were quite desirous of receiving advice.

Dr. Bathurst.—Were there not evening prayers?

Hampden.—There were, Sir; and it was particularly interesting to observe the mute attention of the children, and the reverence that appeared to pervade the whole family.

Dr. Bathurst.—There you had another instance of the blessed effects of religion. This consciousness of the presence of the Deity, and an assurance

of his love to those who faithfully discharge their duties, yields a sweet satisfaction which no philosophy could ever bestow.

Hampden.—I apprehend, Sir, that, if the parents from their youth had been constantly under the influence of the same favourable circumstances as their children, their affection, directed by superior wisdom, would have inspired stronger feelings of reverence and love, because the presence of these attributes would be palpable, and less liable to be disregarded. If God is love, is not the principle the same? Is it not, in both cases, the omnipresence of love? The difference seems to be only in words.

Dr. Bathurst.—I have been considered by the clergy as too lenient in not censuring a freedom of discussion, which, nevertheless, I deem of essential service, among intelligent and competent persons, to the cause of truth.—But, to revert to the origin of this conversation; I must beg of you to abstain from disseminating any sceptical opinions, either in my family, or among my parishioners. I shall be happy to see you occasionally as a friend, and as one whose exertions have been so laudably directed; but I must entreat that you dismiss all expectation of an alliance in my family, unless conviction, upon more mature consideration, should induce you to disavow irreligious sentiments.

Hampden.—Permit me to repeat, Sir, that I am not accustomed to express my doubts in those quarters you refer to, unless through inadvertence. My intercourse with your parishioners was chiefly confined to the school, where, of course, I should never have thought myself justified in interfering in the matter of instruction, however contrary it might be to my own opinions, as my suggestions would have been principally confined to the mechanism of the plans.

In spite of the Doctor's sincere zeal for the Establishment, his sensibilities were alive to every symptom of benevolence in others, of whatever sect; and while the whole conduct of Hampden had given such unequivocal proofs of genuine good feeling, he was secretly determined, notwithstanding his errors, or the censures of the superficial, to befriend him. Hampden left the vicarage, satisfied that he was still to be an occasional visitor, and with a conviction that he had really lost but little of the personal regard either of the father or the daughter. He was, however, in consequence of an important occurrence, obliged shortly after to leave the neighbourhood for a considerable time.

CHAPTER XIV.

"No longer now the wing'd inhabitants,
 That in the woods their sweet lives sing away,
 Flee from the form of man ; but gather round,
 And prune their sunny feathers on the hands
 Which little children stretch in friendly sport
 Towards these dreadless partners of their play.
 All things are void of terror : man has lost
 His terrible prerogative, and stands
 An equal amidst equals : happiness
 And science dawn, tho' late, upon the earth."

SHELLEY.

WHILE Hampden and myself were thus engaged in the neighbourhood of Strathfieldsay, Charles Bertrand had not been idle among his religious friends. So amiable and excellent was his character, that his attendance was courted at the committees of all the Societies formed for the dissemination of Christian knowledge. He was far more useful in imparting a portion of that spirit by which he himself was actuated, than in promoting the particular and exclusive object of each Society, and which was, in general, held virtually, if not avowedly, paramount to the grand principle by which they all professed to be governed, viz. "Peace on earth, and good-

will towards men.” Although each Society was composed of Christians of various denominations, yet there was generally a peculiar creed professed by the majority of each, and a subscription to which secured greater attention than the most sincere devotion to the cause of vital religion. Bertrand’s suggestions, through his want of sympathy with the exclusiveness of every sect, were too often regarded with suspicion, and overruled; but the mildness of his disposition, his intelligence, and gentlemanly deportment, commanded the esteem and admiration of all. If he failed to carry his measures, the effect of his persuasive language was, in some degree, to lower their sectarian, and improve their better feelings.

It was a favourite object with Bertrand, at these meetings, to impress them with the successful example of the Moravian missionaries, who, before they attempted to instruct the savage tribes in any articles of faith, ameliorated their condition by imparting to them the comforts, and teaching the arts, of civilization. He also reminded them of the success of the Jesuits in Paraguay* :—but these schemes they deemed visionary. Some

* While Father Labat was at Rome, Father Tamburini, at that time General of the Jesuits, asked him several questions relating to the progress of Christianity in America: he gave very unsatisfactory replies, and concluded by saying, “that, in order to make the Americans *Christians*, it was previously necessary to make them *men*.”

of them would say, "We withhold our assistance in carrying into practice the principles of united interests, from an apprehension that the existing state of society is a dispensation of Providence, not to be altered by human exertion. This life is a probationary state, where adversity and prosperity afford a test of obedience in the exercise or neglect of the respective virtues of resignation to the Divine will, and of benevolence to our fellow-creatures: wars and tumults, private animosities and misery, have always prevailed, and are found even in sacred history*." To which Charles would reply, "It is surely our duty to obey the commands of the Deity, rather than to ascribe to his laws the imperfections of human institutions. The same volume that contains the history of man's departure from a state of innocence, has also announced his restoration to the Divine favour, through the mediation of his Redeemer, and instructed us in the conditions which can alone entitle us to this bright inheritance—'by doing the will of our Father who is in heaven.' We are not to reject the advice of a physician who prescribes a regimen that prevents

* "Such dupes are men to custom, and so prone
 To reverence what is ancient, and can plead
 A course of long observance for its use,
 That even servitude, the worst of ills,
 Because deliver'd down from sire to son,
 Is kept and guarded as a sacred thing."—COWPER.

bodily disease, because it may supersede the use of those healing medicines which a beneficent Creator has sent to our relief. Christianity not only remedies evils resulting from a disordered state of society, but enables us to lay the foundation of a community, in which a recurrence of these evils may be prevented,—for these plans are in fact the offspring of religion ; and unless legislators, in exercising the functions of their office, can be justified in dispensing with Christian motives, or a Government which is professedly a union of church and state is to forget its sacred duties,—such political regulations will be adopted for the destitute, as can best support the most important interests of mankind. Survey society,” he would sometimes add, (exhibiting a list of virtues and vices,) “in its present form, and how many instances do we behold of the sacrifice of right principles in compliance with its rules ?

Present society virtually encourages *Religion enjoins*

Avarice.	Moderation.
Ebriety.	Temperance.
Revenge.	Forgiveness of injuries.
Ambition.	Contentment.
Pride.	Humility.
Envy.	Charity.
Error.	Truth.
Hypocrisy.	Sincerity.
Selfishness.	Benevolence.
War.	Peace.

“ These are but a few in the long catalogue of inconsistencies and contradictions, in which we are involved between our religious professions and the feelings naturally arising out of our present system. There is not a single virtue inculcated by religion, the practice of which is not greatly promoted by the judicious mode of instruction, and the œconomical principles of friendly communities. In observing the various forms which vice assumes, how obvious is the truth, that, as we descend in the scale of mental acquirements, and in the gradations of life, the enormity of crime increases; and that those deeds of barbarity, which have of late so frequently stained the columns of our journals, have been perpetrated by those only who are most ignorant and destitute! The middle and higher classes would not be exempt from crimes no less atrocious, if they were not to be attributed chiefly to external causes; and until education and the circumstances of society (equally the province of religion to direct,) shall be made to conspire to one end, mankind at large will not, to any practical purpose, be convinced that their duty and their happiness are the same. In possession of the accumulated stores of ancient wisdom, the discoveries of modern science, and aided by the divine illuminations of the Gospel, why, it may be asked, have we hitherto failed in

erecting a lasting fabric of human happiness? Must we yield to those who maintain that there is an invincible depravity in human nature which will for ever mock the efforts of moral, religious, and political philosophy? No: for it can be proved, that in a misapplication alone of these valuable materials is to be found the source of all our perplexities. If mankind, instead of fashioning Christianity to suit their varying purposes, had permitted it to maintain its paramount importance in the councils of nations, they would have perceived, that to individualize man was to devote him to almost all the vices which Christianity was sent to extirpate.”—Such were the arguments he was accustomed to use.

One morning when Bertrand attended a committee of the Missionary Society, a member produced a letter which he had received from Liverpool, announcing the arrival of a very extraordinary personage by a vessel from Lima; no less than a missionary from a people long since considered extinct, and who had come over for the purpose of proclaiming to the British empire the superior efficacy of his religion. The letter was treated by the committee with ridicule, and attributed to some infidel who wished to satirize their proceedings. The gentleman to whom the letter was addressed entertained a different opinion, and was convinced, from the respectability of his

correspondent, that there was some truth in the report. Charles also considered it an idle rumour; but upon visiting the Society on the following week, he found another letter had been received, fully confirming the intelligence; and adding, that the missionary would proceed to London in a few days. The curiosity of Charles was now awakened; and, after some further inquiry, he requested the gentleman, who had received the information, to apprise him of his arrival in town. In a week he was introduced at the committee, where Charles happened to be present. His name was Vela. He was a young man, not exceeding twenty-five years, of middle stature, and finely proportioned: his eyes were not particularly animated; his complexion was dark: but his countenance, altogether, expressed mildness, and the most open ingenuousness. Having resided some time at Lima, he had studied the manners and customs of England. He was so assailed by a variety of questions, that he begged, as a favour, that one of the company would read a brief account of himself, and of the circumstances that brought him to England. This account he had drawn up partly before he left his country, and had completed it during his voyage.—The meeting requested their secretary to read the account, which was as follows.

“ I am descended from the ancient Incas of

Peru. After the treacherous Pizarro had imprisoned and cruelly put to death our king Atahualpa, the kingdom of Peru was torn by dissensions, the government destroyed, and no vestige of order remained. The people, accustomed to look up with reverence to their kings, and happy under their paternal sway, could neither submit patiently to the yoke of the Spaniards, nor had they sufficient courage to resist. Their only safety was in flight. Nearly all the Children of the Sun were destroyed. One branch only of the imperial family was recognised by a small band of Peruvians by his dress, which he had contrived to conceal during their retreat to the mountains. His name was Pezeula. Nothing could exceed the joy with which the people hailed him, as if preserved by the interposition of the Great Spirit. He collected together his followers, about two hundred in number, and desired them to assemble on an eminence which he pointed out, on the following morning, before the break of day. They met him accordingly, and raised a temporary altar to the sun. As that glorious luminary emerged from the horizon, he offered up an oblation of fruits and flowers; his people, in reverential posture, observing a profound silence, while, with mingled feelings of gratitude for their own deliverance, and deep

regret for the miseries of his country, the Inca thus invoked their deity.

“ ‘Hail! parent of life and light, the source of all good, the sublime emblem of unbounded power and beneficence! To thee, beneath the vaulted canopy of this thy universal temple, we humbly offer up our praises and thanksgivings; upon thy altar we present the blooming flowers tinted by thy rays, and the choicest fruits matured by thy genial warmth. The birds of the air, in sweet harmony, testify their joy at thy approach, and at thy presence all nature revives. Thou givest verdure to the earth, and lustre to the morning dew. Thou hast alike imparted vigour to the mountain ash, and fertility to the tender grass in the boundless prairie. Oh! may'st thou teach us to imitate thy universal beneficence, that the warmth of our hearts, cherished and animated by thy divine rays, may know no bounds; and that we may so love our enemies, as to convert them into friends! Teach us to obey the heavenly mandates of Manco Capac; to walk in his unerring path, and, finally, reach that blessed country, where the Spaniard shall cease to torment, where forests abound in game, and where famine is unknown!’

“The Inca with his little band, after secreting themselves during the day in the most unfre-

quented parts of the mountain, descended as the shades of evening came on, and, by the aid of the most experienced guides, they travelled with much speed during the night in a south-easterly direction, when they reached an extended plain or prairy. Here they struck far out of the beaten track, and travelled for twenty-five days, when they arrived at the foot of one of the mountains which extend in an immense chain from Chimbirano to the Andes. The passage over this mountain was most arduous, and had nearly proved fatal to the whole party. The ascent was extremely difficult and laborious. When they had arrived about half way up the mountain, a slight rain came on, accompanied with violent wind, and dense clouds collecting rapidly obscured their path. This was followed by sleet or ice, falling so heavily as to oppress them much and retard their progress; while the vivid flashes of lightning, the rolling thunder, and the screams of the condor completed the horrors of the scene. The courage and fortitude of the Inca seemed to rise with their difficulties:—wherever there was one sinking under the fatigue, there was he to be found cheering and supporting him. A heavy fall of snow succeeded, accompanied with cold so intense, as to enfeeble their exertions and benumb their joints. Many fell, unable to proceed; but

the Inca resolved, that, if possible to save him, not a single individual should be deserted. Never was witnessed such a scene of misery on the one hand, and of self-devotion on the other. Animated by the divine example of the Inca, whose conduct upon this arduous occasion endeared him more strongly to his people, the fall of one individual was a signal for others to forget their own sufferings in striving to uphold their helpless companion. Never were greater hardships endured, or more fortitude displayed. Not a murmur of complaint was to be heard. They traversed the mountain as one family, united to each other and to their chief by the firmest bonds of affection and reverence.

“When the storm had passed over, they found, notwithstanding all their solicitude and care, that eleven of their number had perished. It was supposed that they had fallen without being perceived, or had unconsciously wandered from the main body. The band halted for two days at the foot of the mountain to refresh themselves; but their respite from difficulty was short, for, after having traversed for three days an extensive plain, they entered, under a burning sun, upon ground so swampy, that it was with the utmost exertion they could advance: three of the company were attacked with fever, and died. For a week their progress was impeded by the marshes; after which

they got upon dry ground, with a fertile and extensive prairie before them bounded by mountains, towards which the Inca proposed bending their course. Before they reached the chain of mountains, the country improved considerably; the surface was undulating, abounding in small woods, and watered by several streams. Here the Peruvians were desirous of remaining; but the Inca suggested that it was not sufficiently secluded for his design, and proposed ascending a small hill just within sight, connecting two mountains, to survey the country beyond.

“ In two days they reached the spot, and, the ascent being easy, they soon gained the summit, from whence they beheld on the other side one of the most beautiful valleys that can be imagined. It was of an oval form, and about twelve miles in circumference, surrounded by small mountains and hills, with an opening on the north and south, through which a river passed, winding through the valley. There was a remarkable variety of scenery on the hills and mountains; some of the lesser hills presenting a beautiful verdure even to their summits; others were covered with rock projecting through the luxuriant foliage of trees and shrubs; while on others were seen forests of dwarf trees, with so little underwood as to present agreeable walks. From some of the mountains descended cascades, displaying

their rainbow hues, and giving animation to the scene. A few small birds poured forth the sweetest melody, and others delighted the eye with their crimson and golden plumage glittering in the sun. The little humming-bird, scarcely bigger than a butterfly, was skipping from spray to spray. The silence of this enchanting scene was interrupted only by the gurgling of a brook issuing from the foot of the hill from which they were descending, the falling of the more distant mountain streams, and the harmony of birds. The valley was covered with a verdure refreshing to the eye. On the brow of the hill the company pitched their tents; and on the following morning, after they had assembled and paid their adoration to the sun, the Inca addressed them as follows:—

“ ‘After our long and harassing journey, we have been conducted by the Good Spirit to a spot apparently abounding in every natural advantage for our future abode, and embellished with scenery of surpassing beauty. On that rising ground, fronting the east, we will erect the temple of the Sun. It shall be surrounded with plantations, and approached by avenues lined with flowers. The spot shall be kept sacred, as well as a bridge to approach, which can be thrown over the river immediately in front. The river being narrow, other bridges may be constructed for general use.

Our habitations shall be placed chiefly on the western side, which is better adapted to our purpose from being more open, so that the temple will be conspicuous to all. The laws and institutions handed down by the Children of the Sun, having secured happiness to all before they were overthrown by the Christian barbarians from a distant country, shall be held inviolate, with the exception of some trifling ceremonies which experience has proved to be inconvenient to retain. You have seen with what insatiate desire the Christians amassed gold, and with what remorseless cruelty they deprived our lamented Atahualpa of life for the purpose of plundering his treasures. Let us, then, dispense with the use of gold and silver, and esteem no metal precious but such as ministers to our convenience. Warned by the examples of the jealous and unhappy Spaniards, let us banish every inordinate desire. Our labours will be lightened by the fertility of the soil, but still more by that mutual aid which will convert irksome toil into agreeable employment. Happy in the supply of our simple wants, this peaceful retreat will not be disturbed by rude invaders when our means of enjoyment are such as they know not how to appreciate and never could take from us,—when they found that we valued truth and virtue, and the altars of our forefathers, far above silver and gold.'

“The Inca, by following up these views, secured the attachment of his people, who for three centuries have continued faithful to his successors. Their numbers have increased considerably ; but, as yet, it has not been found necessary to erect any dwellings beyond the valley, although we draw some of our resources from the neighbouring prairies. The unfavourable and indelible impression which the invasions of the Spaniards created, had induced the Incas to be extremely jealous of any foreign communication ; but within the last two generations they have obtained, with great secrecy, for their private perusal, many European works of esteem. These they had been led to inquire for chiefly in consequence of the great reputation acquired by the Jesuits in Paraguay, and which induced an opinion that the character of all Europeans was not equally ferocious, and that as great a difference might be found among them as existed between the Peruvians and Mexicans. They have in consequence, with great caution, but without altering their general principles, adopted many improvements ; and our valley is highly beautified.—I am the youngest of three sons of the present Inca, who exceeds all his predecessors in the desire of cultivating the minds of his people, and is endeavouring to derive all the advantages of civilization, without any of those evils which render the term a mis-

nomer. He has accordingly sent my brother and myself in different directions, according to our choice, to collect information, and to impart a knowledge of our own principles wherever they were required. I bent my course towards Lima, where I had not arrived many days when I accidentally fell in with a missionary from England, who displayed an extraordinary zeal in propagating a knowledge of the Christian religion, and who, finding my education superior to the natives in that part of South America, redoubled his efforts to bring me over to the faithful. He informed me that he belonged to a peculiar sect of Christians called Baptists, who objected to the baptizing young children, and deferred the ceremony until they had arrived at the age of puberty;—but I could not understand its utility. He was particularly inquisitive as to the country whence I came, and the character of the people among whom I dwelt; but I resisted his importunities, for the Inca had strictly enjoined his sons not to divulge the place of their retreat before they had crossed the seas. The missionary first began by teaching me the English language. With close application, and by frequenting the society he introduced me to, I was soon enabled to read your most popular works. He urged upon my attention the doctrines of his church; but when I contrasted the conduct of

the English with that of the Children of the Sun, and remarked upon the superior happiness enjoyed by the latter, I felt in my turn an anxious desire to impart to them the admirable precepts of our Incas. The missionary told me I was not to judge of his religion by the conduct of the people at Lima, for they came chiefly in pursuit of riches ; but that if I would visit England, I should find those whose characters and professions agreed, and would command admiration. I saw it was absolutely necessary to acquire great proficiency in the language, and I continued some time with the missionary, whose own conduct was most exemplary. After I had quitted his house, I spent several months in the different towns in the neighbourhood of Lima, and obtained access to several private collections of English books, the existence of which was generally known. At Lima and the adjacent countries I dwelt about twelve months. I promised him I would go to England, at the same time declaring my intention of making proselytes. The conduct of the people who navigated the vessel, as well as that of the inhabitants where we landed, was no better than at Lima ; and I have endeavoured to persuade many that the religion of the Incas was the most efficacious*, divested as it now is of any mysteries.”

* Laloubere, envoy from Louis XIV. to Siam, says, in the account which he gives of his mission, “The Asiatics laugh

After this interesting narrative was read, various were the questions put to Vela by the company ; and, as near as I can recollect Bertrand's report of the questions and answers, they were as follows :—

Q.—Have you no contention for larger portions of food, and sometimes of clothing ?

Vela.—The stores being at all times amply supplied, private property in such things would be a useless incumbrance. Articles of ingenuity, —such as cabinets, paintings, and other works of art made in those hours in which each individual is not called upon to attend to any public duties, —are private property ; but even these are generally deposited in the museum or public rooms, as there is no pleasure so great as that of contributing to the general happiness.

Q.—Do you not find an unwillingness to work without the stimulus of individual gain, or the desire of personal distinction ? for it appears to us, that the desire of exclusive possession, or of superiority, is absolutely necessary to overcome the natural love of indolence.

Vela.—Indolence may be natural to man in the savage state, as it was with the natives of us to scorn, when we boast to them of the excellence of the Christian religion as contributing to the happiness of states. They ask, on reading our histories, how is it possible that our religion should be so humane, while we wage war ten times more frequently than they do ?”

South America at the period of the invasion of Cortes and Pizarro ; but the natural character of civilized man is that of activity and enterprise. European society, wretchedly as it appears to be constituted, and hardly to be called civilized, still produces some men of active benevolence and scientific research.

Q.—But they have been stimulated by the hope of individual reward.

Vela.—I am not sufficiently acquainted with European biography to refer to the particular causes of exertion in those individuals who have been distinguished for talent, learning, or extraordinary benevolence here ; but so far as I have been able to remark, they appear to be exceptions to the general character of society ; whereas in our communities the more rare exceptions are on the side of ignorance, which is only found in cases of natural imbecility. Active philosophical research and kindness of disposition are the general characteristics ; and these, so far from deriving support from competition, or a struggle to excel, would be impeded by any spirit of rivalry. By a judicious culture of the youthful mind, all the branches of natural philosophy present objects of exciting curiosity, which is inflamed by acquisition, and encouraged by the facilities and sympathies offered in such pursuits. Our groves, gardens, and museums,

abound with specimens of natural philosophy ; and the most complete scientific apparatus of every description is always at hand. We know of no stimulus to exertion equal to the desire of knowledge and the pleasures of benevolence. Those principles of morals and of social union most conducive to the general happiness, are esteemed the most valuable knowledge of all, because they lead to the attainment of whatever is truly estimable. Hence arises a love of order and of justice, in the preservation of which, each individual perceives that he is benefited, because his taste and feelings are gratified, while his heart responds to the surrounding expression of mutual regard*. I am, however, rather surprised that any doubt should exist on this subject, as I have been informed there are establishments in North America formed upon a principle of united interests, and the success of which is well authenticated: I allude to the Shakers, Harmonists, and some Moravian communities.

Q.—But those societies are held together by some peculiar religious notions. They are mere fanatics.

Vela.—I should conceive that they are indebted

* “ Man, like the generous vine, supported lives ;
The strength he gains is from th’ embrace he gives.
Thus God and Nature link’d the general chain,
And bade self-love and social be the same.”—POPE.

for the harmony of their associations to the institutions regarding property, rather than to any extravagant opinions on the subject of religion. To ascribe the consequences of good laws to those very imperfections which prevent them from becoming still more beneficial, appears to me a great error. It is not in consequence of fanaticism, but in spite of it, that just and equitable institutions prevent contention; and if, instead of a pertinacious adherence to dogmas, they had permitted an unrestrained exercise of the reasoning powers, they would have reaped all the fruits that are to be derived from the principle of enlightened union.

Q.—The success of such institutions, in small communities, affords no ground of presumption in their favour when applied to the affairs of a great nation.

Vela.—If happiness be the object of all human exertion, and it can be found with greater certainty in small communities,—this truth once known, what can prevent all mankind from resolving themselves into small communities? To revert to an observation regarding the force of religious opinions as a bond of union, I may remark, with regard to our society, that the progress of knowledge long since infused a doubt into the minds of the people as to the peculiar claims of the Incas to a divine origin. This

doubt was for some time entertained by a few of the most intelligent, but now it has become general.

Bertrand.—Did you find no inconvenience from the disbelief of the divine commission of the Incas?

Vela.—None whatever, after experience of the excellence of the laws had secured obedience. It is very generally believed that the claims of Manco Capac and Mama Ocollo to be considered Children of the Sun were unfounded, but assumed by him to exact submission to laws, the value of which could not otherwise be duly estimated by the people. Moral science is now, like all the other sciences, derived from experience*. When scepticism first appeared, the Incas were somewhat alarmed,—not so much from the dread of losing power, as for the security of their institutions, for the good of the people was at all times their ruling passion. They soon, however, discovered that a conviction of the truth

* “Le système de conduite dont les hommes ont besoin a toujours existé; il ne faut pas le montrer, pour que son évidence soit aperçue; l'être intelligent n'a qu'à rentrer en lui-même, imposer silence à ses passions, écarter ses propres illusions, chercher de bonne-foi la vérité, étudier les rapports, les devoirs et les droits d'un être qui sent, qui pense, qui vit en société: pour le montrer aux autres, il ne faut que lever le bandeau que le préjugé avait mis sur leurs yeux, il ne s'agit que de dissiper les nuages du mensonge pour qu'ils voient la vérité.”—DUMARSAIS.

and equity of their institutions was a better foundation in the hearts and understandings of the people, than any traditionary opinions that would not stand the test of scrutiny. All the laws are still held sacred, as being founded in truth, which must always be an emanation from the Deity.

Bertrand.—You still pay adoration to the rising sun?

Vela.—The sun is regarded as the most expressive symbol of the Deity; and the ancient ceremonies are observed with the interesting addition of vocal and instrumental music, which was introduced about fifty years since. Nothing can be conceived more sublime than the effect produced at sun-rise, if the weather be propitious. Ere the dawn of day, the Inca orders the bugle to be sounded, and it is heard throughout the spacious valley. The Peruvians instantly assemble in groups, consisting of several hundred each, in different stations. When the first faint streaks of light appear, the softest music commences. This is followed by the singing of the different assemblages in succession, according to signals of various-coloured flags. Shortly before the sun emerges, an appropriate prayer is uttered by the Children of the Sun at the head of each assemblage, the people in reverential posture observing a profound silence, until the sun's disc appears to touch the horizon, when a loud burst of music,

accompanied by all the voices in full chorus, reverberates through the valley, and seems to fill the whole visible vault of heaven with rejoicing.

The assurances which Bertrand received of the high opinion in which Vela had been held during his residence among the English in South America, together with his interesting narrative and no less interesting appearance, induced him to request his company to dinner on the following day at his apartments in St. James's Street. His friend the merchant having a prior engagement, Charles undertook to call for him in the morning, and conduct him back to his hotel at night.

CHAPTER XV.

“ But yet in other scenes more fair in view,
Where Plenty smiles,—alas! she smiles for few,
And those who taste not, yet behold her store,
Are as the slaves that dig the golden ore,
The wealth around them makes them doubly poor.”

CRABBE.

EARLY on the following morning, Charles called upon Vela, and brought him to his apartments in St. James's Street, nearly opposite the Thatched House Tavern. The weather was unpropitious; and Vela preferring some rest after arranging his domicile, (which he had some difficulty in selecting,) and experiencing the turmoil and noise of the town, they remained within nearly the whole day. There was so much of congeniality between them, that long before night they were upon the footing of friends. Charles was so much pleased with the ingenuousness and spirit of inquiry in the young Peruvian, that his own mind and disposition were manifested with more than their ordinary attractions. The lodgings Vela had taken, he complained of as not being cheerful; and Charles, therefore, easily persuaded him to occupy rooms in the house where he him-

self was residing, and which were vacated that very day. On the second morning they set out together to view the places of interest: and the first object Vela expressed a desire to see, was the chief temple of the Great Spirit, as he denominated the cathedral of St. Paul. Accordingly they walked in that direction through Pall Mall and the Strand,—when the following conversation arose.

Vela.—Charles, (for you will excuse my adopting so soon the language of an intimate,) I suppose those are persons of rank attired in brilliant coloured clothes, and driving their families in carriages? but who are those standing behind, and in similar dresses?

Bertrand.—Excuse my laughing: those are persons of rank only in the kitchens of great men, whose servants they are; the person who drives is the coachman; the others are called footmen, and wait at their table.

Vela.—But how can they afford such expensive dresses? That they should be tasteless and fantastic I can account for from their limited education.

Bertrand.—Their dresses are paid for by their employers, for whose gratification they are worn, and of whose rank or fortune their splendour is the evidence.

Vela.—I fear there is too much truth in all I

have heard regarding the pride and vanity of English life ; and I must not lose sight of the object of my voyage—that of converting the islanders to our religion ; for although my original motive for quitting the Valley for a season was to collect information,—yet, after witnessing such imbecility, I must hold it subordinate to the duty of imparting religious knowledge ; and I have lately received written authority from the Inca, who had been much astonished at the accounts I had given him, upon contrasting them with the zeal of your missionaries in different parts of the globe.

Bertrand.—I cannot avoid smiling at your simplicity : but how, after the perusal of the New Testament, can you seriously think that any other religion is true ?

Vela.—The truth and practical value of a religion can be judged of only by its effects. I have indeed been charmed with the humane and excellent lessons of morality in the sermon on the mount, and I have dwelt with admiration on the holy enthusiasm of the great apostle ; but these are mere words : I know of no religion but that which influences, and is displayed in, the life and conduct ; and it is in society, and not in books, that I must recognise it. I will first ascertain what conformity there is between your laws and customs, the conduct of your

rulers and the people at large, and the precepts of your religion, before I come to a decision. The elegant pocket Testament you gave me this morning shall be my constant companion wherever I go. Although I read the New Testament with much interest after meeting with the British missionary, I shall study it again, and compare its contents with what I see. I perceive nothing in the spirit of this volume incompatible with the happiness of all. Indeed, it appears eminently calculated to improve mankind; but if it has failed in this effect, the cause of its failure should be investigated. At all events it seems strange to me that your missionaries should be so zealous in spreading a knowledge of it abroad, before they have succeeded in rendering it more influential at home.

Bertrand.—In other countries, where wealth is not so eagerly pursued, they may find less obstacles in their way.

Vela.—What means that cry,—“Stop thief! Stop thief!”? What crowds of people are running!

Bertrand.—A man has probably stolen something, and they are endeavouring to catch him. See, he is stopped.

Vela.—I should like to hear what passes.

Bertrand.—Take care, then, to secure your watch before we mingle with the crowd.

Vela.—I see the poor miserable-looking man. Who has him by the collar?

Bertrand.—One of the police : and in the other hand he holds the article stolen—a number of biscuits, probably from a confectioner's.

Vela.—What will they do with him?

Bertrand.—Carry him before a magistrate, who will, perhaps, sentence him to three months' hard labour in the House of Correction, to be then turned out to renew his depredations ; for, if he can get no employment now, no one will give him any then.

Vela.—This is a sad affair : and when I ask myself why such scenes occur not in our own happy community, the reason is evident ;—the education of all is more perfect, and we have no private property.—Why are these carriages standing at this magnificent entrance?

Bertrand.—This is Exeter Hall, where all the great religious meetings are held at this season of the year : indeed you will be surprised to hear the great exertions that have been made to extend religious knowledge, I may say, for the last forty years*.

* “ In a list of annual meetings of fifty-nine Societies, to be held in London during the months of April, May, and June, in the present year, fifty-five are devoted exclusively to the advancement of religion.

“ By the last Report of ‘ The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge,’ no less than one million six hundred and fifty-six

Vela.—That is quite long enough to have produced an improvement even in the adults of the present generation, as compared with former times. What has been the effect—a diminution of crime?

Bertrand.—I fear not. On the contrary, a considerable increase, arising from want of regular employment in the country, and the demoralizing circumstances under which the working classes are placed in manufactories and in large towns.—But suppose we enter: I see by the placard it is not a religious meeting held today, but one to raise a subscription for the inhabitants of Ireland, who are in a state of famine.

thousand and sixty-six Bibles, Testaments, and Tracts, were sold and distributed in one year.

“The issues of Bibles and Testaments, by the ‘British and Foreign Bible Society,’ had rose to two hundred and ninety-four thousand and six for one year, ending March 31, 1827; in the following year, the number was three hundred and thirty-six thousand two hundred and seventy; and in the year ending March 31, 1829, according to the last Report published, three hundred and sixty-five thousand four hundred and twenty-four were distributed.

“In Paternoster Row, alone, are twelve establishments devoted almost exclusively to the sale of religious works; and in other parts of the town they have proportionably increased.

“By the last Report of ‘The Incorporated Society for Promoting the Enlargement, Building, and Repairing of Churches and Chapels,’ grants have been made for six hundred and fifteen separate buildings since the year 1818.”—*Morgan’s Letter to the Bishop of London, published 1830.*

Vela.—Do you not call that a religious object ?
—What a scanty assemblage is here !

Bertrand.—Had the object been the distribution of Bibles, Homilies, Tracts, &c., it would have been crowded to overflowing. But observe, that is Lord Lorton in the chair, and a Protestant clergyman now speaking.

Vela.—What extravagance of gesture ! Who are the Catholic priests against whom he inveighs so violently, and to whom he attributes the disorders of Ireland ?

Bertrand.—The Catholic priesthood, ministers of a different sect, who are doubtless quite as conscientious as the reverend speaker. I fear his fanaticism will defeat the object of the meeting ; —but as it will most likely be protracted, we will look in on our return.

Vela.—You cautioned me to take care of my watch before we entered the crowd : are there so many disposed to steal, and in the very neighbourhood of these religious meetings ?

Bertrand.—They are roaming all over the town, and know as little of these meetings as the inhabitants of a distant country :—in short, all is exclusiveness here. In Regent Street and Bond Street are the fashionable promenades, the frequenters of which know little about what passes beyond their own accustomed walks ;—the same with what is called the religious world, who are

wholly bent upon propagating the Gospel, and associating with those only who engage in the same pursuit.

Vela.—The more I hear of your proceedings, the more am I astonished at the total want of conformity between your religious professions and practice.

Bertrand.—Be not too hasty in your judgments: I shall be able to show you some characters worthy of admiration.

Vela.—Some! Are the good only exceptions to the general feeling? But pray tell me, what description of houses are those which we frequently pass, so much more splendid than the rest? Some of the decorations are very elegant, not confined to the shop front, but continued to the very top of the house. There is one opposite; and, what is remarkable, several of the poorest classes are entering.

Bertrand.—We will cross over; and when the door opens again, you will see.

Vela.—Why, it is full of miserable-looking wretches, drinking, I perceive, ardent spirits!

Bertrand.—And these external decorations catch the distant eye, and lure them to their destruction;—not that their injury is contemplated, but because money is sought by all with too little regard to the means by which it is acquired, provided it is sanctioned by law.

Vela.—And do your laws permit the people to be so ill trained, that some should be inclined to beguile their fellow-citizens, and others to be so weak in judgement and good resolutions as to be unable to resist the temptation to so disgusting a practice? But I cannot understand how these can have money for such a purpose, when they appear half-starved and in rags.

Bertrand.—Some are of idle habits, and others so wretched that they seek the instant but momentary relief which drinking affords.

Vela.—Neglected and unhappy mortals! And this is the country from which religious instruction is to emanate!

Bertrand.—Pause, I say, pause for some days before you pronounce severe judgements.

The two friends pursued their way to St. Paul's.

Bertrand.—This is St. Paul's, and as the door is open service must be performing.

Vela.—What a magnificent temple! But where are the people? it appears to be quite empty!

Bertrand.—There are a few in the choir at the east end: let us approach and occupy a pew.

Vela.—I do not understand this: there are more priests than people; and the former seem to repeat the words with the greatest indifference.

Bertrand.—The people are occupied in their business; but on a Sunday the attendance is greater: the clergy, however, are bound to go through their duties.

Vela.—And is it only one day in a week that the people attend?

Bertrand.—Yes; and the numbers are then but few.

Vela.—If the Inca had the controul of such a temple, he would have meetings held here that would be of the most impressive character*, and

* “Our churches, supported by large contributions, are closed six days out of the seven, unless when occasionally occupied for public or vestry meetings, upon which occasions feelings are excited, and expressions used, painful and revolting to many. Surely, then, there could be no objection to their occupation for peaceful and instructive objects. I would therefore, with deference, suggest, that during each week-day the church should be opened for the purpose of instruction, and in the evening for lectures on the sciences, under the direction of the clergy. If it could be made a parochial object, or if the middling and higher classes were to contribute according to their means and inclination, it is evident that they could provide an intellectual and moral entertainment upon a scale of great magnificence. One evening in the week an oratorio could be performed, when gratuitous musicians would probably be found among the parishioners. These pursuits would not rob religion of its votaries, but the taverns, the gaming-tables, the race-course, the public-houses, and gin-shops. The rich would partake of amusements in magnitude, in effect, far superior to the private assemblies of the wealthy; nor would they enjoy them less because others participated in them. There would be no premature mixture of classes, as each class would occupy the same pews and seats as on a Sunday. At the same time, the improvements that would take place in the character and manners of the working classes would gradually fit them for the enjoyment of more cultivated society; and the wealthy would acquire a greater sympathy for those whom they frequently saw gratified with the same

not permit it to be comparatively useless. Musical festivals would be held, and the arts and sciences, with the principles of religion, might be daily taught.

Bertrand.—It is to be hoped that, ere long, we shall so employ it. You must not decide upon our religion by the imperfect practice of mankind: yet I can exhibit to you a scene where you shall witness a specimen of religion which will, perhaps, compare with any example you could produce in your Valley.

Bertrand then conducted Vela to Newgate, who shuddered as he looked through the bars of the court-yard, and heard the clanking of the chains with which the wretched inmates, moving with difficulty along, were loaded;—some with marks of ferocity in their countenance, and others with the wildness of despair. They proceeded up stairs to a room where a number of the female prisoners were assembled, waiting the arrival of Mrs. Fry: they presented a striking

objects as themselves. They would also feel an interest in the education of the children, and would learn, that as their pleasure had been heightened by the degree of sympathy already created, so the fruition of happiness could alone be accomplished by removing every obstacle to universal benevolence. Soon would they be desirous of training all the rising generation upon a principle of equal enjoyment, so far as superior education and equitable institutions could accomplish such an object.”—*Morgan's Letter to the Bishop of London.*

contrast to the men, for, with few exceptions, they were orderly and quiet. Mrs. Fry soon arrived; and, after reading impressively a chapter in the New Testament, she knelt down and uttered a fervent prayer with deep reverential feeling. Many of the prisoners were bathed in tears, and all listened with mute attention. "This," said Vela, as they came out, "is an extraordinary and affecting scene."—"Now, tell me," replied Charles, "what you think of a religion that has produced such a character as Mrs. Fry? In possession of the comforts of life, she resigns them cheerfully for the gloom and horrors of a prison, in order to discharge her duties, to assuage the sorrows of the afflicted, and to encourage piety and repentance in the guilty." "Ask me, rather," said Vela, "what I think of a religion that consigns so many of the inhabitants of this country to punishment and loathsome dungeons? All must admire the noble exception which this female presents to the character of your people in general. Never could I have conceived that such a disgraceful scene would have been found in Europe. You should adopt the law of the Chinese, who punish the Mandarin for the offences committed in his department, and at the same time allow them a participation in the glory of the good actions that are performed: for the virtues and vices of

a people are the necessary effects of good or bad legislation.”

After leaving Newgate they returned by Exeter Hall, and had the mortification to learn that the meeting had broken up in the greatest disorder, and without raising any subscription for the poor of Ireland, notwithstanding the accounts from that unhappy country of their starving condition had been most dreadful*.

The Emigration Committee, in order to excite attention to their favourite measure, have displayed extraordinary zeal in the collection of evidence to prove the deplorable state of the Irish peasantry. Their Report brings to light such a mass of misery and wretchedness as could scarcely be believed to exist in a civilized country, much less in one professing Christianity.

* The *Times* newspaper of July 17, 1830, upon quoting a passage from the Essay of Dr. Corrigan on the “Epidemic Fever of Ireland,” makes the following remarks:—

“There is in Ireland a disease more dreadful than the plague; not produced by wind, or heat, or cold, or contact,—independent of all these natural and irresistible antecedents,—but arising directly from a human want, which want has itself been in great part caused by human injuries.

“The disease is fever,—the source of it is hunger. It is worse than plague, because it does not kill so soon; and because that other, the parent evil, is a scourge not incidental to the contingency of plague.

“Only let the English reader judge the situation of a people, amongst whom it is on record that famine raged during every

David J. Wilson, Esq., gives the following answers to the inquiries of the Committee regarding a part of the Irish people:—

“ Q. What is the sort of food the people eat? —Potatoes only. Q. What state are their houses in?—Wretched. Q. What do they consist of, and how are they built?—Where stone is convenient, they are built of stone; and when they are by the side of bogs, they are built with the peat, sods, and mud, sometimes thrown up against a ditch. Q. How are the roofs of the worst description of them covered?—With very poor slight timber, and very small scantling indeed, with sods and rushes thrown over them. Q. Are you well acquainted with this country?—I have resided for some time here. Q. Don't you think that some of the *domestic animals* of this country

fourth or fifth year of the last century, sometimes for two or three years in succession, and that the freezing agonies of hunger ripen invariably into the burning paroxysms of fever, the hunger and the fever being alike unmitigated by charity first, and afterwards by science.

“ Ye landlords of Ireland, listen to these accusing facts; and if the Lord Limericks of a half-starved nation object to legislative interference for its rescue, because to relieve the poor Irishman by law would be to rob the rich one, we trust in a British legislature to reply, that, to rob,—though it were a robbery, which restitution is not,—but to rob the rich by hundreds is a less crime than to murder the poor by thousands; and that the aggravation of famine, by defective laws, is equivalent to an act of murder.”

are better housed than a part of the population to which you are now alluding in the county of Clare?—I have no doubt of it in the world.”

Passing along the Strand on the 15th of February, 1832, the year after Bertrand’s and Vela’s visit to the Hall, I observed a placard announcing a public meeting at Exeter Hall on that day, for promoting religious instruction in Ireland. I immediately proceeded thither, but found it full to suffocation; while on the former occasion—to give bread—there was a scanty meeting. After several ineffectual attempts to get even standing room, I departed. Returning, however, in an hour, I waited to hear one speech, which was throughout rapturously applauded; the tenour of it was to prove that the Secretary of State, in endeavouring to advance education in accordance with the feelings of the people, was sacrificing his duties, as a Christian Protestant, to State Policy, and making the Word of God subservient to British legislation. The reverend orator also condemned the Archbishop of Dublin for requiring blank sheets of paper, with the forms of instruction relative to the schools, for him to fill up, according to the local circumstances of each district. This should appear to be quite reasonable, since Catholic priests had an equal right, with all other sects, to educate the children of

their flock in those tenets which their consciences might dictate*.

Instead of returning direct to St. James's Street, Charles took Vela up St. Martin's Lane into the

* "But one of the most striking paradoxes that society exhibits, is the utter disunion of charity and religion; they are absolutely *dos à dos*, whom we should expect to see hand in hand. Scripture gives no warrant for the spirit of intolerance that prevails in all sects; we are expressly told that 'there is no difference between the Jew and the Greek; for the same Lord over all is rich unto all that call upon him.' That which might have been the balm and cement, has been the means of setting brother against brother. The breath of discord has poisoned the incense that should rise pure and sweet, in harmony with the beautiful concord of nature. What a phenomenon, that a stream, having the same source and termination, should run, foaming and chafing, in so many and such opposite directions, instead of taking one wide united flow, and bearing all mankind on its bosom to the haven of happiness! Schism in religion, and confusion of tongues, have entailed the heaviest curses on mankind, making them foes and strangers to each other. I have often thought, if miracles were again to be wrought in favour of humanity, the most beneficial would be a common faith and common language. But if such a consummation may not be, cannot we do in the one instance as we do in the other,—tolerate and obviate each other's differences in belief, as nations do each other's differences of language? And might we not in the one case, as in the other, adopt improvements and correct errors, by viewing ourselves in the mirror of another's practice? 'Experience is man's only road to happiness, and his great mistake has been in seeking it *individually* instead of *collectively*.' Exclusiveness is the vice of society; and liberty is so beloved, that every one desires to keep her *entirely* to himself, forgetting that the moment he does that, she ceases to be liberty, and becomes tyranny."—

MRS. GRIMSTONE.

very middle of St. Giles's. Here were children running about in the most filthy state: and if Vela had not considered it a duty to acquaint himself with the real condition of the people, he would have hurried away from a scene so disgusting and loathsome. Pity for the poor children absorbed his attention; and upon learning from Bertrand that some infant and other schools were established in the neighbourhood, he expressed his surprise that any good could be expected from schools, while, at other times of the day, the children were exposed to these demoralizing and counteracting circumstances: and indeed it is singular that the fact of the increase in juvenile delinquency, during the progress of the spread of education, should not have suggested the necessity of improving the circumstances of the people*.

Bertrand engaged his Peruvian friend to be present at one of their punishments,—a scene he

* Old Bailey, February 17, 1832.—The Calendar contained 349 prisoners for trial, the relative ages of whom were as follows:—

10 years and under	20 . . .	136
20 —————	30 . . .	135
30 —————	40 . . .	38
40 —————	50 . . .	25
50 —————	60 . . .	8
60 —————	70 . . .	7
		—
	Total . . .	349

had never himself attended. Vela strongly objected. Bertrand, however, urged that it was a punishment which he should upon one occasion witness ; and accordingly, without informing him what the nature of the punishment would be, he engaged a window, on the morning of an execution, at a house immediately opposite Newgate.

When the morning came, it was cold and dark, and rendered more dismal by a drizzling rain. They arrived early : the heavy machine was drawn out, and the people were fast assembling. There was no appearance of solemnity on the part of the multitude ; on the contrary, jokes were passing, and they were pushing each other about as if collected for some joyous occasion, while others were following up their career of crime. There were so many in a dirty, ragged condition, that the scene altogether was most disgusting. Vela was by this time apprised of the punishment to be inflicted ; and it is difficult to say whether Charles Bertrand's feelings or his own were most harrowed up. The heavy tolling of the solemn bell, at each stroke shook their frames as if they were suddenly reminded of the awfulness of death ; and before the unhappy culprits came out, they had resolved to retire. The attempt, however, was utterly in vain ; for the dense mass of people rendered all egress impossible, and they were compelled to remain. Charles heartily re-

pented bringing Vela to a scene, the mere preliminary of which made their hearts bleed.

At length the prison-door opened, and the executioner, with four malefactors handcuffed, and with caps on their heads, came forth followed by the Ordinary. Of the four wretched men, one was only nineteen years of age, and the other three between twenty-one and twenty-five. The youngest fainted while the executioner was in the act of adjusting the rope. One of the culprits betrayed the greatest unconcern and levity; but in the countenances of the other two were depicted dismay and horror. While the dreadful preparations were going on, an awful and breathless silence prevailed. The platform fell; shrieks and cries were heard among the crowd, and after a few convulsive struggles the bodies hung in the stillness of death. "Barbarous cruelty!" cried Bertrand, while the tears fast streamed down his cheeks; "there hang the lifeless bodies of those who, had justice been done them from their infancy, might still have walked the earth a blessing and an ornament to society. Now, behold them the victims of a selfish system, and of perverted Christianity! Their blood will be upon the heads of those who supported institutions which for ages have been fruitful in crimes. Let us begone, for I can endure the sight no longer."

Vela, who had fortitude to undergo any fa-

tigue from a sense of duty, was now quite unnerved. The crowd began slowly to disperse, and Vela remarked that this melancholy scene, so disgraceful to a civilized people, did not appear to produce any salutary effect upon the spectators. "Were I the Inca of your country," continued he, "I would insist upon the attendance of all the nobles at a few executions; they would not then long continue deaf to the cries of humanity." "They," replied Charles, "are sleeping upon their downy pillows, little dreaming of what is passing here, or that they themselves, through the monopoly of wealth, are chargeable with the perpetration of crimes for which these ill-fated youths have perished. But observe with what tumultuous noise and apparent indifference the multitude are moving off, as if they were returning from a gratifying spectacle, the pleasure of which had terminated." "Are there," said Vela, "any people of property among them?" "Most probably not," replied Charles; "the crowd consists of those chiefly who are employed by the wealthy. It has been truly said that our laws are made principally to defend the rich against the poor. The latter are tempted to rob the wealthy, and sometimes with personal violence, and they are then thus publicly put to death in order to strike terror into the hearts of the rest. Notwithstanding the Reports of the Committees

have clearly shown what are the causes of crime, yet the same system is still persisted in." "It seems to me," said Vela, "most extraordinary that a system so adverse to Christianity should prevail: it would be otherwise, if your priests had the framing of laws." "In the upper house of assembly, the House of Lords, are to be found the heads of our church, called bishops." "Well," said Vela, "of course they have lifted up their voices against this crying sin, and must have advocated a more equitable constitution of society,—something more conformable to that of the Children of the Sun, and which would have removed the causes for which these poor creatures have suffered."

Bertrand, intent in noticing the dispersion of the motley collection of servants, thieves, &c., scarcely heard this last remark. As they emerged from the crowd,—“I am curious to know,” repeated Vela, “how the ministers of your religion can continue passive while these wrongs continue, and they are sitting in the supreme chamber of the legislature.” “No want of benevolence can be imputed to them,” replied Charles; “for what is denominated the Bench of Bishops, is composed of some of the greatest characters, eminently distinguished for learning, humanity, and ardent zeal in discharging the duties of their profession. The fault lies in the constitution of

society, under which all are trained too exclusively in their own class. The clergy consider the inculcation of faith as the only security for the growth and preservation of good morals; and as the necessity for any faith whatever is questioned by some, and innumerable alterations proposed by others, the clergy are fully occupied in defending the established religion from the assaults of infidelity, and from sectarian innovation. They also teach that the affairs of this world are under the direction of a superintending Providence, which, although perfectly true, neither supersedes the necessity for the enactment of wholesome laws, nor the obligations of a father to adopt that plan of domestic œconomy which experience has proved most favourable to the welfare of his children. The real causes of crime are inherent in the very frame of society, and lie too deep for that superficial investigation which is all that an attention to those duties which they deem of more immediate importance will admit of. In general they stand aloof from parliamentary discussion, and, except when questions affecting the popular and established belief are brought forward, their voices are seldom heard."

"Can there," said Vela, "be any thing in your religion of more importance than truth and justice? and are these simple but comprehensive principles so difficult to be understood among an

enlightened people, that you require some individuals to devote their whole time in expounding them?"

"The exclusive studies," replied Bertrand, "of professional men, whether in the church, the law, or the army, however proficient they may make them in their respective pursuits, in some degree contract the mind, and incapacitate it for taking a comprehensive view of society. Thus it is that so few individuals are found capable of ascending to first principles, of penetrating the thick veil that preceding ages have thrown over a subject so involved as the present complicated state of our affairs."

"Upon whom can you rely," said Vela, "for an effectual remedy for these evils?"

"Upon the gradual operation of time," replied Charles, "and upon the more general diffusion of true knowledge. I must own that such melancholy scenes as we have this day witnessed, render me impatient to accelerate the progress of truth, and rouse my sometimes wearied efforts to renewed exertions. If, perchance, there are some few who recognise the source of the evils of society, they find that the remedy demands a sacrifice of their own interests; and this deters them from that deeper investigation which would convince them of the superior advantages they would themselves derive from a better order of

society." "But then," said Vela, "your Inca, or King (as I think you call the chief in your government),—his education has been far above the reach of professional prejudices?" "The education,—of course I mean education in its most comprehensive sense,"—replied Charles, "of our princes is much worse than that of any other individuals; for although the greatest care is observed in the appointment of their preceptors, yet are they brought up amidst all the pomp and folly and intrigues of the Court. Flattered and imposed upon by interested adherents, their lot may be truly said to be worse than that of any of their subjects. It is extraordinary that, under such disadvantageous circumstances, they prove so competent to govern. Both the King and the people are made dupes of by the possessors of property. The most unpopular acts are done in the King's name; but his situation is less envidable than that of his meanest subjects. His life is a scene of perpetual delusion: striving to give general satisfaction, he must unintentionally displease many; and he has as much cause to order the same inscription on his tomb as the Pope who desired the following: 'Here lies Adrian, who thought nothing in life more unfortunate than that he was appointed to govern.'"

On arriving at their apartments in St. James's Street, the two friends sat down to breakfast;

but it proved a scanty and a silent meal. They wished to dismiss, for a time, the recollection of the morning's scene. Each tacitly resolved not to refer to it. Alternately they endeavoured to introduce other topics; but the attempt was vain, and they as often relapsed into thoughtfulness. The breakfast hastily dismissed, books were resorted to; but painful recollections still pursued them. Book after book was opened, and the unconscious eye wandered without attention from page to page, until Bertrand proposed a walk. At this moment the day began to brighten, and the sun shone the more brilliantly after the rain had cleared the atmosphere. They rose from their seats; but, upon going to the window, an equipage of unusual splendour was passing down the street. Bertrand rang the bell, and ascertained that the King held a Court at St. James's on that day. This intelligence altered their determination; and they resolved to remain and see the company pass.

As the day advanced, carriages and sedans passed towards the palace in considerable numbers. Crowds, eager to catch a glimpse of the nobility, were fast assembling; gorgeous dresses, and bells merrily ringing, all contributed to render the scene animated and brilliant. An elegant chariot appeared, with a gentleman in full court-dress, laced ruffles, and with a sword, the hilt of

which appeared to be studded with diamonds. "Who is that," said Vela, "so delicately and fantastically attired?" "That," replied Charles, "is the Secretary of State for the Home Department, through whose hands the warrants passed for the execution of the criminals this morning." "His countenance," said Vela, "betrays no marks of compunction and remorse for their fate: on the contrary, his smiles are in perfect harmony with the present scene." "Whatever his feelings may be," replied Charles, "at Court he must assume an air of cheerfulness. The sorrowful countenance of a minister of state would portend direful changes, and give rise to a thousand rumours; but it is probable that, as soon as the warrants were out of his hands, he thought no more of the criminals, for he is unacquainted with their persons, and has become familiar with the duty. Besides, he deems punishment the only remedy for crime, and therefore unavoidable. Observe that sedan with a coronet on the roof, and bearing a delicate and diminutive Lord dressed in white satin and a purple coat trimmed with gold. It is the ineffectual endeavour of a numerous retinue to gratify his exquisite tastes, his factitious and fastidious desires. So tenderly alive to every delicate sensation, see him wrapt up in his own feelings, fearful lest his eye should be annoyed

by the offensive sight of want and misery even in their least aggravating forms. He is the lord of thousands, and draws his revenue from a neighbouring island. At this time, on his own estates the greatest distress prevails. Not many years since, a number of the people born on his property died of absolute want, without a single effort on the part of His Lordship to ward off their impending fate; and perhaps his attendants ventured not to disturb the serenity of his hours and voluptuous ease by a relation of their misery. Yet is that nobleman the descendant of a Baron, who, when he first held possession of the property, afforded protection to the natives of the soil, gave them grants of land, and once a-year, at least, entertained them in his castle. At that period there was a mutual interest and sympathy between the lord and his people, to compensate in some degree for the inequality of their condition. But now, intermediate agents, who are rewarded in proportion to the quantity of produce they can extort from the labour of the people, separate them widely from each other; and while they aggravate the rapacity of the lord, screen him from personal odium."

"But does he not," said Vela, "fear a reprimand from the King?"

"O, no," replied Charles; "he duly attends

the Court, in hopes of sharing in the patronage of the Crown for the support of the younger branches of his family, having himself inherited, with his title, the whole of the estate."

"But surely," said Vela, "he maintains his brothers out of his estate?"

"The places in the gift of the Ministers," replied Charles, "have large salaries annexed to them, perhaps twenty-fold beyond the value of the services or qualifications required in those who fill them. These are bestowed upon the younger branches of the nobility, and the salaries are collected in the shape of taxes from the people at large."

The liveliness of the scene, and the succession of varied objects, relieved, in some measure, the painful impressions of the morning; but after the shutters were closed, and the two friends had sat down quietly to dinner, their gloomy recollections were revived with deeper feeling by the contrast of what they had just witnessed. "Had I not," said Vela, "beheld the occurrences of this day, I could not have believed that such opposite feelings and events could have transpired within so short a distance of time and place, unknown to the different parties."

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